

ALL IN SCHOOL

**Out-of-School**  
Children Initiative

UNICEF AND UNESCO INSTITUTE FOR STATISTICS

# CHILD LABOUR AND OUT-OF-SCHOOL CHILDREN: EVIDENCE FROM 25 DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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## Contents

	<b>Pages</b>
Executive summary.....	4
1. Introduction.....	7
2. Involvement in child labour .....	8
3. Interplay between OOSC and child labour .....	11
4. Time intensity of work and the risk of school non-attendance.....	15
5. Work performed by OOSC .....	18
6. Factors associated with OOSC and child labour .....	23
7. Conclusion and recommendations .....	27
Notes.....	32

### List of boxes, figures and text tables

Box 1. Estimating child labour .....	8
Figure 1. Involvement in child labour <sup>(a)</sup> , 7-14 years age group, by country .....	9
Figure 2. Percentage of children who are in child labour, 7-14 years age group, by schooling status and country .....	12
Figure 3. Percentage of children who are out of school, 7-14 years age group, by child labour status and country .....	13
Figure 4. Average marginal effect of working hours in employment on the probability of being out of school, children aged 7-14 years.....	16
Figure 5. Average marginal effect of working hours in household chores on the probability of being out of school, children aged 7-14 years.....	16
Figure 6. Distribution of out-of-school children who are in child labour by work type, 7-14 years age group, by country.....	18
Figure 7. Distribution of out-of-school children who are in child labour by work type and sex, 7-14 years age group, by country .....	19
Figure 8. Status in employment, out-of-school children in child labour, 7-14 years age group, by country .....	20
Figure 9. Status in employment, out-of-school versus in-school working children, 7-14 years age group, by country.....	21
Figure 10. Weekly working hours, out-of-school versus in-school working children, 7-14 years age group, by country.....	22
Figure 11. Involvement of child labour, 7-14 years age group, by income quintile and country .....	23
Figure 12. Distribution of child labourers, 7-14 years age group, by schooling status, income quintile and country .....	24
Table 1. Involvement in child labour, by residence, sex and age.....	10
Table 2. Education of household head and involvement in child labour, 7-14 years age group, by country .....	25
Table 3. Education of household head and denied schooling, 7-14 years age group by country .....	26

## Executive summary

The child labour phenomenon is closely related to that of out-of-school children (OOSC). The majority of children not in school are engaged in some form of work activity, and, for children in school, involvement in work makes them more susceptible to premature drop-out. Understanding the interplay between child labour and out-of-school children is therefore critical to achieving both Education for All (EFA) and child labour elimination goals. This study presents a descriptive profile of links between child labour and out-of-school children from the set of 25 developing countries included in the OOSC study. The focus is primarily on the 7-14 years age range, and on Dimensions 2-5 of the Five Dimensions of Exclusion.

How are the OOSC and child labour phenomena related? The intersection of the OOSC and child labour groups can be expressed in two different ways: first, the extent to which the OOSC population is composed of child labourers and second, the extent to which child labourers are out of school. These two indicators offer different ways of viewing the interplay between the OOSC and child labour groups. The first indicator, out of school child labourers expressed as a percentage of the total out of school children population, offers some insight into the importance of child labour as a factor in children being out of school. The second indicator, out of school child labours expressed as a percentage of the child labour population, offers insight into the social cost of child labour in terms of denied schooling.

But it should be emphasised that these descriptive indicators cannot be interpreted as evidence of a *causal* link between child labour and OOSC (in either direction). Establishing causality is complicated by the fact that child labour and school attendance are usually the result of a joint decision on the part of the household, and by the fact that this decision may be influenced by possibly unobserved factors such as innate talent, family behaviour and or family preferences. While they fall short of establishing a robust causal link between child labour and out of school children, the indicators nonetheless serve to illustrate the degree of incompatibility between child labour, on the one hand, and school participation, on the other.

**Out-of-school children are at a greater risk of child labour and child labourers are at greater risk of being out of school.** Statistics from the 25 countries indicate clearly that out-of-school children are at greater risk of child labour compared to children attending school, suggestive of the important role of child labour as a “pull” factor in decisions to leave school prematurely or to not enroll in school in the first place. Seen from the opposite perspective, child labourers are more likely to be out of school, either due to drop-out or to non-entrance, evidence of the educational cost of child labour and its importance as a barrier to Education for All. Child labour clearly makes it more difficult to attend school, although it should be stressed that school attendance status is an incomplete indicator of the full educational costs of child labour, as work also effects the time and energy that working students have for their studies, and their ability, therefore, to benefit from their classroom time.

### **The likelihood of being out of school increases with the time intensity of child labour.**

More rigorous econometric evidence indicates that engagement in economic activity increases the probability of being out of school from the first hours of work. This positive effect becomes increasingly large with the number of hours spent in employment. On the contrary, the marginal effect of household chores is small and constant for the first hours spent in household chores, increasing only after 16 hours of work. The different apparent impacts of economic activity and household chores on school attendance offers an empirical justification for treating household chores and economic activity differently in the measurement of child labour. In particular, it provides a rationale for treating household chores as child labour only after a certain hours threshold.

### **Out-of-school child labourers log many more working hours than child labourers who are attending school.**

One of the most striking differences in the nature of the child labour performed by OOSC and the child labour performed by children attending school lies in its time intensity. OOSC child labourers work much longer hours than child labourers attending school in almost all of the countries with this information. The difference is most stark in Turkey, where OOSC child labourers must log an average of 45 hours of work per week while their peers attending school put in only 15 hours per week. This suggests that it is the time intensity of child labour, rather than child labour *per se*, that is often most important impediment to school attendance. Child labour performed more intensively also means greater exposure to potential hazards in the workplace, and greater risk of work-related injury and ill-health.

**Children belonging to poor households are more likely to be in child labour.** There is a *negative* correlation between child labour and household income in all of the countries where these data are available. In other words, higher household income is associated consistently with lower levels of child labour. This is not surprising, as better off households are typically less in need of their children's productivity or wages in order to make ends meet and the opportunity cost of schooling is therefore lower. But household income appears to not only affect children's risk of child labour but also the extent to which child labour is associated with denied education. Statistics from the 25 countries indicate that child labourers from lowest income households are generally much more likely to be out of school than child labourers from highest income households.

### **Children from household with less education are also at greater risk of child labour.**

There is also a negative correlation between child labour and the education level of the household head in all of the countries where data on household head education are available. In other words, higher levels of household education are associated with lower levels of child labour. This could be in part the product of a disguised income effect, but it may also be that better educated households are more aware of the returns to education, and/or are in a better position to help their children exploit the earning potential acquired through education. Household education, like household income, not only affects children's risk of child labour but also the risk of child labourers being out of school – child labourers from poorly educated households are much more likely to be out of school than their counterparts from better-educated households.

Taken together, the empirical evidence from 25 countries underscores the important linkages between child labour and dimensions 2-5 of the Five Dimensions of Exclusion. These linkages, while not causal, are nonetheless suggestive of the need to invest in improved schooling, to mitigate poverty and household vulnerability, and to raise household awareness levels as part of a broader strategy against child labour and school non-attendance. The

continued large number of out-of-school children also argues for investment in second chance education opportunities for those who are denied schooling. These policy priorities are briefly summarized below:

- **Improving education access and quality**, in order that families have the opportunity to invest in their children's education as an alternative to child labour, and that the returns to schooling make it worthwhile for them to do so. There is broad consensus that the single most effective way to prevent child labour is to extend and improve schooling as its logical alternative.
- **Providing second chance learning opportunities**, in order to compensate for the adverse educational consequences of child labour. "Second chance" policies are needed to reach former working children and other out-of-school children with educational opportunities as part of broader efforts towards their social reintegration. They are critical to avoiding large numbers of children entering adulthood in a disadvantaged position, permanently harmed by early work experiences.
- **Expanding social protection** to help prevent child labour from being used as a household survival strategy in the face of economic and social vulnerability. Establishing adequate social protection floors (SPFs) constitutes a particular priority for efforts against child labour and educational marginalization and for broader poverty reduction and social development goals. SPFs should contain basic social security guarantees that ensure that all in need can afford and have access to essential health care and have income security at least at a nationally defined minimum level over the life cycle.
- **Awareness raising**, to build a broad-based consensus for change. Households require information concerning the costs or dangers of child labour and benefits of schooling in order to make informed decisions on their children's time allocation. Cultural attitudes and perceptions can also direct household decisions concerning children's schooling and child labour, and therefore should also be targeted in strategic communication efforts.
- **Improving the evidence base**, to inform policy design and to ensure the effective targeting of interventions. The evidence presented in this study made clear the negative relationship between child labour and schooling, but beyond this general pattern many questions concerning the nature of the relationship between work involvement and education remain unanswered in the research literature. There is a specific need to open the "black box" of child labour, and look more closely at the effect of different forms of work on enrolling and staying in school.

## 1. Introduction

The child labour phenomenon is closely related to that of out-of-school children (OOSC). The majority of children not in school are engaged in some form of work activity, and, for children in school, involvement in work makes them more susceptible to premature drop-out. Understanding the interplay between child labour and out-of-school children is therefore critical to achieving both Education for All (EFA) and child labour elimination goals.

This chapter presents a descriptive profile of links between child labour and out-of-school children from the set of 25 developing countries included in the OOSC study. It also links the child labour and OOSC populations with indicators of marginalization and inequality, such as gender, wealth and education. Primary data sources are Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys, SIMPOC surveys and labour force surveys.

The focus is primarily on the 7-14 years age range, and on dimensions 2-5 of the Five Dimensions of Exclusion. The lower age limit of seven years is utilized to coincide with the age at which primary schooling begins in most countries, as the main focus of the chapter is the interaction between child labour and educational marginalisation. It is worth recalling, however, that child labour also affects younger, 5-6 year-old children, and that these young child labourers are often more susceptible to late or non-entry in school and to early drop out.

The remainder of the chapter is structured as follows. Section 2 reports most recent estimates of the total extent of child labour in the 25 countries. Section 3 then assesses the interplay between out-of-school children and child labour. It reports the proportion of OOSC who child labourers and the proportion of child labourers who are out of school. Section 4 assesses links between the time intensity of child labour and the risk of being out of school. Section 5 looks at the nature of the work performed by out of school children. Section 6 assesses factors associated with OOSC and child labour.

## 2. Involvement in child labour

This section presents descriptive evidence concerning the extent of children's involvement in child labour in the 25 sample countries, as background to the discussion on the interplay between OOSC and child labour.

The most recent ILO global estimates indicate that child labour rates are trending downwards but that child labour remains a substantial global challenge.<sup>1</sup> According to these estimates, there were some 120.5 million children aged 5-14 years in child labour in 2012, accounting for almost 10 percent of this age group. Children in hazardous forms of work threatening children's health, safety or morals made up almost one third of total child labourers. ILO estimates show that rates of child labour are highest in Sub Saharan Africa followed by Asia and the Pacific and by Latin America and the Caribbean. The estimates indicate that it is in populous Asia, however, where the highest absolute numbers of child labourers are found.

**Figure 1** reports country-specific estimates of child labour underlying this global picture for the set 25 developing countries in the OOSC study for the narrower, 7-14 years age range. Unlike the ILO global estimates, the definition of child labour employed here also includes children performing household chores for at least 28 hours per week (see **Box 1**).

Although differences in reference dates and survey methods mean that comparisons should be treated with caution, the Figure 1 nonetheless points to the importance of child labour as a policy concern in almost all of the 25 sample countries. Consistent with the global estimates, the Sub-Saharan Africa countries included in the sample stand out as having especially high child labour rates. Fifty-eight percent of 7-14 year-olds in Ethiopia, 37 percent of 7-14 year-olds in Ghana and more than 30 percent of children in this age range in Nigeria and Zambia, for instance, is in child labour.

### Box 1. Estimating child labour

The child labour indicator used in this chapter is calculated as the percentage of children 7–14 years old involved in child labour at the moment of the survey. A child is considered to be involved in child labour under the following conditions:

- (a) children 7–11 years old who, during the week preceding the survey, performed at least one hour of economic activity;
- (b) children 12–14 years old who, during the week preceding the survey, performed at least 14 hours of economic activity;
- (c) children aged 7-14 years who, during the week preceding the survey, performed at least 28 hours of household chores.

This indicator is built on the basis of the three principal international conventions on child labour - ILO Convention No. 138, United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and ILO Convention No. 182 – as well as the resolution on child labour statistics adopted at the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) in 2008.

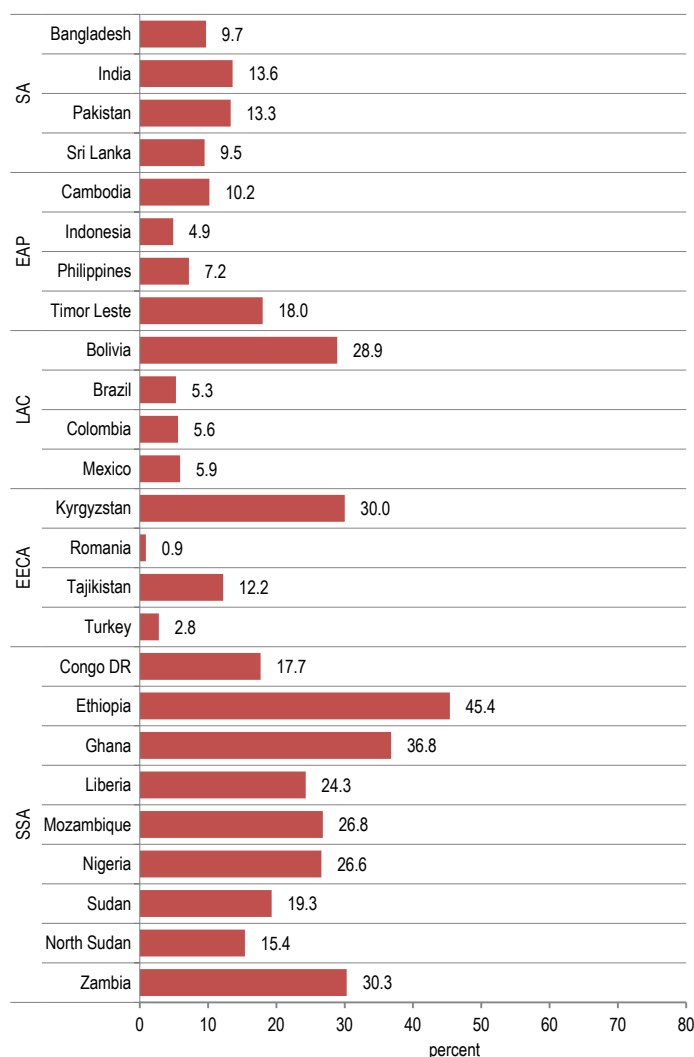
The ICLS resolution breaks new ground in translating the international conventions on child labour into statistical terms for measurement purposes. It is worth emphasizing in this context that the child labour estimates presented in the sections below represent benchmarks for international comparative purposes and are not necessarily consistent with estimates based on national child labour legislation.

ILO Convention No. 138 contains a number of flexibility clauses left to the discretion of the competent national authority. This means that there is no single legal definition of child labour across countries, and concomitantly, no single statistical measure of child labour consistent with national legislation across countries.

It is also worth keeping in mind that child labour affects two age groups excluded from the child labour estimates presented in this report: 5-6 year-olds and 15-17 year-olds. Again, this report focuses only on the 7-14 years age group in order to coincide with primary schooling age range.



**Figure 1. Involvement in child labour<sup>(a)</sup>, 7-14 years age group, by country**



**Notes:** (a) The child labour measure used in this study comprises three groups of children: 7-11 year olds in economic activity for at least one hour during the reference week; 12-14 year-olds in non-light economic activity (i.e. for at least 14 hours during the reference week); and 7-14 year-olds engaged in household chores for at least 28 hours during the reference week. (b)Timor Leste, Pakistan and Sudan (Census): Children aged 10-14; (c)Turkey: Children aged 6-14; (d) Zambia, Philippines, Pakistan, Romania and Cambodia surveys do not include information about hours spent in household chores. The definition of CL in these countries is based on hours in employment; (e) Sudan: The Sudan Fifth Population and Housing Census does not include information about hours spent in employment and household chores, thus the definition of CL is based on the involvement in employment; (f) Brazil: the National legislation does not allow light work for 12-14 year-olds. Here we use the standard definition.

*Sources: UCW calculations based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2008; Sudan Fifth Population and Housing Census, 2008; North Sudan MICS Survey, 2000; Nigeria MICS Survey, 2011; Mozambique MICS Survey, 2008; Liberia DHS Survey, 2007; Ghana MICS Survey, 2006; Ethiopia DHS, 2011; Congo DR MICS Survey, 2010; Turkey Child Labor Survey (SIMPOC), 2006; Tajikistan MICS Survey, 2005; Romania child Labour Survey (SIMPOC), 2000; Kyrgyzstan Child Labour Survey, 2007; Mexico Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo: Módulo de Trabajo Infantil, 2011; Colombia GEIH - Módulo de Trabajo Infantil, 2012; Brazil Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios, 2011; Bolivia Encuesta de Trabajo Infantil (SIMPOC), 2008; Timor Leste Survey of Living Standards, 2007; Philippines Labour Force Survey (SIMPOC), 2001; Indonesia Child Labour Survey (SIMPOC), 2009; Cambodia Labour Force and Child Labour Survey (SIMPOC), 2012; Sri Lanka Child Activity Survey (SIMPOC), 1999; Pakistan labour Force Survey 2007-2008; India DHS Survey, 2005-2006; Bangladesh labour Force Survey, 2005-2006.*

Child labour rates are generally lower in the sample countries from other regions with some important exceptions. Kyrgyzstan in the Eastern Europe and Central Asia (EECA) region, Bolivia in the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) and Cambodia in East Asia and Pacific (EAP) region all stand out as having much higher child labour rates than the other sample countries included in their respective regions.

**Table 1** looks at child labour rates in the sample countries decomposed by sex, residence and age. Boys are at greater risk of child labour in some of the sample countries (e.g. Colombia, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Philippines and Bangladesh) but in most of the others differences in child labour rates by sex are not large. But, as discussed further below, in many contexts the nature of the work performed by children differs in accordance with traditional social roles. Girls typically shoulder a greater responsibility for household chores while boys are more involved in performing economic activities, particularly outside of the household.

Table 1 also indicates that rural children are at much greater risk of child labour than their urban peers in all of the sample countries. This can be explained various factors, including the important role played by children in the agriculture sector; poorer basic services infrastructure in rural areas; and less access to schooling as an alternative to child labour in rural areas. Finally, Table 1 indicates that the risk of child labour grows with age. This may be because the opportunity cost of time spent in the classroom increases as children grow older (and become more productive) or because of reduced educational opportunities at higher levels.

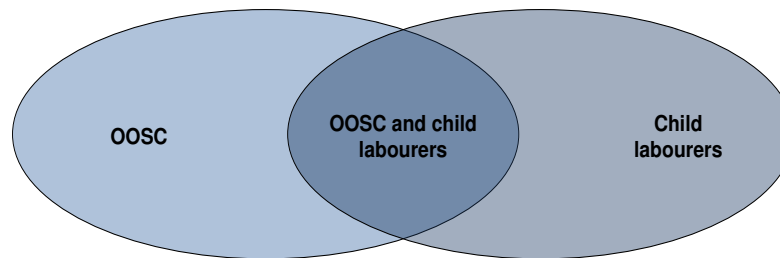
**Table 1. Involvement in child labour, by residence, sex and age**

Region	Country	Sex		Residence		Age	
		Male	Female	Urban	Rural	7-11	12-14
Sub Saharan Africa	Zambia	31.3	29.3	11.5	39.7	25.9	37.9
	North Sudan	16.6	14.1	8.9	22.3	16.2	13.8
	Sudan	21.6	16.8	10.4	21.0	19.4	19.3
	Nigeria	25.8	27.3	19.7	30.0	34.0	11.1
	Mozambique	25.0	28.5	17.9	30.8	26.5	27.4
	Liberia	24.9	23.7	18.4	28.3	34.4	5.2
	Ghana	37.1	36.5	20.3	46.9	45.2	23.4
	Ethiopia	64.4	50.1	18.4	63.4	57.9	56.9
	Congo DR	20.2	24.2	12.4	29.1	27.2	13.3
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	Turkey*	2.4	3.2	1.9	4.2	1.2*	6.0
	Tajikistan	11.3	13.1	9.4	13.1	8.5	18.1
	Romania	1.1	0.7	-	-	0.9	0.9
	Kyrgyzstan	31.2	28.7	16.8	35.6	31.1	28.4
Latin America and Caribbean	Mexico	6.8	5.8	3.7	8.3	4.2	9.6
	Colombia	7.1	4.0	3.6	10.9	4.3	7.7
	Brazil	5.3	5.3	3.5	13.2	2.4	9.6
	Bolivia	29.0	28.8	10.5	58.4	28.9	28.8
East Asia and Pacific	Timor Leste	18.2	17.9	10.1	20.7	17.3	18.5
	Philippines	9.0	5.4	4.7	9.2	7.2	7.2
	Indonesia	4.6	5.1	2.4	6.1	4.4	5.6
	Cambodia	9.5	11.0	6.1	11.2	5.7	16.6
South Asia	Sri Lanka	11.1	7.8	3.6	10.4	11.2	7
	Pakistan	15.1	11.3	-	-	8.6	16.2
	India	13.3	13.9	9.4	15.2	11.8	16.6
	Bangladesh	14.6	4.6	7.7	10.3	6.7	14.2

Notes and sources: See Figure 1.

### 3. Interplay between OOSC and child labour

How are the OOSC and child labour phenomena related? And, following from this, how are dimensions 2 and 3 of the exclusion framework linked to child labour? The intersection of the OOSC and child labour groups can be expressed in two different ways: first, the extent to which the OOSC population is composed of child labourers and second, the extent to which child labourers are out of school.



These two indicators offer different ways of viewing the interplay between the OOSC and child labour groups. The first indicator, out of school child labourers expressed as a percentage of the total out of school children population, offers some insight into the importance of child labour as a factor in children being out of school. The second indicator, out of school child labourers expressed as a percentage of the child labour population, offers insight into the social cost of child labour in terms of denied schooling.

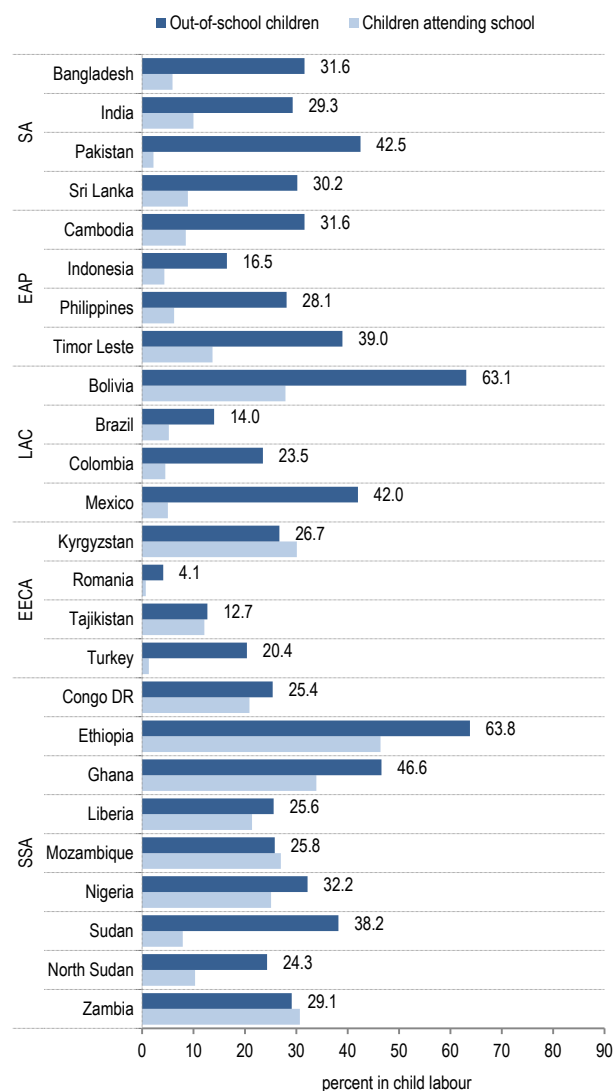
But it should be emphasised that these descriptive indicators cannot be interpreted as evidence of a *causal* link between child labour and OOSC (in either direction). Establishing causality is complicated by the fact that child labour and school attendance are usually the result of a joint decision on the part of the household, and by the fact that this decision may be influenced by possibly unobserved factors such as innate talent, family behaviour and or family preferences. While they fall short of establishing a robust causal link between child labour and out of school children, the indicators nonetheless serve to illustrate the degree of incompatibility between child labour, on the one hand, and school participation, on the other.

#### ***Out-of-school children who are child labourers***

Out-of-school children are generally much more likely to be child labourers than their peers attending school. **Figure 2**, which reports child labour rates by schooling status, indicates that child labour rates are higher among out of school children than children attending school in all but four of the 25 sample countries, suggestive of the important role of child labour as a “pull” factor in decisions to leave school prematurely or to not enrol in school in the first place.

Nonetheless, Figure 2 indicates that the majority OOSC are *not* child labourers in most (23 of 25) of the sample countries. The two exceptions are Ethiopia and Bolivia, where 64 percent and 63 percent, respectively, of OOSC are in child labour. This raises the question of what these children neither in child labour nor in schooling are actually doing.

**Figure 2. Percentage of children who are in child labour, 7-14 years age group, by schooling status and country**



Notes and sources: See Figure 1.

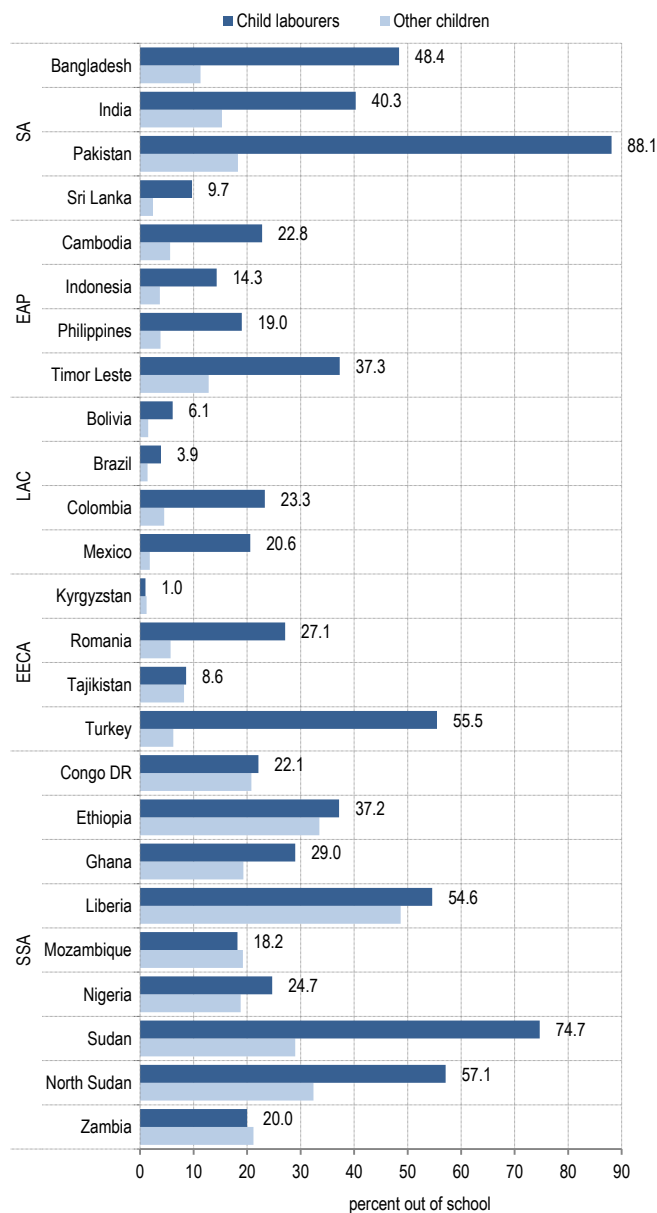
Many of the children neither in school nor in child labour are in fact be performing forms of work that lie outside the definition of child labour used in this chapter. About 60 percent of OOSC not in child labour are performing household chores for less time than the 28 hours per week threshold used for classifying household chores as child labour (see Box 1). In addition, 20 percent of 12-14 year-old children in the group neither in school nor in child labour are performing “light” economic activity (see Box 1). Still other ostensibly inactive children may be involved in unconditional worst forms of child labour that are not captured by the household surveys that are data source for this chapter.<sup>2</sup>

But to the extent that the large share of out-of-school children not in child labour is indeed inactive, the results in Figure 2 suggests that many children are also dropping out of (or never entering) school for reasons other than work. School-related “push” factors in this context may be important in explaining children’s absence from school.

**Child labourers who are out-of-school**

**Figure 3** reports the proportion of child labourers who are out of school, one measure of the educational cost of child labour and of the barrier that child labour poses to achieving Education for All. The results indicate that the out-of-school rate of child labourers is much higher than that of other children in all but four of the sample countries. Many more child labourers than other children, in other words, have either either dropped out of school or never entered school in most countries.

**Figure 3. Percentage of children who are out of school, 7-14 years age group, by child labour status and country**



Notes and sources: See Figure 1.

The populous South Asian countries of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan included in the sample are of particular note in this context. While their levels of child labour in percentage terms are not high relative to most other sample countries, a very high proportion of Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani child labourers are out of school. In Pakistan, fully 88 percent of all child labourers are denied schooling. Child labour is also appears to be especially inimical to school attendance in Turkey and in the Sub Saharan Africa countries of Ethiopia, Liberia, Sudan and South Sudan.

It should be emphasized in the context of this discussion that school attendance status is an incomplete indicator of the full educational costs of child labour. While Figure 3 indicates that a significant proportion of child labourers in the sample countries are able to combine child labour and schooling, work for these children affects the time and energy that they have for their studies, and their ability, therefore, to benefit from their classroom time. Work can also be associated with more frequent absenteeism or tardiness.

#### 4. Time intensity of work and the risk of school non-attendance

This section studies the relationship between number of working hours and children's school non-attendance. Disentangling the causal links between work and schooling is complicated by the fact that decisions relating to them are typically jointly determined. Decisions concerning allocations of children's time are also influenced by factors such as talent, family behaviour, and family preferences, not captured by survey data.

In the absence of panel data relating to children's time use, and of proper information to implement adequate econometric techniques (namely, instrumental variable regressions), it is not possible to assert strict causality between children's work and school non-attendance. It is, however, possible to examine in greater depth the association between working hours and school non-attendance, and to identify children at highest risk of leaving school.

It is likely that the effect of one additional working hour will differ according to how much time a child has already spent in employment and/or in household chores. For example, an extra hour of work is likely to impact differently on school non-attendance of a child working only one hour a week and a child working 14 hours a week.

In order to assess the correlation between school non-attendance and working hours, we estimate the following equation on a sample of children aged 7-14 years engaged in employment, or in household chores, or performing "double duty"<sup>3</sup>:

$$oosc_i = \alpha + \sum_k \gamma_k emp_{hour_{ik}} + \sum_k \delta_k chor_{hour_{ik}} + X_i' \beta + \sum_c \theta_c f_c + \sum_c \sum_k \varphi_{ck} emp_{hour_{ik}} f_c + \sum_c \sum_k \omega_{ck} chor_{hour_{ik}} f_c + \varepsilon_i$$

Where  $oosc_i$  is a dummy variable that takes value 1 if child  $i$  is out of school, and takes value 0 otherwise;  $emp_{hour_{ik}}$  is a dummy that takes value 1 if child  $i$  is engaged for  $k$  hours per week in and takes value 0 otherwise; and  $chor_{hour_{ik}}$  is a dummy that takes value 1 if child  $i$  is involved in household chores for  $k$  hours per week and takes value 0 otherwise;  $X_i$  is a vector of socio-demographic characteristics that include a second degree polynomial in age, gender, the number of children aged 0-4 years in household, the number of children aged 5-14 years, household size, education level of household head, quintile of household wealth and residence area.

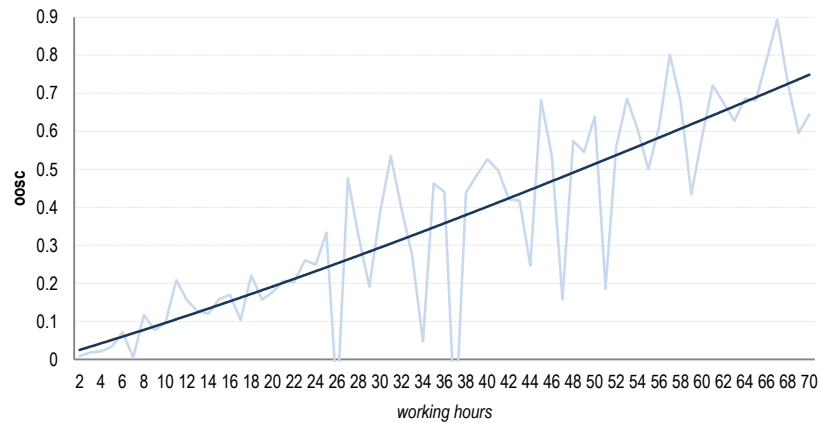
The term  $f_c$  identifies country fixed effects that capture differences in country cultural and institutional settings and that might affect the probability of being out of school. We also include the interactions between country and hours in employment and country and hours in household chores. These interaction terms clean the average impact of working hours of any country-specific effect.<sup>4</sup>

The coefficients  $\gamma_k$  and  $\delta_k$  express the difference in the probability of being out of school for a child working  $k$  hours with respect to a child working 1 hour in employment and household chores respectively.

**Figure 4** and **Figure 5** illustrate the marginal effect of hours in employment and in household chores, respectively, on school non-attendance. The effect is computed holding everything else equal, precisely holding constant the variables included in the regression and listed

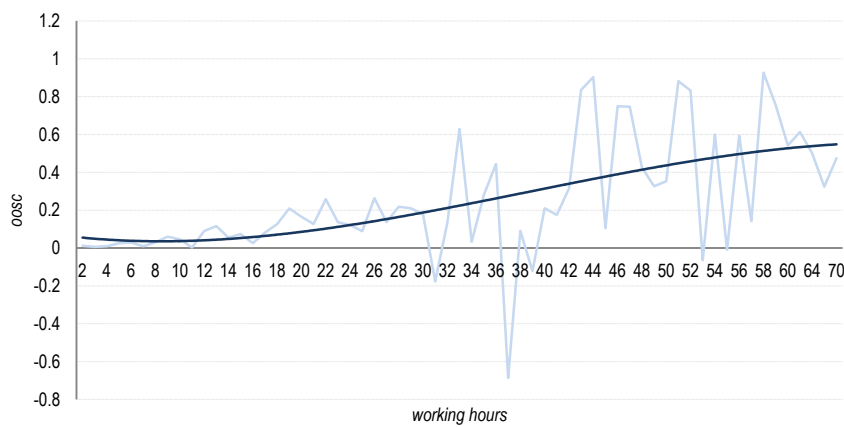
above. In order to have a better understanding of the marginal effects at different levels of working hours, we draw a line that interpolates the points on the grid (from 1 to 70 hours per week) by using a third degree polynomial.

**Figure 4. Average marginal effect of working hours in employment on the probability of being out of school, children aged 7-14 years**



Sources: UCW calculations based on Nigeria MICS Survey, 2007; Mozambique MICS Survey, 2008; Liberia DHS Survey, 2007; Ghana MICS Survey, 2006; Ethiopia Labor Force Survey, 2005; Congo DR DHS Survey, 2000; Tajikistan MICS Survey, 2005; Kyrgyzstan Child Labour Survey, 2007; Colombia Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares, 2007; Brazil Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios, 2009; Bolivia Encuesta de Trabajo Infantil (SIMPOC), 2008; Timor Leste Survey of Living Standards, 2007; Indonesia Child Labour Survey (SIMPOC), 2009; Sri Lanka Child Activity Survey (SIMPOC), 1999; India DHS Survey, 2005-2006; Bangladesh labour Force Survey, 2005-2006.

**Figure 5. Average marginal effect of working hours in household chores on the probability of being out of school, children aged 7-14**



Sources: UCW calculations based on Nigeria MICS Survey, 2007; Mozambique MICS Survey, 2008; Liberia DHS Survey, 2007; Ghana MICS Survey, 2006; Ethiopia Labor Force Survey, 2005; Congo DR DHS Survey, 2000; Tajikistan MICS Survey, 2005; Kyrgyzstan Child Labour Survey, 2007; Colombia Gran Encuesta Integrada de Hogares, 2007; Brazil Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios, 2009; Bolivia Encuesta de Trabajo Infantil (SIMPOC), 2008; Timor Leste Survey of Living Standards, 2007; Indonesia Child Labour Survey (SIMPOC), 2009; Sri Lanka Child Activity Survey (SIMPOC), 1999; India DHS Survey, 2005-2006; Bangladesh labour Force Survey, 2005-2006.



We find that engagement in employment increases the probability of being out of school from the first hours of work. This positive effect becomes increasingly larger with the number of hours spent in employment. On the contrary, the marginal effect of household chores is small and constant for the first hours spent in household chores, and it increases after 16 hours of work.

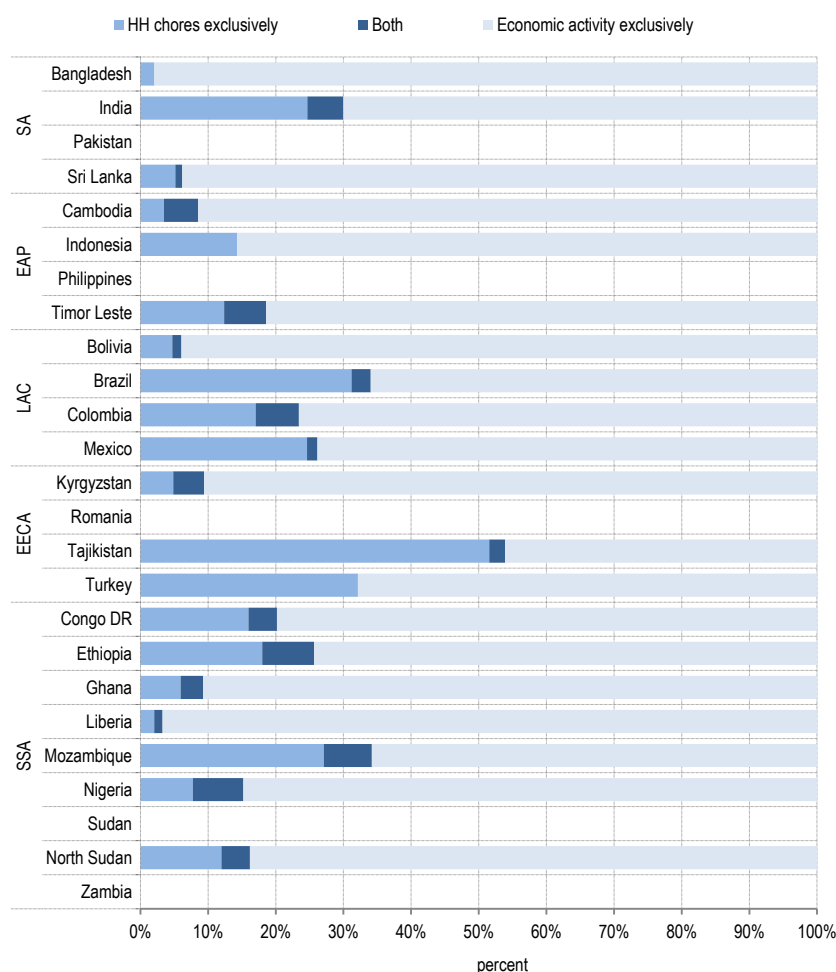
Note that the effects of hours in employment and hours in household chores are independent in our model, since we do not include any intersection term between these two activities. It means that we observe equal impact of hours in household chores for individuals who allocate different number of hours in employment and vice versa.

## 5. Work performed by OOSC

While the preceding discussion indicates that a large share of out-of-school children in most of the sample countries are involved in some form of productive activity (if not child labour *per se*), effective policy responses require more detailed information on the nature and extent of the work that OOSC perform instead of attending school. This section examines the kind of work they are performing, and differences, if any, between work performed by children who are out of school and work performed by children who are in school.

**Figure 6** looks at how the child labour of out of school children is divided between household chores and economic activity. It indicates that economic activity exclusive of involvement in household chores constitutes by far that largest component of the child labour of out of school children in all sample countries except Tajikistan. Household chores, performed exclusively or in combination with economic activity, form a much smaller component of child labour. But this does not mean that fewer children perform household chores, as it should be recalled that only household chores performed for at least 28 hours per week are included in the definition of child labour used here (*see Box 1*).

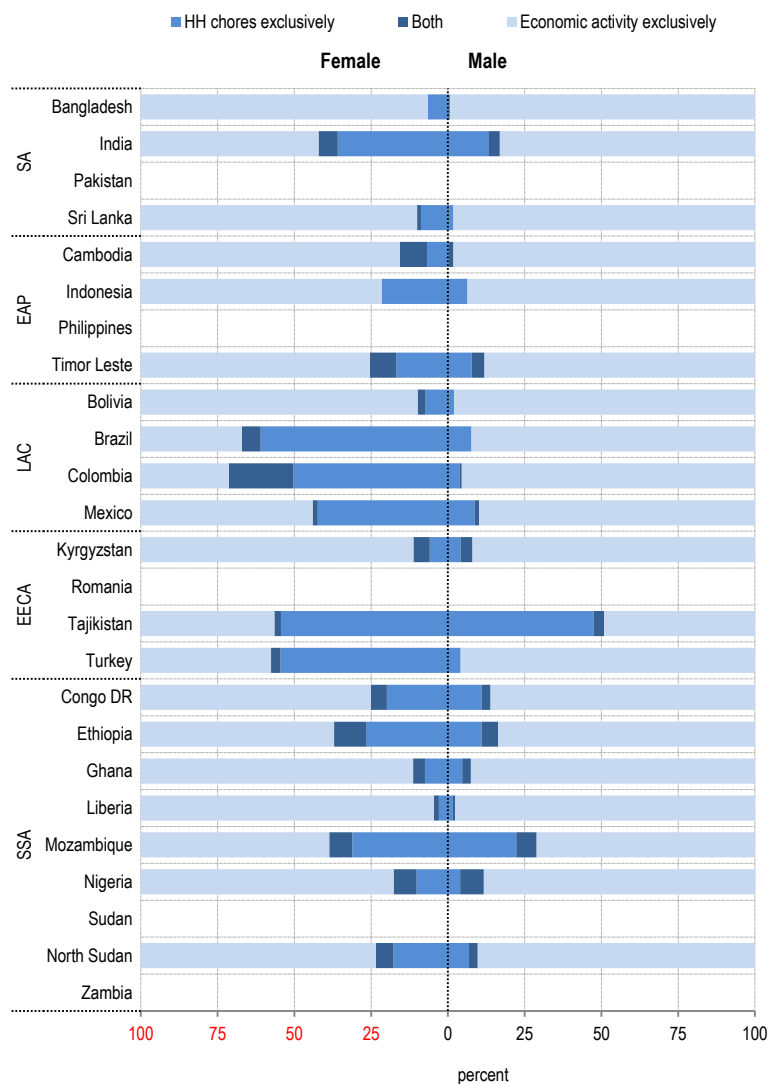
**Figure 6. Distribution of out-of-school children who are in child labour by work type, 7-14 years age group, by country**



Notes and sources: See Figure 1.

**Figure 7** looks at how the composition of child labour differs between male and female out of school children. It indicates that household chores generally form a larger component of the child labour of out-of-school girls, in keeping with traditional social roles that assign females primary responsibility for the functioning of the household.

**Figure 7. Distribution of out-of-school children who are in child labour by work type and sex, 7-14 years age group, by country**

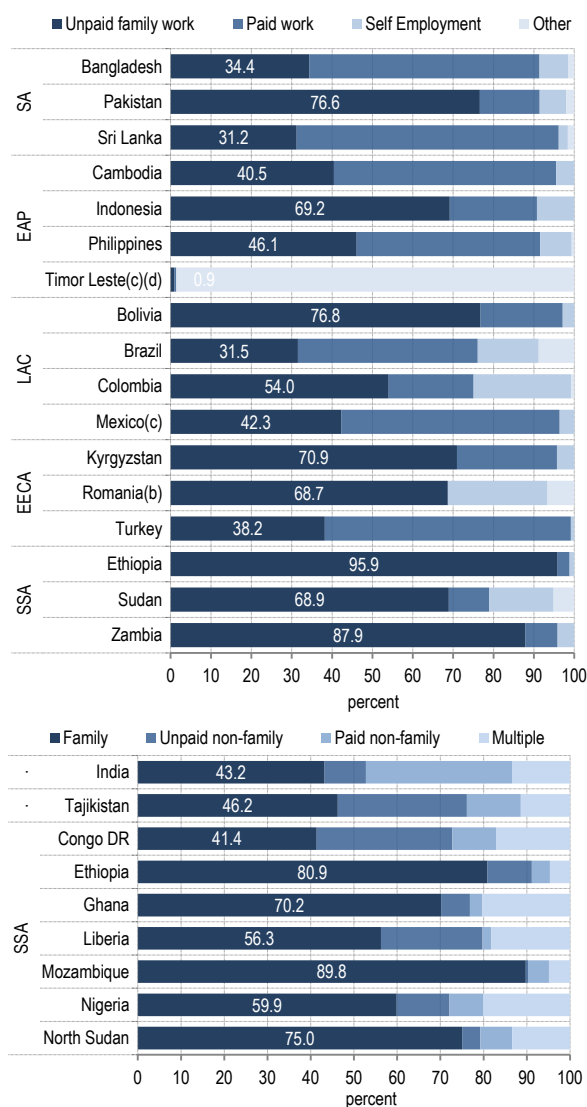


Notes and sources: See Figure 1.

It is worth mentioning in this context that because girls are more likely than boys to perform chores, the specific threshold beyond which household chores are considered child labour has important implications for estimates of girls' child labour relative to that of boys. As noted above, this report employs a 28 hours threshold, in keeping with some UNICEF published statistics on child labour, but this does not constitute an agreed measurement standard. Indeed, some recent evidence based on the interaction between schooling and chores suggests, a lower, 21 hour, threshold may be more appropriate.<sup>5</sup>

**Figure 8** reports the employment status of out of school child labourers. The information is reported in two separate graphs because of differences across surveys in the categories used in describing employment status. A result common to most of the countries is the importance of work within the family. Family work – paid or unpaid – accounts for at least 40 percent of all OOSC in the eight sample countries where this information is available. The proportion of OOSC child labourers in family work rises to 90 percent in Mozambique. OOSC child labourers in *unpaid* family work, a more restrictive category, exceeds 40 percent in 11 of the 16 countries where this variable is available.

**Figure 8. Status in employment, out-of-school children in child labour, 7-14 years age group, by country**



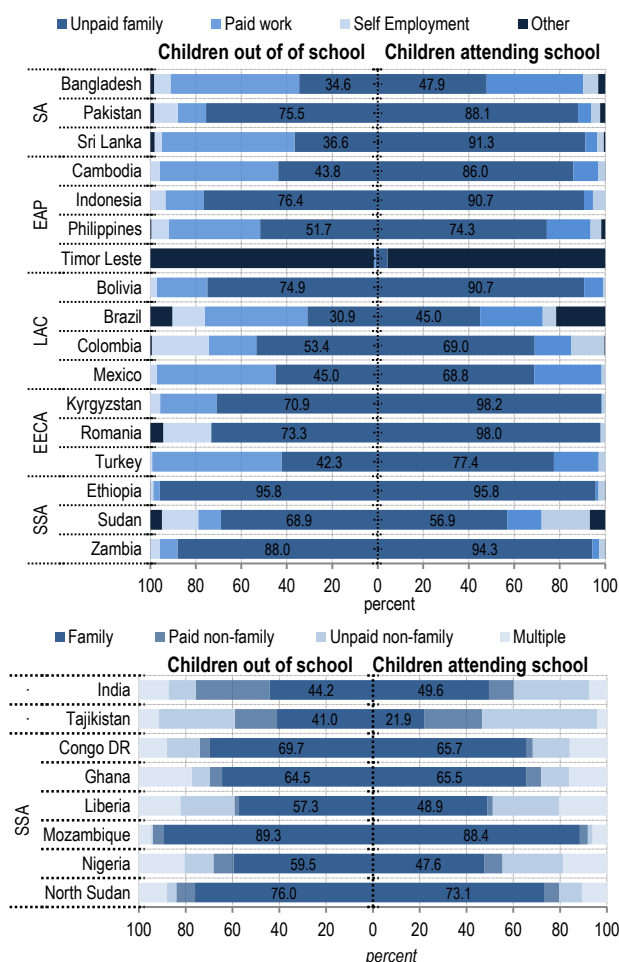
**Notes:** (a) Results presented in two graphs because of differences across surveys in employment status categories; (b) Romania: The category “Unpaid family work” includes all family workers regardless whether they are paid or not; (c) Brazil Mexico and Timor Leste: The category “Unpaid family work” includes all unpaid workers regardless whether they work in family or not; (d) Timor Leste: The category “Other” is farming.

Sources: See Figure 1.

Are there differences between the child labour performed by out-of-school children that performed by the peers attending school? This question is taken up in **Figure 9** and **Figure 10**. Two general patterns emerge. First, OOSC child labourers are much less likely to work in unpaid family work in all countries where this variable is available except Sudan. Of note, this pattern appears to relate only to *unpaid* family work rather than family work generally, as shown in the second graph of **Figure 9**.

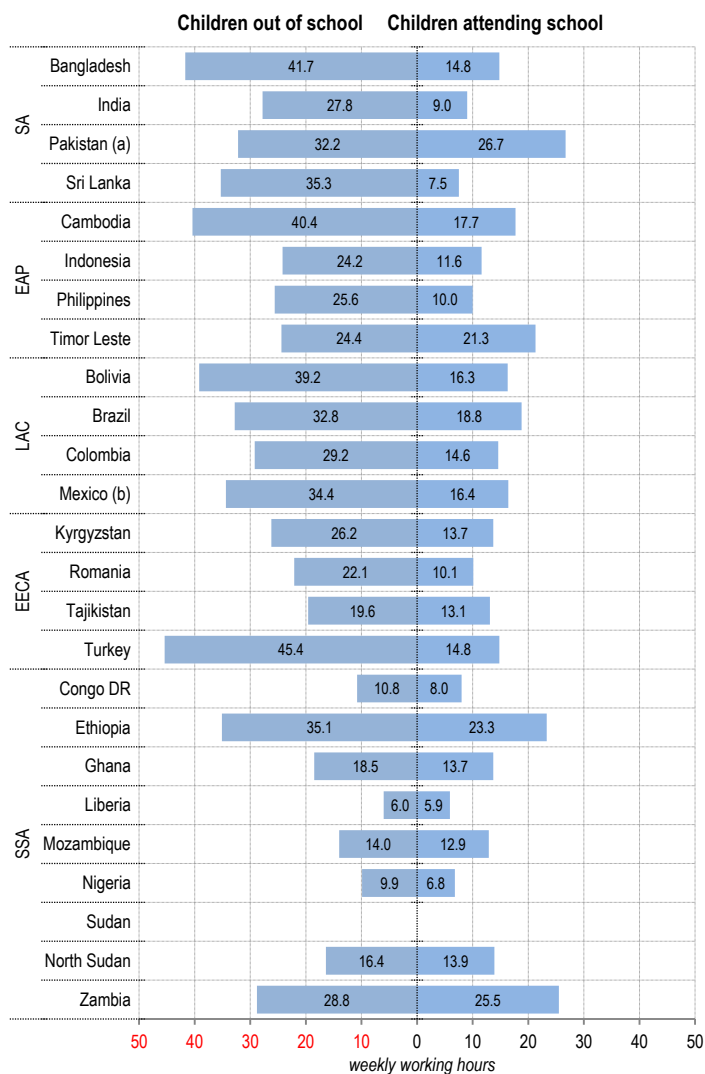
The second striking difference in the child labour of OOSC and the child labour of children attending school lies in its time intensity. OOSC child labourers work much longer hours than child labourers attending school in all sample countries with this information with the exception of Liberia. The difference is most stark in Turkey, where OOSC child labourers must log an average of 45 hours of work per week while their peers attending school put in only 15 hours per week. This again suggests that it is the time intensity of child labour, rather than child labour *per se*, that is often most important impediment to school attendance (see *discussion in Section 3*). Child labour performed more intensively also means greater exposure to potential hazards in the workplace, and greater risk of work-related injury and ill-health.

**Figure 9. Status in employment, out-of-school versus in-school working children, 7-14 years age group, by country**



Notes and sources: See Figure 1.

**Figure 10. Weekly working hours, out-of-school versus in-school working children, 7-14 years age group, by country**



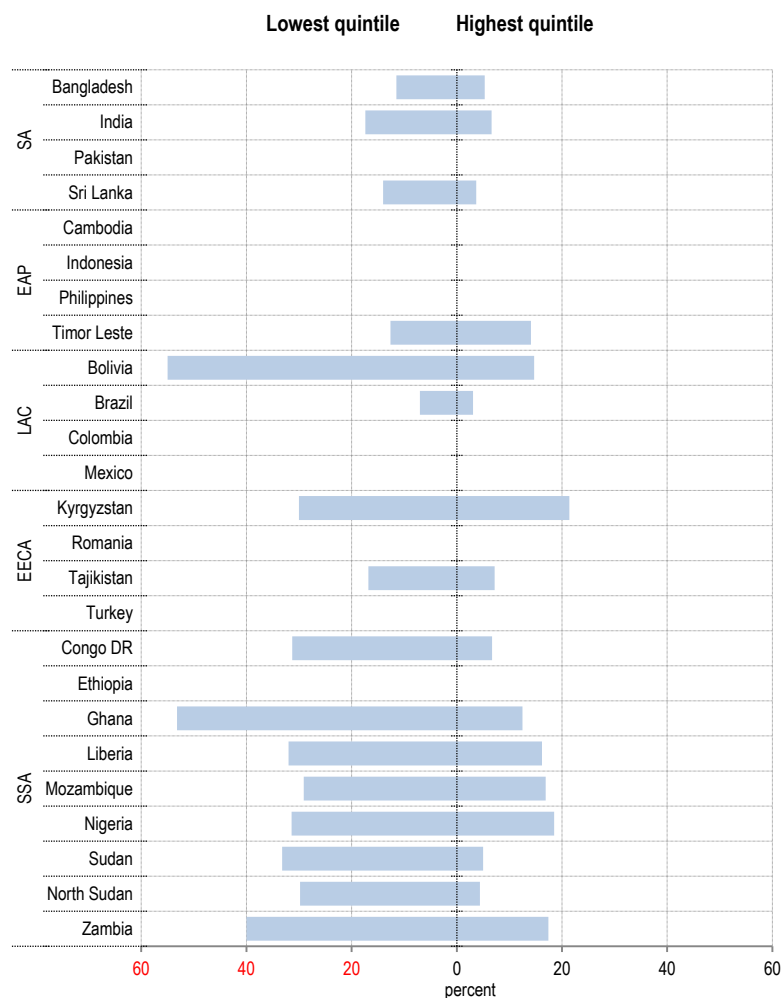
**Notes:** (a) Timor Leste and Pakistan: Children aged 10-14; and (b) Mexico: Children aged 12-14.  
*Source: See Figure 1.*

## 6. Factors associated with OOSC and child labour

This section looks at household characteristics of potential relevance to household decisions to keep children out of school and involve them in work. It looks in particular at indicators of household social vulnerability, as vulnerable households can be forced to keep their children out of school and involve them in child labour as a buffer against social risk. Specific indicators in this context include the share of OOSC and child labourers living in poor households (proxied by the wealth index or the household expenditure quintile) and the education level of parents.

There is a *negative* relationship between child labour and household income in all 16 sample countries where these data are available (see **Figure 11**). In other words, higher household income is associated consistently with lower levels of child labour. This is not surprising, as better off households are typically less in need of their children's productivity or wages in order to make ends meet and the opportunity cost of schooling is therefore lower.<sup>6</sup>

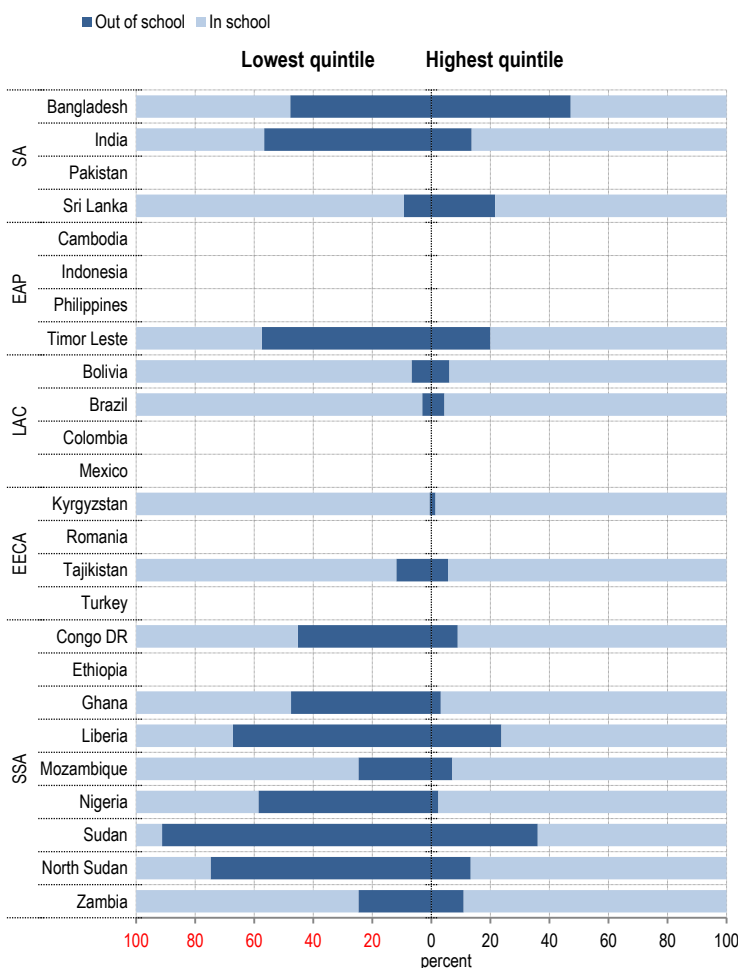
**Figure 11. Involvement of child labour, 7-14 years age group, by income quintile and country**



Source: See Figure 1.

Household income not only affects children’s risk of child labour but also the extent to which child labour is associated with denied education in the sample countries. **Figure 12**, which reports how the child labour population is divided between those attending school and those out of school, illustrates this point. Child labourers from lowest income households (left side of graph) are much more likely to be out of school than child labourers from highest income households (right side of graph) in all but two of the sample countries (Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are the exceptions).

**Figure 12. Distribution of child labourers, 7-14 years age group, by schooling status, income quintile and country**



Source: See Figure 1.

There is also a negative correlation between child labour and the education level of the household head in all 23 sample countries where data on household head education are available. In other words, higher levels of household education are associated with lower levels of child labour (**Table 2**). This can be in part the product of a disguised income effect: more educated household heads also tend to be wealthier and therefore less in need of their children’s labour. It also may be that better educated households are more aware of the returns to education, and/or are in a better position to help their children exploit the earning potential acquired through education.



Household education, like household income not only affects children’s risk of child labour but also the risk of child labourers being out of school in the sample countries. As shown in **Table 3**, child labourers from poorly educated households are much more likely to be out of school than their counterparts from better-educated households.

**Table 2. Education of household head and involvement in child labour, 7-14 years age group, by country**

Region	Country	% children in child labour by household head education level			
		None	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Sub Saharan Africa	Zambia	38.9	35.7	24.6	13.1
	North Sudan	19.0*	9.1*	6.1*(a)	
	Sudan	23.8	8.2	7.9	8.8
	Nigeria	30.2	29.3	24.5	15.8
	Mozambique	29.4*	26.8*	11.3*(a)	
	Liberia	24.0	29.3	23.6	16.5
	Ghana	45.5*	31.9*	9.9*(a)	
	Ethiopia	61.0	55.2	28.1(a)	
Congo DR	26.2	26.5	20.2	7.7	
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	Turkey	--	--	--	--
	Tajikistan	19.1*	10.7*	12.6*	8.6*
	Romania	--	--	--	--
	Kyrgyzstan	37.6	28.2	32.0	21.5
Latin America and Caribbean	Mexico	12.1	8.0	4.5	3.5
	Colombia	5.6	5.0	1.9	1.5
	Brazil	9.5	6.3	3.4	1.4
	Bolivia	44.7	35.9	17.1	9.7
East Asia and Pacific	Timor Leste	20.0	17.8	14.0	10.8
	Philippines	12.6	9.2	5.7	4.3
	Indonesia	10.3	5.1	3.9	2.7
	Cambodia	12.4	10.7	8.5	2.7
South Asia	Sri Lanka	11.5	11.2	8.4(a)	
	Pakistan	20.6	9.9	4.3	2.4
	India	16.4	14.1	11.0	7.2
	Bangladesh	11.7	9.1	7.4	4.9

**Notes:** <sup>(r)</sup> Education of mother; <sup>(a)</sup> Secondary and tertiary education.

**Table 3. Education of household head and denied schooling, 7-14 years age group by country**

Region	Country	% of child labourers who are out of school by household head education level			
		None	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Sub Saharan Africa	Zambia	39.1	19.8	12.2	5.7
	North Sudan	63.3*	29.2*	26.5*(a)	
	Sudan	80.4	38.2	31.9	24.3
	Nigeria	44.9	9.8	7.0	3.6
	Mozambique	23.4*	15.1*	4.8*(a)	
	Liberia	63.6	61.3	44.3	31.9
	Ghana	37.6*	17.2*	7.1*(a)	
	Ethiopia	75.3(a)	64.1(a)	41.3(a)	
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	Congo DR	48.6	35.9	22.3	21.2
	Turkey	--	--	--	--
	Tajikistan	70.7*	16.9*	6.3*	0.0*
	Romania	--	--	--	--
Latin America and Caribbean	Kyrgyzstan	4.1	3.7	0.8	0.2
	Mexico	41.6	28.7	7.2	3.0
	Colombia	47.5	32.5	16.8	3.2
	Brazil	6.7	3.9	1.8	2.8
East Asia and Pacific	Bolivia	11.2	6.4	2.5	1.9
	Timor Leste	46.6	28.0	20.3	2.5
	Philippines	39.2	23.5	10.0	8.2
	Indonesia	21.4	16.9	7.8	0.0
South Asia	Cambodia	42.8	21.1	7.9	0.0
	Sri Lanka	23.1(a)	12.8(a)	5.7(a)	
	Pakistan	90.5	83.4	76.5	68.2
	India	53.3	37.2	20.8	14.1
	Bangladesh	54.1	42.8	37.0	57.6

**Notes:** <sup>(\*)</sup> Education of mother; <sup>(a)</sup> Secondary and tertiary education.

## 7. Conclusion and recommendations

The empirical evidence from 25 countries in the previous sections underscores the important link between child labour and dimensions 2-5 of the Five Dimensions of Exclusion. Child labourers are more likely to be out of school, either due to drop-out or to non-entrance, evidence of the social cost of child labour in terms of foregone education. The likelihood of school non-attendance increases with the time intensity of child labour. Seen from the opposite perspective, out-of-school children are more likely to be child labourers than children attending school, suggestive of the role of child labour in pulling children from school. Both household income and household educational level are negatively correlated with child labour and school non-attendance.

These patterns, while not causal, are nonetheless suggestive of the need to invest in improved schooling, to mitigate poverty and household vulnerability, and to raise household awareness levels as part of a broader strategy against child labour and school non-attendance. The continued large number of out-of-school children also argues for investment in second chance education opportunities for those who are denied schooling. Each of these broad policy priorities is discussed in more detail below.

***Improving education access and quality, in order that families have the opportunity to invest in their children's education as an alternative to child labour, and that the returns to schooling make it worthwhile for them to do so.***

There is broad consensus that the single most effective way to prevent child labour is to extend and improve schooling as its logical alternative. Despite progress, ensuring that children have access to quality education remains a major challenge. We saw earlier that the share of children in the 7-14 years age range who are out of school is still alarmingly high in many countries, underscoring the distance that must still be travelled to reach universal enrolment. Reasons for being outside of school include factors relating to the school system itself (e.g. school distance and out-of-pocket costs) and of perceptions concerning its importance and relevance, underscoring the need to address the school access and quality issues influencing parents' decisions to enrol and keep their children in school.

Many families in outlying rural areas in particular are still not able to send their children to school because there is no school available or it is too far away. This underscores the importance of continued efforts towards public school expansion using needs-based criteria to ensure that the most disadvantaged and under-served groups are reached. Community schools that are integrated with the formal school system offer one model for reaching outlying rural communities with schooling in a cost-effective manner. Feedback from families also points to the importance of out-of-pocket costs as an access barrier, pointing to the need for measures such as the provision of educational materials (e.g. exercise books, pencils and uniforms) for free or at subsidized rates and for those who cannot afford them and the elimination of all formal and unofficial school fees.

A growing body of evidence<sup>7</sup> also indicates that incentive schemes that provide cash or in-kind subsidies to poor families conditional on school attendance offer another promising route to extending participation in school. Such schemes are particularly advanced in Latin America. These incentive schemes can increase schooling directly by providing poor families with additional resources as well as indirectly by compensating parents for the foregone economic product from their children's labour and thus reducing child work. The benefits of providing free school meals each day are also well-documented,<sup>8</sup> both as an incentive to keeping children in

school and as a means of ensuring are able to benefit fully from their time in the classroom. School meal programmes already exist in many countries, but they have been taken to scale in relatively few. Finally, measures are needed to address the special access barriers faced by female students; ensuring that curricula are gender sensitive, ensuring appropriate hygiene facilities and raising awareness of the importance of female education are all relevant in this context.

Improving access to schooling is essential but is only a part of the answer. There is also general need to improve school quality in order that schooling is seen by parents as a worthwhile alternative to child labour. Feedback from those out of school in Western Africa, for example, points to widespread perceptions of school being either unimportant or uninteresting, both suggestive of underlying quality concerns.<sup>9</sup> At present, schooling standards vary considerably across and within countries and quality is undermined by factors such as poor infrastructure, teacher shortages, inconsistent teaching standards and poor curriculum relevance.

There is an overarching need in many contexts for inclusive education strategies, including girl- and child-friendly schools, which are adaptive to and supportive of the differing learning needs of children. There is also a need to continue and intensify curriculum reform efforts aimed at ensuring that schooling is relevant and provides an appropriate foundation for higher level learning and skills acquisition. Introducing into curricula issues of relevance to children's lives, such as child labour, HIV/AIDS and other social concerns in an age-appropriate manner is especially important in this context. The promotion of good quality education also means the absence of bullying and corporal punishment, and the introduction of methods of learning that encourage questioning and children's participation rather than learning by rote.

***Providing second chance learning opportunities, in order to compensate for the adverse educational consequences of child labour.***

“Second chance” policies are needed to reach former working children and other out-of-school children with educational opportunities as part of broader efforts towards their social reintegration. They are critical to avoiding large numbers of children entering adulthood in a disadvantaged position, permanently harmed by early work experiences. Children with little or no schooling will be in a weak position in the labour market, at much greater risk of joining the ranks of the unemployed and the poor. If left alone, these children and youth are likely to be in need of other (more costly) remediation policies at a later stage of their life cycle. Second chance programmes are based on the premise that working children are often difficult to insert directly (back) into the formal education system because of their age, different life experiences and lack of familiarity with the school environment. Second chance education programmes offer out-of-school children a “bridge” to successful integration or (re-integration) in the formal school classroom.

Empirical evidence indicates that many students leave the system prior to the end of the compulsory education cycle and many of those out of school lack the minimum amount of school time considered by UNESCO as necessary for acquiring basic literacy skills. Programming experience points to two main options for reaching disadvantaged, out-of-school children with opportunities to ease their transition back to the formal school system: *mainstreaming*, providing returning children with special remedial support within the regular classroom context; and *“bridging” education*, involving separate intensive courses, delivered within or outside the formal school system, designed to raise academic proficiency prior to returning to the regular classroom. There are examples of both options already in place in the

many contexts, but these are mainly pilot scale efforts that need to be evaluated and, on this basis, progressively expanded to ultimately include all children in need.

***Expanding social protection to help prevent child labour from being used as a household survival strategy in the face of economic and social vulnerability.***

The empirical evidence presented above showed that lower levels of household income are associated with higher levels of child labour, and, among child labourers, with higher levels of school non-attendance. These results are consistent with a wide body of evidence indicating that child labour can be used by households as a coping strategy when faced with economic vulnerability or shocks. This in turn underscores the importance of social protection in mitigating the impact of vulnerability and shocks. Social protection coverage remains very low in many parts of the world. At present, for example, only an estimated one-fifth of all Africans benefit from some type of publicly provided social protection.<sup>10</sup> Those covered are typically limited to a small share of number of workers in the formal sector; the large number of people working in agriculture and in other informal sectors of the economy are largely excluded. At the same time, social and economic risks are growing in many parts of the world, owing to demographic trends, climate change, political instability, governance challenges, globalisation and a range of other factors, while traditional support systems to deal with these risks are breaking down.

In this context, establishing adequate social protection floors (SPFs) constitutes a critical priority, for efforts against child labour and educational marginalization and for broader poverty reduction and social development goals. The ILO Social Protection Floors Recommendation (No. 202) of 2012 provides a key framework for efforts in this regard. The Recommendation sets out that SPFs should contain basic social security guarantees that ensure that all in need can afford and have access to essential health care and have income security at least at a nationally defined minimum level over the life cycle.<sup>11</sup>

A wide range of policy measures are relevant in this context, including conditional and unconditional cash transfers, public employment schemes, schemes, family allowances, school feeding schemes, social health insurance, unemployment protection and old age pensions.<sup>12</sup> Developing and strengthening community-based social safety mechanisms will also be important. Micro health insurance plans, community savings groups, and micro-credit initiatives, should be promoted and expanded in this context, again building on existing pilot initiatives, and targeting especially poorest households, agricultural households and other unserved groups. Small-scale mutual health organisations (MHOs) and community health organisation (CHOs) have been gaining momentum in this context in countries such as Benin, Ghana, Mali and Senegal as a means for communities to provide their own health insurance, although the coverage of these efforts remains low, especially among the poor who need them most.<sup>13</sup>

Ensuring the social protection floors reach the specific groups of children most at risk of child labour generally, and of worst forms of child labour in particular, should be a particular priority. Especially vulnerable groups include children orphaned or affected by HIV/AIDS, other children without parental care, children from marginalised ethnic minorities and indigenous groups, children affected by migration and other socially- or economically-excluded persons. The special circumstances that make these groups more vulnerable to child labour need to be given particular attention in the design, implementation and monitoring of social protection schemes.

***Awareness raising, to build a broad-based consensus for change.***

The evidence presented above pointed to a strong negative correlation between child labour and the education level of the household head. In other words, higher levels of household education are consistently associated with lower levels of child labour. This is turn suggestive of the importance of awareness raising as part of efforts against child labour and educational marginalization. Child labour is a clear example in which both social norms and economic considerations are important, and awareness raising efforts need to be designed with this in mind. Households require information concerning the costs or dangers of child labour and benefits of schooling in order to make informed decisions on their children's time allocation. Cultural attitudes and perceptions can also direct household decisions concerning children's schooling and child labour, and therefore should also be targeted in strategic communication efforts.

Communication efforts are needed at both national and local levels. A mix of conventional (e.g. radio, television and print media) as well as of non-conventional communication channels (e.g. religious leaders, school teachers, health care workers, chiefs and other opinion-formers) is important in order to achieve maximum outreach. Additional baseline information on local knowledge and cultural attitudes towards child labour is needed to tailor communication messages, and to evaluate changes in awareness and attitudes following communication activities. The urgent need to address worst forms of child labour, including child trafficking and child commercial sexual exploitation, should be a particular focus of communication efforts. The importance of birth registration is another important communication message. Providing information on national child labour legislation, presented in terms that are understandable to the populations and communities concerned, is a third communication priority.

***Improving the evidence base, to inform policy design and to ensure the effective targeting of interventions.***

The evidence presented above made clear the negative relationship between child labour and schooling, but beyond this general pattern many questions concerning the nature of the relationship between work involvement and education remain unanswered in the research literature. There is a specific need to open the "black box" of child labour, and look more closely at the effect of different forms of work on enrolling and staying in school. For example, a lot can be potentially learned by looking at the factors underlying the large cross-country variation in terms of the ability of child labourers to combine school and work, and in particular by looking at the extent to which these differences are institutional- or policy-related.

Research questions of particular relevance for identifying forms of work most disruptive of schooling as well as for designing policies aimed at making schooling and (benign) work more compatible include the following:

- (a) *work setting and schooling*: the degree to which work performed within a family setting is less disruptive to schooling than work performed outside the family environment;
- (b) *work intensity and schooling*: the degree to which schooling is only compromised by work performed beyond a particular daily or weekly hours threshold (i.e., whether it is work *per se* or only work performed intensively that is detrimental to schooling);
- (c) *work type and schooling*: the extent to which certain types of children's productive activity by their nature are more damaging to school attendance and performance than others;

- (d) *interplay among work characteristics*: the relative importance of different work characteristics (setting, intensity, type, etc.) in influencing schooling attendance and performance, and the interplay among work characteristics;
- (e) *work and learning achievement*: how work generally, and specific work conditions, affect the ability of working students to perform in the classroom;
- (f) *innate ability, work and schooling*: the extent to which a child is a poor student because s/he works, or alternatively works because s/he is a poor student; and
- (g) *cross-country variation in terms of how work effects schooling*: reasons for the large differences across countries in terms of the ability of working children to attend and perform in school.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> ILO-IPEC. *Marking progress against child labour - Global estimates and trends 2000-2012* / International Labour Office, International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) - Geneva: ILO, 2013.

<sup>2</sup> See Biggeri, M. et al (2003). The puzzle of 'idle' children: neither in school nor performing economic activity: evidence from six countries. UCW working paper, at [www.ucw-project.org](http://www.ucw-project.org)

<sup>3</sup> We estimate a linear probability model of school non-attendance on working hours.

<sup>4</sup> Our estimates are potentially subject to sample selection bias because we do not observe the number of hours worked for non-working children. The estimates are based on the subset of children aged 7-14 years who are engaged in employment or/and household chores. The sample of working children may not be a random sample of the total population of 7-14 year-olds. For example, parents may send to school only the children who have a higher innate ability, while they keep at home the others and engage them in household chores or send them to work outside the household. If this is the case, our estimate of the effect of working hours on the probability of attending school might be upward biased. In this case our estimates can be applied only to the subset of children who log some hours of work in employment or/and in household chores. However, this is not a concern for us as we are only interested in the relationship between hours in work and school non-attendance for the sample of working children and not on the *potential* impact of working hours on school non-attendance of all the 7-14 years old children.

<sup>5</sup> For a more complete discussion of this point, see Kovrova I., Lyon S. and Ranzani M., *Unpaid household services and child labour*. Draft UCW Working Paper, May 2012.

<sup>6</sup> There can be exceptions to this negative correlation, however: households with land holdings, for example, may have greater need of their children's labour to work the land.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, de Hoop, Jacobus and Rosati, Furio, *The complex effects of public policy on child labour*. UCW Working Paper, Rome 2013.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Edström et al. (2008), Ahmed (2002), Lazamaniah et al. (1999), Simeon et al. (1989), Jacoby et al. (1996), as cited in World Food Programme (2009). *WFP School Feeding Policy. Policy Issues*. Executive Board, Second Regular Session, Rome, 9–13 November 2009 (doc. WFP/EB.2/2009/4-A). .

<sup>9</sup> ILO and UCW (forthcoming). *The twin challenges of child labour and educational marginalisation in the ECOWAS region - An overview*. UCW working paper, Rome 2014.

<sup>10</sup> World Bank, Social Protection Atlas.

<sup>11</sup> ILO, 2011. *Resolution and conclusions concerning the recurrent discussion on social protection (social security)*, International Labour Conference, 100th Session, Geneva, 2011, in Record of Proceedings (Geneva, 2011), No. 24: Report of the Committee for the Recurrent Discussion on Social Protection.2011b, paras. 4 and 5.

<sup>12</sup> For a detailed discussion of this point, see *World report on child labour: Economic vulnerability, social protection and the fight against child labour* / International Labour Office. - Geneva: ILO, 2013. ISBN 978-92-2-126234-3 (print); 978-92-2-126235-0 (web pdf).

<sup>13</sup> UNICEF, Strengthening Social Protection for Children in West and Central Africa. Report Thematic Report I. UNICEF Regional Office for West and Central Africa, February 2009.