HOW SENSITIVE ARE ESTIMATES OF WORKING CHILDREN AND CHILD LABOUR TO DEFINITIONS?

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

MICS METHODOLOGICAL PAPERS

Paper No. 1, 2012

Statistics and Monitoring Section,
Division of Policy and Strategy

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Meltem Dayıoğlu

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About MICS

MICS is an international household survey programme developed by UNICEF to help countries collect and analyse data to monitor the well-being of children and their families.

MICS data are gathered during face-to-face interviews in representative samples of households, generating one of the world's largest sources of statistical information for many low- and middle-income countries. MICS surveys are typically carried out by government organizations, with technical and financial support from UNICEF and its partner agencies.

Since the mid-1990s, MICS has enabled more than 100 countries to produce statistically sound and internationally comparable estimates of a range of indicators in the areas of health, education, child protection, and HIV/AIDS. MICS provides data that can also be disaggregated by various geographical, social, and demographic characteristics.

As of 2012, four rounds of surveys have been conducted: MICS1 (1995), MICS2 (2000), MICS3 (2005–2007), and MICS4 (2009–2012). The fifth round of MICS (MICS5) is scheduled to take place in 2012–2014.

MICS results, including national reports and micro level data sets, are provided free of charge as they become available at www.childinfo.org, UNICEF's dedicated website on monitoring the situation of children and women. MICS Compiler, a simple web-based tool (available at www.micscompiler.org) also provides easy access to MICS results, which can be displayed in the form of graphs, tables, and maps.

About the MICS Methodological Papers

MICS Methodological Papers are intended to facilitate exchange of knowledge and to stimulate discussion on the methodological issues related to the collection, analysis, and dissemination of MICS data; in particular, the papers document the background methodological work undertaken for the development of new MICS indicators, modules, and analyses.

The findings, interpretations, and conclusions do not necessarily reflect the policies or view of UNICEF.

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Contents

Acronyms

CLS	Child Labour Surveys
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DHS	Demographic and Health Surveys
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statisticians
ILO	International Labour Organization
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys
RCL	Resolution concerning statistics of child labour
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
SNA	UN System of National Accounts
UHS	Unpaid household services

1 Executive summary

An increase in the types of data gathering on child labour in the past decade has been accompanied by a worrying divergence in estimates on the scale of this challenge to children's rights and well-being. Numerous surveys, from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) to Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) and Child Labour Surveys (CLS), are now generating varied estimates of child labour. The possible explanations for these variations include differences in how child employment and child labour are defined, the timing of the surveys, and, very importantly, the characteristics of the surveys themselves, such as the questionnaires used, methods used by interviewers, the details covered, and the ways in which data are processed.

Diverging estimates of child labour could, to some extent, be smoothed out if existing international standards on employment and child labour were applied to these surveys. This would help establish a uniform definition of child employment and child labour and inform appropriate changes to the survey questionnaires.

This study aims to contribute to the development of a new child labour module that will be in line with international standards on the measurement of employment and child labour. Once finalized and tested, the new module is intended to be part of MICS standard questionnaires, but it will also have the potential to be used in similar household surveys that aim to gather data on child labour.

The analyses rely on data from the Child Labour Surveys of the International Labour Organization's Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (ILO-SIMPOC), which helps countries to collect information on working children. The ILO-SIMPOC model child labour questionnaire was developed on the basis of the ILO Conventions No. 138 on Minimum Age for Admission to Employment (1973) and No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999).

The primary aims of the CLS model questionnaire include the measurement of the prevalence of employment among children and of child labour. However, it does this through a set of 56 employment-related questions. MICS, with its multiple goals and topics, has a far more concise child labour module. The challenge, therefore, is to harmonize the child labour module of MICS with international standards and ILO Conventions 138 and 182, while recognizing that the MICS child labour module needs to be considerably shorter than the one used for the CLS. With these objectives in mind, a simplified version of the SIMPOC child labour questionnaire was drafted by ILO and submitted to UNICEF for consideration and review (Appendix 1).

Drawing on case studies from eight countries (Azerbaijan, Benin, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Madagascar, Moldova, Peru, and Senegal), this report analyses three main areas of the child labour questionnaire proposed by ILO-SIMPOC:

- employment questions to measure working children;
- questions on possible hazards children face at work; and
- questions on unpaid household activities.

The aim is to assess:

- the sensitivity of estimates of working children to employment questions;
- the sensitivity of child labour estimates to hazardous work questions; and
- the sensitivity of child labour estimates to the choice of hours of unpaid household services deemed hazardous for children.

A gender- and age-sensitive perspective is used throughout, with the analyses disaggregated by age and sex across three age groups: 5–11-year-olds, 12–14-year-olds, and 15–17-year-olds.

Key findings

Sensitivity of estimates of working children to employment questions

The child labour module developed by ILO-SIMPOC for MICS consists of three main employment questions: (1) a general employment question, (2) a filter question that consists of nine economic activity questions, and (3) a second filter question on temporary absence from work.

The study reveals variation in the ability of the main survey question (i.e., whether or not a child is employed) to actually identify working children. While this question captured 94 per cent of working children in Jordan, this fell to just 39 per cent in Moldova. This may reflect, in part, the different economic structures of specific countries, and, therefore, the types of economic activities in which children are engaged. It may be that the 'capture rate' of the main employment question is higher when the work environment is more formal.[1] However, diverse capture rates among countries with similar economies, such as those where agriculture is the main employer, hint that other factors are also at play.

One issue may be varied perceptions of work and childhood. For example, the high capture rate in the three African case studies may be because agricultural work is common among children, is an important source of livelihood for their families, and is, therefore, more likely to be recognized as *work*. In countries like Moldova, however, where commercial agriculture is more widespread, work on the family farm may not be recognized as work for anyone – adult or child.

1 Capture rate refers to the proportion of working children identified by various employment questions. It is computed as the number of children identified as working by individual employment questions divided by the total number of children identified as working by all employment questions collectively.

Adult perceptions about the meaning of childhood itself also matter. In countries with high rates of school enrolment, such as Kyrgyzstan, schooling might be seen as children's main activity if much of their day is spent in the classroom. Working children may be seen as simply helping their families in their spare time. In countries with lower enrolment rates, including some countries in Africa, children's work is more likely to stand out as their primary activity and they are, therefore, classified as employed.

Another finding is that the first filter question on employment, which aims to capture children missed by the general employment question, adds significantly to child employment estimates. Among the economic activity questions that comprise the first filter, unpaid farm work, animal husbandry, and help in family business are the economic activities that are most often 'missed' by the main employment question. Fetching water and firewood were also common in a number of countries, but children engaged in these activities were often found to be involved in farm work. This study finds that replacing the first filter question with these (and sometimes fewer) activities resulted in a bias in child employment estimates of no more than 5 per cent, which corresponded to changes in the estimated child employment rate of only 1 or 2 percentage points in countries with child employment rates of around 30 to 40 per cent.

As a result of these findings, the study suggests a change to the main employment question for the MICS employment module, with interviewers adding an explanation of what is really meant by unpaid work – the most commonly encountered form of child employment, yet one that may not instantly be apparent to respondents. An explanation of this concept in one sentence, that it involves "helping out in family business or farm without pay," may help reduce the proportion of cases missed by the main employment question and, therefore, the need to go through the filter questions.

The main change to the employment questions involves the first filter. The suggestion is to re-formulate it by: (1) limiting the number of economic activity questions to be posed to the respondent to the most commonly encountered activities, and (2) re-ordering the economic activity questions, starting with the most common and ending with the least common and stopping at the first affirmative response. This re-formulation will reduce survey time by enabling a quick capture of the non-market activities of children. The exact wording of the questions and activities to be listed can be country-specific and determined upon the completion of the pilot survey preceding the application of MICS.

This study finds that the second filter question – on temporary absence from work – changes child employment estimates only marginally. In a few countries where this filter is found to add significantly to child employment estimates, it may be capturing children who are seasonally employed. The suggested change to this question is to spell out what is meant by temporary absence, to distinguish it from seasonal work.

■ *Sensitivity of child labour estimates to hazardous work questions*

The child labour module developed by ILO-SIMPOC for MICS identifies the child labour status of children using information on their age, employment status, hours of work, and 20 additional questions that solicit information about their sector of economic activity, the occupation they follow, and their working conditions.

The study finds that underage working children (i.e., children who are not allowed to work even for one hour per week) and those engaged in excessive hours of work for their age constitute a sizeable proportion of child labourers that varies from 45.3 per cent in Moldova to 93 per cent in Madagascar.

Naturally, the higher the minimum age set for entrance to employment and the lower the permissible hours of work, the higher the prevalence of child labour and the share of these two groups among child labourers. But there is wide variation in these two thresholds, with the minimum age before children are allowed to work in non-hazardous activities ranging from 12 to 15 years, and, for older children, a minimum threshold for permissible hours of work that ranges from 14 to 43 hours across the eight countries. There does not seem to be any general agreement on what the maximum allowable hours by age should be, beyond the 14-hour recommendation of ILO for 12–14-year-olds (light work) and 43 hours for older children.

After accounting for underage children and those who work excessively long hours for their age, the remaining child labourers are captured to a large extent by questions on working conditions. Here, the general conclusion is that four to five questions are enough to capture the overwhelming majority of children working under hazardous conditions. When it comes to children working in hazardous economic activities and occupations, the general conclusion is that questions on their conditions of work usually do a good job of capturing children in both areas. As a result, omitting questions on economic activities and occupations leads to a bias in child labour estimates, that varies between 1 and 5 per cent. The sensitivity analyses disaggregated by sex produce similar results, so the same set of work-related questions should be able to capture both groups effectively without introducing a gender bias to the estimates.

Therefore, if the whole purpose of the child labour module in MICS is to estimate the prevalence of child labour and changes in prevalence over time, rather than produce a full description of the risks faced by children, one strategy would be to list potential work hazards in order, starting with those observed most frequently and moving on to those observed least frequently, and stopping at the first affirmative response received. The survey time can be reduced further by only asking children of 12 years and older about workplace hazards.

Asking just five questions should be able to capture nearly all child labourers working under hazardous conditions. These would ask whether a child:

- "carries heavy loads at work";
- "works with dangerous tools or operates heavy machinery";
- is "exposed to dust/fumes/gas";
- is "exposed to extreme cold/heat/humidity"; or
- is "exposed to loud noise or vibration."

The first risk ("carries heavy loads at work") alone accounts for one-third to half of child labourers working under hazardous conditions (excluding hazardous industries and occupations), so the interview time is greatly reduced after the first couple of hazards are addressed. In essence, the survey could end after the first hazard question for about half of the working children.

The sensitivity analyses across the eight countries have shown that, in general, after accounting for children's working conditions, hazardous occupations and economic activities have only a minimal impact on child labour estimates, given the high correlation between hazardous occupations and economic activities and unfavourable working conditions.

The working conditions of children, the type of economic activity in which they are engaged, and the occupation they hold provide complementary information on working children and a basis on which to judge the potential harm that work inflicts upon them. This is the ideal situation. But if a choice must be made between collecting information on children's working conditions and the economic activity and/or occupation in which they are engaged, and if the aim is to generate a child labour estimate, the sensitivity analyses in this section suggest that information on working conditions is the priority.

Sensitivity of child labour estimates to the choice of hours of unpaid household services deemed hazardous for children

The inclusion of hazardous unpaid household services (UHS) in child labour has produced very different results across countries. Using a 20-hour threshold to demarcate hazardous UHS, the child labour estimates increase by as little as 1.4 per cent in Benin and as much as 102 per cent in Senegal.

The variation can be explained by three factors: (1) the size of the household sector i.e., the amount of activity that goes on within the household by and for household members, (2) the degree of overlap between UHS and economic activities, and (3) the overall size of child labour. Countries that boast low levels of child labour, such as Jordan, experience a big impact on their child labour estimates when UHS is factored in, even though the absolute change in the prevalence of child labour due to hazardous UHS might be low.

Above all, the inclusion of hazardous UHS within the definition of child labour has the greatest impact on child labour estimates for girls. Setting the threshold of hazardous UHS to 35 hours, for example, brings about a change in child labour estimates for boys that ranges from zero (in three of the eight countries) to 4.3 per cent in Azerbaijan. Even in Senegal, where UHS is widespread, the impact on the child labour estimate for boys is limited to 3 per cent.

In contrast, the inclusion of hazardous UHS does not only have a greater impact on child labour estimates for girls, but also generates a much bigger variation among countries, ranging from zero in Benin to a change of 133 per cent in Jordan.

The assumed substitution between UHS and economic activities is not, in general, borne out by the data. Based on the case studies in this report, it seems that children who are engaged in economic activities are also likely to engage in UHS.

Using a very simple framework we were able to add UHS hours to the working hours of employed children, so that children's total time input to all productive activities (whether economic or not) could be used to judge their child labour status. The impact of this exercise on child labour estimates is found to be generally low – not exceeding 5 per cent in most cases.

However, it did reach around 5 per cent in a number of countries and went as high as 12 per cent in Kyrgyzstan. But the impact is not gender neutral. While the additional increase in child labour as a result of working children's simultaneous involvement in UHS and economic activities ranges from zero to 9 per cent for boys, it ranges from zero to 16 per cent for girls.

In summary, we have observed that child labour estimates are quite sensitive to the inclusion of hazardous UHS. Clearly, more research needs to be done on the household sector to understand the nature of the work that goes on there, and its impact on key child outcomes.

Conclusions

On the basis of this comparative analysis across eight countries, we conclude that a general employment question does not produce an estimate that reflects the true prevalence of employment among children. Complementary questions are needed to probe respondents about aspects of children's activities that might not be readily recognized as work, such as unpaid economic work carried out in household establishments on family farms or in petty trade. Although filter questions increase the survey time, four or five questions are enough to capture the overwhelming majority of children missed by the general employment question, and a careful arrangement of these questions can save valuable survey time and improve survey quality.

Second, survey questions that establish the hazards children face at work are important to identify child labourers. Again, rather than having a long list of workplace hazards and risks, five to six risk-related questions would be enough to identify child labourers, and valuable survey time can be saved by eliminating children who are underage.

Finally, child labour estimates are sensitive to the inclusion of hazardous unpaid household services. The higher the threshold of hours that distinguishes between hazardous and non-hazardous UHS and the lower the prevalence of child labour, the greater the change in child labour estimates. In addition, child labour estimates for girls are especially sensitive to definitional changes in UHS. Therefore, including hazardous UHS in the definition of child labour and the selection of the working-hours threshold that signals hazardous UHS would change not only the level of child labour but its gender composition. Given that hazardous economic work and hazardous UHS are likely to require different interventions, it is important that child labour estimates can be broken down to identify components that result from economic activities and those that stem from unpaid household services.

2 Background

An increase in the types of data gathering on child labour in the past decade has generated a variety of estimates on the scale of this challenge to children's rights and well-being.

Guarcello et al. (2009) find that estimates vary widely, depending on the type of survey used, when comparing child labour estimates for 35 countries where at least two surveys have been conducted. In Bangladesh, for example, the 2004 Demographic and Health Survey estimated the prevalence of child employment at 11.2 per cent, while 2002/2003 estimates by the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour put the prevalence rate at 26.1 per cent – a difference of almost 15 percentage points (Guarcello et al., 2009, Table 1, p.10). In Senegal, the difference between the estimates provided by DHS-2006 and SIMPOC-2005 is only slightly smaller at 12.9 percentage points. In Kenya, however, the gap between the second round of the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys and SIMPOC reaches 36 percentage points, even though these two surveys, which form the basis of the employment estimates, were carried out only one year apart.

The possible explanations for such wide variations include differences in definitions, survey instruments, and the timing of surveys (with results skewed by seasonal child employment), as well as other factors related to training and survey methodology.

It is, however, possible to eliminate some of the differences in estimates that originate from survey questionnaires. International standards that already exist on the measurement of employment and child labour could inform appropriate changes to the structure of the survey questionnaire.

This study aims to contribute to the development of a new child labour module, which will be in line with international standards on the measurement of employment and child labour to the greatest extent possible. Once finalized and tested, the new module is intended to be part of MICS standard questionnaires, but it will also have the potential for use in similar household surveys that aim to gather data on child labour.

MICS collect data on child labour to assess the situation and the progress made globally as well as by individual countries on children's rights as per the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).[2] To this end, the MICS standard questionnaire[3] collects information on children's involvement in economic activities and in unpaid household services and the standard MICS indicator

2 Article 19 of the UNCRC calls for the protection of children from violence, exploitation, and abuse.

3 Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys started collecting data on child labour during MICS2, conducted mainly in 2000. Some modifications to the original MICS2 module for child labour were introduced for MICS3 (2005–2007) and again for MICS4 (2009–2011). This report refers to the MICS4 version of the module and indicator for child labour (Appendix 2).

AFGHANISTAN Juma Khan, 12, and Sabor Gul, 9, work in a brick factory on the outskirts of the city of Bamyan in the central Bamyan Province. Both children attend a UNICEF-supported school, and work for occasional pocket money to buy candies or snacks.

defines child labour by age and activity. More specifically, child labour in the existing MICS is defined to include 5–11-year-olds engaged in economic activities even for one hour per week, 12–14-year-olds who are engaged in economic activities for 14 hours or more per week, and those who carry out unpaid household services for 28 hours or more per week.

The MICS child labour module does not collect information on 15–17-year-olds. The main concern with the MICS questionnaire as it stands is not so much that it misses older children, which can be easily remedied, but that it is not fully consistent with the international standards on the measurement of employment and child labour. The motivation for this study is, therefore, to align MICS more closely with international standards and, in the process, generate data that are better able to track the well-being of children.

Another important source for child labour statistics is the Child Labour Surveys of the International Labour Organization. ILO-SIMPOC helps countries to collect information on working children. Its model child labour questionnaire is based on ILO Conventions No. 138 on Minimum Age for Admission to Employment (1973) and No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999) and covers 5–17-year-olds. However, despite the broad definition of child labour provided by these two conventions, no specific operational definition of child labour exists – a result of their provisions for national legislation. As a result, and as discussed in this study, the definition of child labour that is used to calculate child labour estimates differs markedly among countries.

In 2007, following a comprehensive and critical review of its existing CLS questionnaire, SIMPOC formulated a new questionnaire that, unlike MICS, has one single goal: to measure the prevalence of work among children and of child labour. This allows it to go into great detail. MICS, with its multiple goals and topics, has a child labour module that is considerably shorter. Many developing countries have now adopted the new model CLS questionnaire as their main survey instrument. The challenge is to harmonize the child labour module of MICS with international standards and ILO Conventions 138 and 182, while recognizing that the MICS child labour module needs to be considerably shorter than the CLS questionnaire.

Following a technical consultation between ILO and UNICEF on the measurement of child labour in October 2010, a simplified version of the SIMPOC child labour questionnaire has been proposed by ILO to replace the MICS questionnaire (Appendix 1). However, even this greatly shortened questionnaire includes a total of 56 questions (counting each option that needs to be posed to the respondent as a separate question), which far exceeds the eight questions used in MICS (Appendix 2). Furthermore, the structure of certain questions that require significant customization and off-field data entry, such as open-ended questions on industry and occupations,[4] poses a challenge for MICS as this requires a change in survey strategy.

The technical consultation agreed that further work is needed to develop a more concise questionnaire that fits with the current survey strategy of MICS while being capable of approximating the scale of child labour in a manner that is more in line with existing international standards.

This report is one step in that direction. It analyses three main areas of the child labour questionnaire proposed by ILO-SIMPOC:

- employment questions to measure working children;
- questions on possible hazards children face at work; and
- questions on unpaid household activities.

The aim is to assess:

- the sensitivity of estimates of working children to employment questions;
- the sensitivity of child labour estimates to hazardous work questions; and
- the sensitivity of child labour estimates to the choice of hours of unpaid household services deemed hazardous for children.

A gender- and age-sensitive perspective is used throughout, with the analyses disaggregated by age and sex. Three age groups are analysed: 5–11-year-olds, 12–14-year-olds, and 15–17-year-olds in eight countries: Azerbaijan, Benin, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Madagascar, Moldova, Peru, and Senegal. These countries, with the exception of Madagascar and Senegal, are among those that have adopted the new SIMPOC questionnaire. They have been selected to include countries that reflect the diversity of child labour.

4 For industry and occupations, international codes exist that can be used by countries at the coding stage. Nonetheless, they require that coding is done at a later stage. The survey strategy of MICS is to minimize off-field data entry.

2.1 Data

The data used in this report come from child labour surveys in the eight case-study countries. They have all been conducted by national statistical institutes with the financial and technical assistance of ILO-SIMPOC. The surveys are similar in that they follow similar methodologies and survey instruments in measuring child labour.

ILO-SIMPOC has developed two main household questionnaires that can be adopted by countries to measure child labour. One set is designed as a stand-alone survey that has one aim – to measure and understand child labour – while the other is designed to be integrated into any variety of household-based surveys conducted on a regular basis. Stand-alone surveys consist of two main parts: (1) a set of questions posed to an adult household member about children's activities and (2) a set of questions posed directly to children to gather data about their time-use and conditions of work, among other things. Integrated surveys, on the other hand, only include questions asked of adult respondents.

The end products of both types of surveys are large micro-data sets that not only provide child labour estimates but also detailed information on the working conditions of children. Where possible, this study draws on the responses provided by adults, in line with the methodology of MICS, which gathers information only from adult respondents. However, the responses of children are also used in relation to child labour estimations, as information on their working conditions is collected only from children for SIMPOC's CLS.

Table 2.1 shows the type of child labour survey employed by the eight countries under study and the year in which the surveys were carried out. With the exceptions of Azerbaijan and Moldova, most of the data used in this study come from stand-alone surveys.

TABLE 2.1 **Child labour surveys by country**

Country	Type	Year
Azerbaijan	Integrated	2005
Benin	Stand-alone	2008
Jordan	Stand-alone	2007
Kyrgyzstan	Stand-alone	2006
Madagascar	Stand-alone	2007
Moldova	Integrated	2009
Peru	Stand-alone	2007
Senegal	Stand-alone	2005

Data sets and relevant documentation can be downloaded from ILO-SIMPOC's web data base at: http://www.ilo.org/ipec/ChildlabourstatisticsSIMPOC/Questionnairessurveysandreports/lang--en/index.htm.

3

Sensitivity of estimates of working children to questions on employment

The first step in identifying child labourers involves the identification of working children. Children are defined as working (and therefore, referred to as *children in employment* or *working children*) if they worked in the reference period for at least one hour or if they had a job or business from which they were temporarily absent.

The concept of work involves economic activities, which are defined within the framework of the UN System of National Accounts (SNA). Any activity that falls within the production boundary of SNA is considered economic and, therefore, as work. This boundary covers all market production and certain types of non-market production, including production and processing of primary products for one's own consumption, construction for one's self, and other production of fixed assets for one's own use.

Whether the activity takes place in the formal or the informal sector, in urban or rural areas, or whether it is paid or not is of no significance. However, unpaid household services rendered within the household by and for household members are excluded from this definition of work, with the exception of a few activities that include major household repairs, fetching water, and collecting firewood.

The ILO-SIMPOC model questionnaire identifies working children on the basis of three questions shown in Box 3.1. The first question, *"Did (name) engage in any work for at least one hour during the past week?,"* asks the parent/guardian of the child in broad terms whether the child carried out any work in the reference week as a regular or casual employee, on their own account or as an unpaid family worker.

This is followed by the two filter questions. The first focuses on employment and is posed only in the event of a "no" to the main employment question. The filter question includes a series of economic activities such as "help in family business," "cultivate or harvest agricultural products for own consumption," and "fetch firewood/water." The rationale behind the filter question is to capture forms of work that might be missed by respondents who may fail to recognize such activities – which are often non-market activities – as work. One drawback of the filter question is that it increases survey time, with the respondent being probed separately for each activity listed in the filter question.

While some countries stop at the first affirmative response, the procedure in others is to carry on, asking about all the economic activities listed in the questionnaire. While this increases the survey time, it does provide additional information on activities missed by the general question. We exploit this feature of data sets to gain a better understanding of the economic activities that are most frequently 'missed.'

The second filter question is about temporary absence from work. Given that the respondent may consider a child who is temporarily away from work as not employed, respondents who said "no" to the first two employment questions are asked this final filter question. In sum, the SIMPOC model questionnaire (suggested for adoption) establishes the employment status of the child on the basis of 11 questions.

BOX 3.1 **EMPLOYMENT QUESTIONS IN THE SIMPOC MODEL QUESTIONNAIRE**

1. Did (name) engage in any work for at least one hour during the past week?
(As regular or casual employee, self-employed, employer, or unpaid family worker)
a. Yes
b. No

2. During the past week, did (name) do any of the following activities, even for only one hour?
(Read each of the following questions and mark/circle the appropriate codes for all affirmative responses obtained.)

a. Run or do any kind of business, big or small, for himself/herself or with one or more partners (Examples: selling things, making things for sale, repairing things, guarding car, hairdressing, crèche business, transportation of passengers or goods, etc.)	**Yes**	**No**
b. Do any work for a wage, salary, commission, or any payment in kind (excl. domestic work) (Examples: a regular job, contract, casual or piece work for pay, work in exchange for food or housing)	**Yes**	**No**
c. Do any work as a domestic worker for a wage, salary, or any payment in kind	**Yes**	**No**
d. Help unpaid in a household business of any kind (excl. housework) (Examples: Helping to sell things, making things for sale or exchange, doing the accounts, cleaning up for the business, doing any construction or major repair work on his/her business or those of the household, etc.)	**Yes**	**No**
e. Do any work or help on his/her own or the household's plot, farm, or food garden (Examples: growing farm produce, plugging, harvesting, looking after animals)	**Yes**	**No**
f. Do any construction or major repair work on his/her own home or plot	**Yes**	**No**
g. Catch any fish, prawns, shells, wild animals, or other food for sale or household use	**Yes**	**No**
h. Fetch water or collect firewood for household use	**Yes**	**No**
i. Produce any other good for this household use (Examples: clothing, furniture, clay pots, etc.)	**Yes**	**No**

3. Even if (name) was not working since last (day of the week), did (name) have a job, business, or enterprise from which (name) was temporarily absent that (name) will return to? (For agricultural activities, the off-season is not a temporary absence.)
a. Yes
b. No

Notes: This is an excerpt from the CLS questionnaire suggested for MICS. For ease of presentation it is shown in a format that differs slightly from that shown in Appendix 1.

This section of the report aims to evaluate the sensitivity of the child employment estimates to the two filter questions explained above. Naturally, countries that carry out child labour surveys adapt the model SIMPOC questionnaire to meet their needs. Therefore, the exact wording of the filter questions – especially on the temporary absence of a child from work – may differ from country to country. A separate analysis is now provided for each country, followed by a synthesis of the findings.

3.1 Azerbaijan

The employment rate among children in Azerbaijan is estimated at 7.5 per cent. The prevalence of work among boys is slightly higher, at 8.5 per cent, than among girls (6.2 per cent). Findings from the main employment question put the employment rate at 4.4 per cent for boys and 3.1 per cent for girls. The first filter question on economic activity increases these rates by 4.1 percentage points for boys and 3.1 percentage points for girls. Hence, the main employment question and the first filter question each capture about half of the estimated working children, as shown in Table 3.1. The contribution of the second filter question on temporary absence from work is very small, increasing the overall rate by only 0.04 percentage points.

TABLE 3.1 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by sex: Azerbaijan**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	3.8 (51.1)	4.4 (51.4)	3.1 (49.8)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	3.6 (48.4)	4.1 (47.9)	3.1 (49.8)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	0.04 (0.5)	0.06 (0.7)	0.03 (0.5)
Prevalence of child employment	7.5 (100)	8.5 (100)	6.2 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

TABLE 3.2 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by age: Azerbaijan**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	1.3 (40.6)	3.0 (43.5)	9.1 (58.3)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	1.9 (59.4)	3.9 (56.5)	6.3 (40.4)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.2 (1.3)
Prevalence of child employment (capture rate)	3.2 (100)	6.9 (100)	15.6 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

Table 3.2 shows the contribution of employment questions to child employment by age. Based on the main employment question and two filter questions, the employment rate among 5–11-year-olds is found to be 3.2 per cent, with a higher rate among 12–14-year-olds at 6.9 per cent and among 15–17-year-olds at 15.6 per cent. The first filter question contributes more than the main employment question to the measurement of employment among the youngest two age groups. While the contribution of the first filter is about 60 per cent for those aged 5–11, it is 57 per cent for those aged 12–14. The first filter contributes less (by 40 per cent) among 15–17-year-olds, which is probably to do with the nature of work carried out by older children.

TABLE 3.3 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by sex: Azerbaijan**

Were you engaged for at least one hour in any of the following activities during the reference week for your own use or sale or for someone else?	All	Male	Female
Production of agricultural or fishery products	33.1	28.7	39.7
Graziery and breeding of your own or others' livestock	72.2	75.1	67.7
Preparation of food products, clothes, or handicrafts for sale	6.3	5.7	7.3
Sale of agricultural and food products, beverages, newspapers	0.8	1.3	0.0
Washing/ironing/cleaning/repairing of tools/equipment for payment in cash/in kind	0.2	0.0	0.5
Cleaning cars or shining shoes for others	0.6	0.6	0.5
Transportation of goods to market or for storage or other activities related to the transport of goods for sale	0.4	0.4	0.4
Construction, maintenance (repair) of buildings, repair of homes	0.1	0.1	0.0
Maintenance and repair of cars for others	0.4	0.6	0.0
Working with relatives and friends	0.7	1.1	0.0
Small trade	1.6	2.4	0.4
Other similar activities	0.4	0.6	0.0

Notes: Covers working children identified by the second filter question only. Multiple responses are allowed so that column totals may exceed 100 per cent.

When the activities of children identified by the first filter question are examined, agricultural and fishery work and livestock farming turn out to be the most common activities. While 33.1 per cent of working children are involved in the former, as shown in Table 3.3, 72.2 per cent are involved in the latter. Another frequent activity (for 6.3 per cent of children) is "preparation of food products, clothes, or handicrafts for sale." Analysed by sex, Table 3.3 shows that a larger proportion of girls is found to be involved in farming, while the opposite is the case for animal husbandry. These three activities also turn out to be important for children of different ages at varying degrees (Table 3.4). While agricultural work is more common among older children, animal husbandry is more common among those who are younger. Between 4 and 9 per cent of children are also involved in preparation of various commodities for sale.

TABLE 3.4 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by age: Azerbaijan**

Were you engaged for at least one hour in any of the following activities during the reference week for your own use or sale or for someone else?	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Production of agricultural or fishery products	31.1	24.5	39.4
Graziery and breeding of your own or others' livestock	80.8	79.9	63.0
Preparation of food products, clothes, or handicrafts for sale	9.3	4.3	6.0
Sale of agricultural and food products, beverages, newspapers	0.0	1.4	0.8
Washing/ironing/cleaning/repairing of tools/equipment payment in cash or in kind	0.0	0.7	0.0
Cleaning cars or shining shoes for others	0.0	1.4	0.4
Transportation of goods to market or for storage or other activities related to the transport of goods for sale	0.0	0.0	0.9
Construction, maintenance (repair) of buildings, repair of homes	0.0	0.0	0.2
Maintenance and repair of cars for others	0.0	0.0	0.8
Working with relatives and friends	0.0	0.6	1.1
Small trade	0.9	0.6	2.6
Other similar activities	0.9	0.0	0.4

Notes: Covers working children identified by the second filter question only. Multiple responses are allowed so that column totals may exceed 100 per cent.

TABLE 3.5 **Prevalence of child employment by filter questions and sex: Azerbaijan**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	3.8 (51.1)	4.4 (51.4)	3.1 (49.8)
Main employment question + agricultural work, animal husbandry* (capture rate)	7.2 (96.0)	8.1 (95.3)	6.1 (98.4)
Prevalence of child employment	7.5 (100)	8.5 (100)	6.2 (100)

*Notes: * refers to the first two activities in Table 3.3. The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.*

TABLE 3.6 **Prevalence of child employment by filter questions and age: Azerbaijan**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	1.3 (40.6)	3.0 (43.5)	9.1 (58.3)
Main employment question + agricultural work, animal husbandry* (capture rate)	3.1 (96.9)	6.8 (98.6)	14.8 (94.9)
Prevalence of child employment	3.2 (100)	6.9 (100)	15.6 (100)

*Notes: * refers to the first two activities in Table 3.3. The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.*

Tables 3.5 and 3.6 show how child employment estimates change when the first filter question is redefined to include agricultural work and animal husbandry only. These two activities alone are able to capture 45 per cent of working children. Together with the general employment question, they account for 96 per cent of working children overall: 95 per cent of boys and 98 per cent of girls.

Similar results are obtained when the same exercise is repeated for children of different ages. The main employment question, combined with the agricultural work and animal husbandry questions, accounts for 97 per cent of working children aged 5–11, 99 per cent of working children aged 12–14, and 95 per cent of those aged 15–17. These results indicate that children who are engaged in farming and animal husbandry are also likely to engage in other activities around the homestead, so that one or two questions that establish the involvement of children in such work is enough to capture the majority of working children missed by the general employment question.

3.2 Benin

The employment rate among children in Benin is estimated at 34 per cent. The employment rate among boys and girls is very similar, estimated at 33.5 per cent for boys and 34.7 per cent for girls. Even among the very young, the prevalence of work is rather high, at 29.5 per cent for 5–11-year-olds and at 39.1 per cent for those aged 12 to 14. The employment rate is even higher among those aged 15 to 17, at 45.2 per cent.

As shown in Table 3.7, the general employment question is able to capture about 84 per cent of working children (85 per cent of boys and 83 per cent of girls). The contribution of the first filter question (where the respondent is asked 13 economic activity questions) to the overall employment rate is 2.5 percentage points or 7.4 per cent. This rate is slightly higher among girls, at 8.1 per cent, as compared to 6.9 per cent among boys. The contribution of the second filter question (on temporary absence) is even higher: its contribution to the overall employment rate is 3 percentage points (or 8.8 per cent) – 2.9 percentage points (or 8.7 per cent) among boys and 3.2 percentage points (or 9.2 per cent) among girls.

TABLE 3.7 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by sex: Benin**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	28.5 (83.8)	28.3 (84.5)	28.7 (82.7)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	2.5 (7.4)	2.3 (6.9)	2.8 (8.1)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	3.0 (8.8)	2.9 (8.7)	3.2 (9.2)
Prevalence of child employment	34.0 (100)	33.5 (100)	34.7 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

TABLE 3.8 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by age: Benin**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	24.6 (83.4)	32.6 (83.4)	38.4 (85.0)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	2.4 (8.1)	3.1 (7.9)	2.1 (4.6)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	2.5 (8.5)	3.4 (8.7)	4.7 (10.4)
Prevalence of child employment	29.5 (100)	39.1 (100)	45.2 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

A similar sensitivity analysis by age (given in Table 3.8) also shows that the general employment question is able to capture a high percentage of the employed children. The capture rate is about 83 per cent among 5–11-year-olds and 12–14-year-olds and 85 per cent among 15–17-year-olds. The contribution of the first filter question to the overall employment rate is 2–3 percentage points, while the contribution of the second filter question on temporary absence is somewhat higher. The contribution of the latter is 2.5 percentage points among 5–11-year-olds, 3.4 percentage points among 12–14-year-olds, and 4.7 per cent among 15–17-year-olds.

Such high rates of temporary absence from work are surprising given that Benin has an agrarian economy. On closer examination, most children identified by the second filter question as being employed are found to work as unpaid family workers. Indeed, 94.9 per cent of 5–11-year-olds, 88.4 per cent of 12–14-year-olds, and 76.7 per cent of 15–17-year-olds who are identified as employed by the second filter question are found to be unpaid family workers (Table 3.9). It looks quite likely, therefore, that some of these children are, in fact, seasonally employed but are recorded as temporarily absent from work.

BENIN Daily life on the way to the village of Tchetti. Three children carry wood on their head.

TABLE 3.9 **Status in employment among children temporarily absent from work: Benin**

Status in employment (% distribution)	All	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Temporary wage worker	1.0	0.8	2.2	0.0
Own account worker	6.5	3.1	6.2	13.9
Unpaid family worker	89.0	94.9	88.4	76.7
Apprentice	3.6	1.1	3.2	9.5

An examination of the first filter question, on the other hand, reveals that the economic activities most often missed by the general employment question are those related to unpaid family work. Table 3.10 shows that 70.6 per cent of boys and 50.1 per cent of girls who are identified by the first filter question as employed are engaged in agricultural production for own consumption; 19.7 per cent of boys and 32.6 per cent of girls in carrying water/firewood for household use; 10 per cent of boys and 14.3 per cent of girls in preparing food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale; and 5.3 per cent of boys and 9 per cent of girls in petty trade. The activities discussed above also turn out to be the most commonly missed activities for the three age groups under study (Table 3.11).

TABLE 3.10 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by sex: Benin**

Were you engaged for at least one hour in any of the following activities during the reference week for your own use or sale or for someone else?	Total	Male	Female
Cultivating or harvesting agricultural products for sale/own consumption	59.8	70.6	50.1
Catching or gathering fish or seafood for sale/own consumption	1.9	0.9	2.8
Mining activities	0.4	0.9	0.0
Preparing food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale	12.3	10.0	14.3
Selling articles, newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products	7.3	5.3	9.0
Washing/cleaning clothes for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	0.4	0.9	0.0
Repairing tools or equipment for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	0.7	1.5	0.0
Cleaning cars and shining shoes for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	1.0	0.9	1.1
Transportation of goods to market or for storage or other activities related to the transport of goods for sale	1.7	2.5	1.0
Construction/maintenance of buildings/homes for someone else	0.4	0.9	0.0
Fetching firewood/water	26.5	19.7	32.6
Serving food/drinks in eatery/bar	0.8	0.9	0.7
Any other economic activity *(specify)*	3.5	3.8	3.2

Notes: Covers working children identified by the second filter question only. Multiple responses are allowed so that column totals may exceed 100 per cent.

TABLE 3.11 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by age: Benin**

Were you engaged for at least one hour in any of the following activities during the reference week for your own use or sale or for someone else?	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Cultivating or harvesting agricultural products for sale/own consumption	60.8	65.5	43.8
Catching or gathering fish or seafood for sale/own consumption	2.4	0.0	3.1
Mining activities	0.0	0.0	3.1
Preparing food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale	8.2	15.6	24.0
Selling articles, newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products	6.2	7.4	11.5
Washing/cleaning clothes for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	0.0	0.0	3.1
Repairing tools or equipment for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	0.0	1.0	3.1
Cleaning cars and shining shoes for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	1.0	0.0	3.1
Transportation of goods to market or for storage or other activities related to the transport of goods for sale	1.7	1.0	3.1
Construction/maintenance of buildings/homes for someone else	0.0	0.0	3.1
Fetching firewood/water	27.9	21.9	29.4
Serving food/drinks in eatery/bar	0.6	0.0	3.1
Any other economic activity *(specify)*	2.8	3.3	37.3

Notes: Covers working children identified by the second filter question only. Multiple responses are allowed so that column totals may exceed 100 per cent.

As mentioned above, the contribution of the first filter question, where the respondent is probed about the involvement of children in 13 different economic activities, to child employment estimates is 7 per cent. As also noted above, three or four of these 13 activities stand out as the main contributors to child employment estimates.

Table 3.12 shows how the child employment estimates change when the first filter question is modified to include only a small number of economic activities. The first exercise involves replacing the first filter question with the following four economic activities: "Cultivating or harvesting agricultural products for sale/own consumption"; "preparing food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale"; "selling articles, newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products"; and "fetching firewood/water."

The results of this exercise indicate that these four economic activities are able to capture almost all working children identified by the first filter: the estimated prevalence of child employment on the basis of the main employment question and these four economic activity questions is 30.9 per cent, which is almost exactly equal to the rate estimated on the basis of the main employment question and the 13 economic activity questions that make up the first filter (Table 3.12). Similar results are obtained for male and female children (Table 3.12) and for children of different ages (Table 3.13).

As additional exercises, we replace the first filter question with three economic activity questions that include "cultivating or harvesting agricultural products for sale/own consumption"; "preparing food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale"; and "selling articles, newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products." Naturally, the proportion of children estimated to work drops, but by no more than 0.6 percentage point as compared to the rate estimated on the basis of the main employment question and 13 economic activity questions. The drop among girls is slightly higher but, nonetheless, does not exceed 1 percentage point (Table 3.12). As a last exercise, the first filter is replaced by a single question on unpaid agricultural work. Again, the drop in the child employment estimates (overall, as well as for boys and girls and children of different ages) is not drastic: the highest drop (which is estimated for girls) is 1.4 percentage points as compared to the rate obtained when the main employment question and 13 economic activity questions are used to establish the child's employment status (Tables 3.12 and 3.13).

TABLE 3.12 **Prevalence of child employment by filter questions and sex: Benin**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	28.5 (83.8)	28.3 (84.5)	28.7 (82.7)
Main employment question + agricultural work, making and selling articles, fetching firewood/water (capture rate)	30.9 (90.9)	30.5 (91.0)	31.3 (90.2)
Main employment question + agricultural work, making and selling articles (capture rate)	30.4 (89.4)	30.2 (90.1)	30.7 (88.5)
Main employment question + agricultural work (capture rate)	30.0 (88.2)	29.9 (89.3)	30.1 (86.7)
Main employment question + 1st filter question (capture rate)	31.0 (91.2)	30.6 (91.3)	31.5 (90.8)
Prevalence of child employment	34.0 (100)	33.5 (100)	34.7 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

TABLE 3.13 **Prevalence of child employment by filter questions and age: Benin**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	24.6 (83.4)	32.6 (83.4)	38.4 (85.0)
Main employment question + agricultural work, making and selling articles, fetching firewood/water (capture rate)	26.8 (90.8)	35.6 (91.0)	40.5 (89.6)
Main employment question + agricultural work, making and selling articles (capture rate)	26.4 (89.5)	35.2 (90.0)	39.9 (88.3)
Main employment question + agricultural work (capture rate)	26.0 (88.1)	34.6 (88.5)	39.3 (86.9)
Main employment question + 1st filter question (capture rate)	27.0 (91.5)	35.7 (91.3)	40.5 (89.6)
Prevalence of child employment	29.5 (100)	39.1 (100)	45.2 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

3.3 Jordan

The prevalence of employment among children in Jordan is estimated at 1.8 per cent, as shown in Table 3.14 (the structure of the employment questions is exactly the same as in Box 3.1). The employment rate for boys, at 3.1 per cent, is substantially higher than for girls at 0.4 per cent. Interestingly, the main employment question is able to capture 94.4 per cent of working children (93.5 per cent of boys and almost all girls). Given that most working children in Jordan hold regular jobs, this is not, perhaps, a surprising outcome. Naturally, the greater the overlap in the work definitions of the investigator and the respondent, the smaller the number of unreported cases of working children.

TABLE 3.14 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by sex: Jordan**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	1.7 (94.4)	2.9 (93.5)	0.4 (97.5)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	0.1 (5.6)	0.2 (6.6)	0.0 (0.0)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	0.03 (1.7)	0.03 (1.0)	0.01 (2.5)
Prevalence of child employment (capture rate)	1.8 (100)	3.1 (100)	0.4 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

TABLE 3.15 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by age: Jordan**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	0.3 (100)	1.7 (89.5)	5.3 (94.6)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	0.0 (0.0)	0.2 (10.5)	0.2 (3.6)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	0.0 (0.0)	0.02 (1.1)	0.1 (1.8)
Prevalence of child employment	0.3 (100)	1.9 (100)	5.6 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

A similar analysis by age (Table 3.15) reveals a very low prevalence of work among 5–11-year-olds, which can be attributed to the absence of widespread home-based agricultural activities in Jordan. However, it is interesting to note that the main employment question is able to capture all working children in this age group. The capture rate is also quite high among

older children at nearly 90 per cent among 12–14-year-olds and 95 per cent among 15–17-year-olds. Hence, the first filter question captures about 10 per cent of the former and 4 per cent of the latter.

We could, once again, break down the first filter question to see the activities in which children missed by the general employment question are most likely to engage. However, the procedure followed in Jordan was to stop at the first affirmative response. The implication is that the order in which interviewers ask about economic activities affects the number of children reported to be engaged in those particular activities. Activities higher up in the list are more likely to be ticked. Therefore, the results given in Table 3.16, which shows the proportion of working children engaged in various activities, should be interpreted with caution. Notwithstanding this drawback, the results indicate that "help in household's farm/ garden" and "help in household business" are among the most commonly missed activities of children.

Among girls, the general work question is also likely to miss "work for a wage, salary, commission, or any payment in kind." While the former two questions are able to capture almost 80 per cent of working boys who would have been otherwise missed, the latter alone captures 70.8 per cent of working children missed by the general employment question. However, it must be noted that this distribution of economic activities is based on a small number of observed children (26 boys and five girls) and that this analysis is not, therefore, disaggregated by age. It should also be noted that the general employment question does a very good job of capturing the majority of working children.

TABLE 3.16 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities: Jordan**

During the past week, did you do any of the following activities, even for only one hour?	All	Male	Female
Run or do any kind of business, big or small, for yourself or with one or more partners	3.7	4.2	0.0
Do any work for a wage, salary, commission, or any payment in kind (excl. domestic work)	16.7	8.4	70.8
Do any work as a domestic worker for a wage, salary, or any payment in kind	6.7	7.7	0.0
Help unpaid in a household business of any kind	37.1	38.3	29.1
Do any work or help on your own or the household's plot, farm, food garden	35.9	41.4	-
Do any construction or major repair work on your own home, plot, business	-	-	-
Catch any fish, prawns, shells, wild animals, or other food for sale or household food	-	-	-
Fetch water or collect firewood for household use	-	-	-
Produce any other good for household use (Examples: clothing, furniture, clay pots, etc.)	-	-	-

Notes: The dash symbol used in the table indicates that the economic activity questions were not posed to the respondent.

3.4 Kyrgyzstan

Using a similar set of questions as in the model SIMPOC questionnaire, the prevalence of employment among children in Kyrgyzstan is found to be 37.5 per cent. This rate is somewhat higher among boys (39 per cent) than among girls (35.8 per cent), as shown in Table 3.17. Interestingly, while most working children are engaged in unpaid agricultural work for their households, the general employment question does a good job of capturing a significant proportion (76 per cent) of working children. Even so, the contribution of the first filter question, at 8.3 percentage points, is quite significant.

Although the first filter question adds about an equal proportion of boys and girls to the ranks of the employed, the impact of this question on employment rates of girls is slightly greater, given their lower overall employment rate. The contribution of the second filter question to child employment, while not insignificant, is substantially lower (adding only another 0.8 percentage points to the child employment rate).

TABLE 3.17 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by sex: Kyrgyzstan**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	28.4 (75.7)	29.7 (76.2)	27.0 (75.4)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	8.3 (22.1)	8.4 (21.5)	8.2 (22.9)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	0.8 (2.1)	0.9 (2.3)	0.6 (1.7)
Prevalence of child employment	37.5 (100)	39.0 (100)	35.8 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

TABLE 3.18 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by age: Kyrgyzstan**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	19.4 (77.3)	33.2 (74.6)	41.0 (75.6)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	5.6 (22.3)	10.5 (23.6)	11.3 (20.8)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	0.1 (0.4)	0.8 (1.8)	1.9 (3.5)
Prevalence of child employment	25.1 (100)	44.5 (100)	54.2 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

Table 3.18 looks at the ability of the main employment question to identify working children by age. Because the nature of work does not differ dramatically between older and younger children – essentially household-based agricultural work – the ability of the main employment question to identify employed children of different ages remains largely the same across age groups. While 77 per cent of employed 5–11-year-olds would have been captured by the main employment question, the corresponding rates among 12–14 and 15–17-year-olds are 75 and 76 per cent, respectively. As a result, the first filter question captures 22 per cent of working 5–11-year-olds, 24 per cent of 12–14-year-olds, and 21 per cent of 15–17-year-olds. The contribution of the second filter question is lower, especially in the case of the youngest age group.

Similarly to the procedure used in Jordan, interviewers that received an affirmative response to the first economic activity in the list within the first filter stopped short of asking about the child's involvement in the rest of the activities. As a result, the shares of working children engaged in various economic activities listed in Tables 3.19 and 3.20 should be treated with caution.

Even though "help in household's farm/garden" is listed as the fifth economic activity within the first filter question, 57.3 per cent of working boys and 35.2 per cent of working girls are found to be engaged in this activity. Likewise, despite the fact that the "fetch water/collect firewood" question is listed near the end of the list, 38.6 per cent of working boys and 61.7 per cent of working girls are found to be engaged in this activity. It is clear, therefore, that these two questions comprise the economic activities that are most commonly missed by the general employment question. These two activities also stand out when analysed in terms of age groups (Table 3.20). Indeed, 96.2 per cent of 5–11-year-olds identified as working by the second filter question have been identified as a result of these two questions. The corresponding figures for 12–14-year-olds and 15–17-year-olds are 98.3 and 94.7 per cent, respectively.

TABLE 3.19 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by sex: Kyrgyzstan**

During the past week, did you do any of the following activities, even for only one hour?	All	Male	Female
Run or do any kind of business, big or small, for yourself or with one or more partners	0.7	1.3	0.0
Do any work for a wage, salary, commission, or any payment in kind (excl. domestic work)	0.0	0.0	0.0
Do any work as a domestic worker for a wage, salary, or any payment in kind	0.3	0.5	0.0
Help unpaid in a household business of any kind	1.5	1.0	2.0
Do any work or help on your own or the household's plot, farm, food garden	46.9	57.3	35.2
Do any construction or major repair work on your own home, plot, business	0.6	0.1	1.2
Catch any fish, prawns, shells, wild animals, or other food for sale or household food	0.7	1.3	0.0
Fetch water or collect firewood for household use	49.4	38.6	61.7
Produce any other good for this household use (Examples: clothing, furniture, clay pots, etc.)	0.4	-	0.8

Notes: The dash symbol used in the table indicates that the economic activity question was not posed to the respondent.

TABLE 3.20 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by age: Kyrgyzstan**

During the past week, did you do any of the following activities, even for only one hour?	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Run or do any kind of business, big or small, for yourself or with one or more partners	1.6	0.0	0.4
Do any work for a wage, salary, commission, or any payment in kind (excl. domestic work)	0.0	0.0	0.0
Do any work as a domestic worker for a wage, salary, or any payment in kind	0.0	0.0	0.8
Help unpaid in a household business of any kind	1.1	1.6	1.7
Do any work or help on your own or the household's plot, farm, food garden	36.2	46.0	57.7
Do any construction or major repair work on your own home, plot, business	0.0	0.1	1.6
Catch any fish, prawns, shells, wild animals, or other food for sale or household food	1.1	0.0	0.9
Fetch water or collect firewood for household use	60.0	52.3	37.0
Produce any other good for this household use (Examples: clothing, furniture, clay pots, etc.)	0.0	1.2	1.0

TABLE 3.21 **Prevalence of child employment by filter questions and sex: Kyrgyzstan**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	28.4 (75.7)	29.7 (76.2)	27.0 (75.4)
Main employment question + farm work, fetching water/collecting firewood (capture rate)	36.4 (97.1)	37.7 (96.7)	35.0 (97.8)
Prevalence of child employment	37.5 (100)	39.0 (100)	35.8 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

Table 3.21 shows that the child employment rate would only be 1.1 percentage points below the full estimate if the two economic activity questions on farm work and fetching water/collecting firewood were to replace the second filter comprised of ten economic activity questions. The gap in the child employment estimate would be marginally higher for boys, by 1.3 percentage points, but lower for girls at 0.8 percentage points. Likewise, the estimated prevalence of employment would fall short of the full estimate by only 0.4 percentage points for 5–11-year-olds, 1 percentage point for 12–14-year-olds, and 2.5 percentage points for 15–17-year-olds.

TABLE 3.22 **Prevalence of child employment by filter questions and age: Kyrgyzstan**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	19.4 (77.3)	33.2 (74.6)	41.0 (75.6)
Main employment question + farm work, fetching water/collecting firewood (capture rate)	24.7 (98.4)	43.5 (97.8)	51.7 (95.4)
Prevalence of child employment	25.1 (100)	44.5 (100)	54.2 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

3.5 Madagascar

The child employment rate in Madagascar is estimated to be 28.1 per cent. Employment rates for boys and girls are similar, at 29.7 per cent for boys and 26.8 per cent for girls.[5] However, there are significant differences between age groups: while the employment rate among 5–11-year-olds is 16.4 per cent, it more than doubles to 37.3 per cent among 12–14-year-olds and 54.7 per cent among 15–17-year-olds.

The main employment question is able to capture almost 89 per cent of working children (88 per cent of boys and 90 per cent of girls). Another 8 per cent of working children are captured by the first filter question that includes 14 economic activity questions. The capture rate of the first filter is slightly higher for boys than for girls at 8.8 per cent and 7.5 per cent, respectively. The second filter on temporary absence captures about 3 per cent of working children – 3.7 per cent of boys and 2.6 per cent of girls.

5 Information on the sex of 207 children was missing.

TABLE 3.23 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by sex: Madagascar**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	24.9 (88.6)	26.0 (87.5)	24.1 (89.9)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	2.3 (8.2)	2.6 (8.8)	2.0 (7.5)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	0.9 (3.2)	1.1 (3.7)	0.7 (2.6)
Prevalence of child employment	28.1 (100)	29.7 (100)	26.8 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

TABLE 3.24 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by age: Madagascar**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	14.1 (86.0)	32.7 (87.7)	50.5 (92.3)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	1.9 (11.6)	3.4 (9.1)	2.3 (4.2)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	0.4 (2.4)	1.2 (3.2)	1.9 (3.5)
Prevalence of child employment	16.4 (100)	37.3 (100)	54.7 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

The capture rate of the main employment question is highest for older children at 92.3 per cent, followed by 12–14-year-olds at 87.7 per cent and lowest for 5–11-year-olds at 86 per cent. This is not surprising, given the higher likelihood of older children to engage in formal employment or work that is substantial enough to be recognized as employment by adult household members.

Consequently, the first filter question makes the least contribution to child employment estimates among older children, capturing 4.2 per cent of working 15–17-year-olds, 9.1 per cent of 12–14-year-olds, and 11.6 per cent of those aged 5 to 11. The second filter question on temporary absence from work, on the other hand, captures 3.5 per cent of 15–17-year-olds, 3.2 per cent of 12–14-year-olds, and 2.4 per cent of 5–11-year-olds.

The tabulation of status in employment of children who are temporarily absent from work reveals that most of them (88.5 per cent) are employed as unpaid family workers: 92 per cent of 5–11-year-olds, 82 per cent of 12–14-year-olds, and 91 per cent of 15–17-year-olds. High rates of temporary absence from unpaid work, which takes place primarily on the family farm (65.5 per cent) and on household premises (14.7 per cent), suggest that these children are seasonally employed.

MADAGASCAR A girl sells fruits and peanuts in Soavinandriana District, Itasy Region.

Next, we look more closely at the 14 economic activities that make up the first filter question, to identify the activities that are commonly missed by the general employment question. The interview procedure in relation to the first filter question was to stop at the first affirmative response. In other words, the respondents were asked about the economic activities given in Table 3.25, in the order they appear in the table, until they said "yes."

As noted earlier, this procedure implies that the order in which economic activities are read out to the respondent matters, as the activities that are mentioned first will have a greater chance of being ticked. The proportions given in Tables 3.25 and 3.26 do not, therefore, provide a true reflection of the proportion of children engaged in various activities. The tables do, however, provide clues about the activities commonly missed by the general employment question. For both boys and girls, and for older and younger children, the most commonly missed activities are agricultural work and animal husbandry.

In total, 56 per cent of boys and 67.5 per cent of girls who are identified as employed by the first filter question are reported to be engaged in agricultural work. Although animal husbandry is shown as the 13th activity on the list, 24.2 per cent of boys are reported to be engaged in this activity. Another activity commonly carried out by children is fetching water/collecting firewood, which appears as the 11th economic activity on the list and identifies 6.5 per cent of boys and 9.7 per cent of girls.

TABLE 3.25 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by sex: Madagascar**

Were you engaged for at least one hour in any of the following activities during the reference week for your own use or sale or for someone else?	Total	Male	Female
Cultivating or harvesting agricultural products for sale/own consumption	60.4	56.0	67.5
Catching or gathering fish or seafood for sale/own consumption	1.4	2.3	0.0
Mining activities	0.0	0.0	0.0
Preparing food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale	3.2	2.0	5.1
Selling articles, newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products	2.9	1.8	4.4
Washing/cleaning clothes for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	0.6	0.5	0.8
Repairing tools or equipment for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	0.0	0.0	0.0
Cleaning cars and shining shoes for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transportation of goods to market or for storage or other activities related to the transport of goods for sale	1.8	2.6	0.7
Construction/maintenance of buildings/homes for someone else	0.1	0.0	0.2
Fetching firewood/water	8.1	6.5	9.7
Serving food/drinks in eatery/bar	0.8	0.7	1.0
Keeping domestic animals (e.g., oxen, poultry)	17.3	24.2	7.4
Any other economic activity *(specify)*	3.4	3.5	3.3

Notes: Covers working children identified by the first filter question only.

TABLE 3.26 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by age: Madagascar**

Were you engaged for at least one hour in any of the following activities during the reference week for your own use or sale or for someone else?	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Cultivating or harvesting agricultural products for sale/own consumption	60.4	54.8	70.7
Catching or gathering fish or seafood for sale/own consumption	0.4	0.2	6.2
Mining activities	0.0	0.0	0.0
Preparing food, clothes, or handicrafts for sale	2.0	5.9	1.7
Selling articles, newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products	3.5	2.1	2.5
Washing/cleaning clothes for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	0.2	0.2	2.7
Repairing tools or equipment for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	0.0	0.0	0.0
Cleaning cars and shining shoes for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transportation of goods to market or for storage or other activities related to the transport of goods for sale	0.5	4.8	0.0
Construction/maintenance of buildings/homes for someone else	0.0	0.2	0.0
Fetching firewood/water	7.7	9.3	7.1
Serving food/drinks in eatery/bar	0.0	2.4	0.0
Keeping domestic animals (e.g., oxen, poultry)	23.5	15.6	4.1
Any other economic activity *(specify)*	2.0	4.6	5.0

Notes: Covers working children identified by the first filter question only.

Agricultural work, animal husbandry, and fetching water/collecting firewood also appear to be important in the identification of working children of different ages (Table 3.26). In total, they capture over 80 per cent of children identified by the first filter question. As noted earlier, the true contribution of these three activities is likely to be higher, which implies that valuable interview time could have been saved had they been placed higher up in the list of activities.

In Tables 3.27 and 3.28 we show how child employment estimates change when the second filter question is replaced by these three most commonly observed activities. When the results of the main employment question are added to the results from these three activities, the child employment rate is estimated at 26.9 per cent, a difference of only 0.3 percentage points from the estimate gained by covering all 14 economic activities. The same results apply to both boys and girls. In terms of children of different ages, the smallest bias is found among the youngest group of children where the difference between the full estimate with 14 questions and the estimate with only three questions is just 0.2 percentage points. Among 12–14-year-olds this figure increases to 0.7 percentage points, but declines to 0.4 percentage points for those aged 15 to 17.

TABLE 3.27 **Prevalence of child employment by filter questions and sex: Madagascar**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	24.9 (88.6)	26.0 (87.5)	24.1 (89.9)
Main employment question + agricultural work, animal husbandry, fetching water/ collecting firewood (capture rate)	26.9 (95.7)	28.3 (95.3)	25.8 (96.3)
Main employment question + agricultural work, animal husbandry (capture rate)	26.7 (95.0)	28.1 (94.6)	25.6 (95.5)
Main employment question + 1st filter (capture rate)	27.2 (96.8)	28.6 (96.3)	26.1 (97.4)
Prevalence of child employment	28.1 (100)	29.7 (100)	26.8 (100)

Notes: Capture rate is in relation to the overall child employment estimate.

TABLE 3.28 **Prevalence of child employment by filter questions and age: Madagascar**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	14.1 (86.0)	32.7 (87.7)	50.5 (92.3)
Main employment question + agricultural work, animal husbandry, fetching water/collect firewood (capture rate)	15.8 (96.3)	35.4 (94.9)	52.4 (95.8)
Main employment question + agricultural work, animal husbandry (capture rate)	15.7 (95.7)	35.1 (94.1)	52.2 (95.4)
Main employment question + 1st filter (capture rate)	16.0 (97.6)	36.1 (96.8)	52.8 (96.5)
Prevalence of child employment	16.4 (100)	37.3 (100)	54.7 (100)

Notes: Capture rate is in relation to the overall child employment estimate.

When the first filter question is replaced by only two activities, agricultural work and animal husbandry, the child employment rate becomes 26.7 per cent – a difference from the estimate with 14 control questions of 0.5 percentage points. This finding suggests that, while it is common for children to fetch water and collect firewood, these are by no means the only activities carried out by children. On the contrary, it seems that children combine these activities with farm work. We find similar results for boys and girls and for children of different ages.

3.6 Moldova

On the basis of one general and two filter questions (similar to those provided in Box 1), the prevalence of employment among children in Moldova is found to be 29.6 per cent. The main employment question alone puts the work prevalence among children at 11.5 per cent. The first filter question, which includes eight questions, captures an additional 18.1 per cent of children so that the overall prevalence among children increases to 29.6 per cent. The final filter question changes this rate only marginally, by just 0.01 percentage points.

A similar outcome emerges when the analysis is repeated for boys and girls (i.e., the first filter question plays an important role in capturing employed children, while the impact of the second filter question is minimal). Table 3.29 shows that the main employment question captures about 40 per cent of working boys, while the rate is slightly lower for girls, at 38 per cent. The first filter question, on the other hand, captures about 60 per cent of working boys and 62 per cent of working girls. The contribution of the second filter question (on temporary absence) is minimal for both boys and girls.

Analysed in terms of age groups, the first filter question is found to contribute the most to child employment estimates. In the case of the youngest age group (5–11-year-olds), the main employment question captures 34 per cent of working children, while the first filter question captures 66 per cent of them. For 12–14- and 15–17-year-olds, the respective proportions are 38 and 61 per cent, and 42 and 58 per cent. The increasing capture rate of the main employment question by age can be explained by the greater market orientation of work carried out by older children.

TABLE 3.29 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by sex: Moldova**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	11.5 (38.8)	13.9 (39.7)	9.1 (37.9)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	18.1 (61.1)	21.1 (60.3)	14.9 (62.1)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.0)
Prevalence of child employment	29.6 (100)	35.1 (100)	24.0 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

TABLE 3.30 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by age: Moldova**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	4.7 (34.1)	16.6 (38.3)	17.7 (41.7)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	9.1 (65.9)	26.6 (61.4)	24.7 (58.3)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	0.0 (0.0)	0.1 (0.2)	0.0 (0.0)
Prevalence of child employment	13.8 (100)	43.3 (100)	42.4 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

In Tables 3.31 and 3.32 we show a breakdown of the first filter question to identify the economic activities that contribute the most to child employment estimates. The procedure regarding the first filter in Moldova was to ask about all economic activities in which the child might have been engaged. As a result, the column totals in Tables 3.31 and 3.32 may exceed 100 per cent.

The most important economic activity that is missed by the general employment question, by far, is "help on households' farm." In total, 97 per cent of working boys and 97.8 per cent of working girls identified by the filter question are found to be involved in this activity (Table 3.31). The second most commonly carried out activity by this group of children is "fetching water or collecting firewood for household use." This activity is observed to be more important for boys than girls, perhaps because this activity is usually delegated to boys. Table 3.32 shows a similar breakdown of activities for children by age group. Again, farm work is found to be by far the most important activity for children who are identified as working by the first filter question. Fetching water/collecting firewood is found to be especially common among older children.

TABLE 3.31 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by sex: Moldova**

During the past week, did you do any of the following activities, even for only one hour?	All	Male	Female
Run or do any kind of business, big or small, for yourself or with one or more partners	0.1	0.2	0.0
Do any work for a wage, salary, commission, or any payment in kind	0.6	0.8	0.2
Do any work as a domestic worker for a wage, salary, or any payment in kind	0.0	0.0	0.0
Help unpaid in a household business of any kind	1.2	0.9	1.6
Do any work or help on your own or the household's plot, farm, food garden	97.3	97.0	97.8
Do any construction or major repair work on your own home, plot	1.2	1.4	1.0
Fetch water or collect firewood for household use	6.5	9.2	2.7
Produce any other good for household use	0.3	0.0	0.7

Notes: Covers working children identified by the second filter question only. Multiple responses are allowed so that column totals may exceed 100 per cent.

TABLE 3.32 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by age: Moldova**

During the past week, did you do any of the following activities, even for only one hour?	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Run or do any kind of business, big or small, for yourself or with one or more partners	0.0	0.2	0.1
Do any work for a wage, salary, commission, or any payment in kind	0.6	0.6	0.5
Do any work as a domestic worker for a wage, salary, or any payment in kind	0.0	0.0	0.0
Help unpaid in a household business of any kind	0.6	1.3	1.3
Do any work or help on your own or the household's plot, farm, food garden	98.3	96.9	97.1
Do any construction or major repair work on your own home, plot	1.5	0.8	1.5
Fetch water or collect firewood for household use	3.3	7.6	7.4
Produce any other good for household use	0.0	0.0	0.7

Notes: Covers working children identified by the second filter question only. Multiple responses are allowed so column totals may exceed 100 per cent.

These analyses show clearly that failing to include farm work and fetching water/collecting firewood within the first filter question would result in significantly lower estimates of child employment. To illustrate the importance of these two activities, we re-define the first filter question to only include these activities. The top panel in Table 3.33 shows that these two economic activities contribute more than the general employment question to the identification of working children. While the general employment question identifies 13.9 per cent of boys and 9.1 per cent of girls as employed, adding in the elements of "working on own farm" and "fetching water/collecting firewood" identifies an additional 20.7 per cent of boys and 14.5 per cent of girls. Therefore, taken together, the main employment question and these two economic activity questions capture 99 per cent of working boys and 98 per cent of working girls. When the first filter question only includes "working on own farm," the working child estimates drop only very slightly, showing that very few children engage in fetching water/collecting firewood without also engaging in farm work.

TABLE 3.33 **Prevalence of child employment by filter questions and sex: Moldova**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	11.5 (38.8)	13.9 (39.7)	9.1 (37.9)
Main employment question + farm work (capture rate)	17.7 (59.8)	20.7 (59.0)	14.5 (60.4)
Main employment question + farm work, fetching water/collecting firewood (capture rate)	17.6 (59.5)	20.4 (58.1)	14.5 (60.4)
Prevalence of child employment	29.6 (100)	35.1 (100)	24.0 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

TABLE 3.34 **Prevalence of child employment by filter questions and age: Moldova**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	5–11	12–14	15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	4.7 (34.1)	16.6 (38.3)	17.7 (41.7)
Main employment question + farm work, fetching water/collecting firewood (capture rate)	9.0 (65.2)	26.1 (60.3)	24.2 (57.1)
Main employment question + farm work (capture rate)	9.0 (65.2)	25.7 (59.4)	24.0 (56.6)
Prevalence of child employment	13.8 (100)	43.3 (100)	42.4 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

When the analysis is repeated for children of different ages, farm work turns out, once again, to be the most important contributor to the identification of working children. While this is especially true for younger children, even among older children the contribution of this single activity is very high: it identifies between 24 and 26 per cent of working children aged 12–14 and 15–17.

3.7 Peru

The prevalence of economic activity among children in Peru is 42.1 per cent. Boys are more likely to be employed than girls, at 45.1 per cent and 38.9 per cent, respectively (Table 3.35). Likewise, older children have a higher likelihood of employment as compared to younger children, with the employment gap being over 20 percentage points between 15–17-year-olds and 5–11-year-olds (Table 3.36).

The employment questions in Peru differed in two basic ways from the model SIMPOC questionnaire discussed earlier:

- The sequence of filter questions was reversed in the Peruvian Child Labor Survey; the second filter question on temporary absence was asked right after the general employment question and was divided into two areas: temporary absence from wage work and temporary absence from own-account work.
- The filter questions on temporary absence were asked of older children only (12 years and older).

These two filter questions were followed by a third filter, where the respondent was read a list of economic activity questions.

Table 3.35 shows that the main employment question is able to capture 81 per cent of working children (83 per cent of boys and 79 per cent of girls). The two filter questions on temporary absence do not add significantly to the child employment rate. The third filter, on the other hand, contributes significantly to the child employment estimate, increasing it by almost 20 per cent (18 per cent for boys and 21 per cent for girls).

TABLE 3.35 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by sex: Peru**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	34.0 (80.8)	37.2 (82.5)	30.7 (78.9)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on temporary absence from work – wage work (capture rate)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work – own-account work (capture rate)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Increase as a result of 3rd filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	8.1 (19.2)	7.9 (17.5)	8.2 (21.1)
Prevalence of child employment	42.1 (100)	45.1 (100)	38.9 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

TABLE 3.36 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by age: Peru**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	25.6 (76.9)	40.3 (81.3)	46.5 (86.0)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on temporary absence from work – wage work (capture rate)	-	0.0 (0.0)	0.1 (0.2)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on temporary absence from work – own-account work (capture rate)	-	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)
Increase as a result of 3rd filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	7.7 (23.1)	9.3 (18.8)	7.6 (14.0)
Prevalence of child employment	33.3 (100)	49.6 (100)	54.1 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate. The dash symbol used in the table indicates that the filter questions on temporary absence were not posed to the respondent.

Perhaps as a result of the more market-oriented activities of older children, the general employment question contributes more to the identification of older than younger working children. The main employment question identifies 86 per cent of 15–17-year-olds, 81 per cent of 12–14-year-olds, and 77 per cent of 5–11-year-olds (Table 3.36). As noted earlier, the filter questions on temporary absence do not contribute to the employment estimates in a significant way, meaning that the third filter question picks up the rest of the working children.

PERU A boy and a girl carry pumice stones loaded on an empty sack, each holding one end, out of an underground volcanic mine, near the southern city of Arequipa.

On closer examination, the general employment question is found to miss, in general, children engaged in agricultural activities and those who are engaged in their own business or who help the family business as unpaid workers. Table 3.37 shows that 40.6 per cent of children who have been identified as working by the third filter question are engaged either in agricultural work or in raising animals. The structure of the third filter is such that only the first affirmative response is marked down. As a result, the proportions given in Table 3.37 and Table 3.38 (apart from the first economic activity) do not reflect the true proportion of children carrying them out. However, we can deduce that if the third filter was composed of only three economic activity questions (i.e., agricultural work, family business, and own-account work), fewer than 2 per cent of working children would have been missed.[6]

These three activities (i.e., agricultural work, family business, and own-account work) appear to be equally important in identifying working boys and working girls. The proportion of boys engaged in any one of these three activities is around 91 per cent, as compared to 93 per cent of girls. This means that boys and girls do not seem to be engaged in very different economic activities, and a similar set of questions ordered in the same way should be able to capture similar proportions of employed boys and girls.

6 We find the 2 per cent by multiplying the proportion of children identified by the third filter to be working (25 per cent) by the maximum proportion of working children missed by these three economic activities (8 per cent).

TABLE 3.37 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by sex: Peru**

Were you engaged for at least one hour in any of the following activities during the reference week for your own use or sale or for someone else?	Total	Male	Female
Cultivating or harvesting agricultural products, raising animals for sale/own consumption	40.6	39.2	42.9
Producing goods at home for sale	1.0	0.5	1.0
Doing craft work	0.5	0.5	0.5
Selling various articles: newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products	1.2	1.0	1.1
Offering your services	2.1	3.4	0.4
Working in own business, or business of a relative or someone else	13.0	11.6	14.3
Helping in family business without pay	38.2	39.7	36.2
Doing unpaid household services in a private home	0.3	0.0	0.6
Working in the manufacturing of a product	0.3	0.3	0.3
Construction of buildings/homes for payment in cash or in kind or for own use	1.2	1.8	0.8
Catching or gathering fish or seafood for sale/own consumption	0.2	0.2	0.1
Any other economic activity *(specify)*	1.4	1.9	1.8

Notes: Covers working children identified by the second filter question only.

TABLE 3.38 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by age: Peru**

Were you engaged for at least one hour in any of the following activities during the reference week for your own use or sale or for someone else?	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Cultivating or harvesting agricultural products, raising animals for sale/own consumption	44.9	38.0	36.1
Producing goods at home for sale	0.1	1.0	1.8
Doing craft work	0.3	0.5	1.1
Selling various articles: newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products	1.2	1.3	0.6
Offering your services	0.7	3.5	2.6
Working in own business, or business of a relative or someone else	9.4	16.0	17.2
Helping in family business without pay	39.7	34.9	37.9
Doing unpaid household services in a private home	0.2	0.0	0.9
Working in the manufacturing of a product	0.4	0.0	0.3
Construction of buildings/homes for payment in cash or in kind or for own use	1.8	0.4	1.3
Catching or gathering fish or seafood for sale/own consumption	0.3	0.0	0.0
Any other economic activity *(specify)*	0.9	4.6	0.3

Notes: Covers working children identified by the second filter question only.

Analysed in terms of age, the first economic activity on "agricultural work/animal husbandry" and the seventh economic activity on "helping in family business" identify a larger proportion of younger than older working children. However, the opposite is the case for "working in own business or that of someone else." Keeping in mind the bias introduced by the ordering of questions, these three questions together identify a total of 94 per cent of 5–11-year-olds, 89 per cent of 12–14-year-olds, and 91 per cent of 15–17-year-olds. Therefore, if the third filter consisted of only these three economic activity questions, instead of the current 12, similar proportions of working children from different age groups would have been identified.

TABLE 3.39 **Prevalence of child employment by filter questions and sex: Peru**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	34.0 (80.8)	37.2 (82.5)	30.7 (78.9)
Main employment question + agricultural work/animal husbandry, family business, own business (capture rate)	41.4 (98.3)	44.4 (98.4)	38.4 (98.7)
Main employment question + agricultural work/animal husbandry, family business (capture rate)	40.4 (96.0)	43.4 (96.1)	37.2 (95.6)
Prevalence of child employment	42.1 (100)	45.1 (100)	38.9 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

TABLE 3.40 **Prevalence of child employment by filter questions and age: Peru**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	25.6 (76.9)	40.3 (81.3)	46.5 (86.0)
Main employment question + agricultural work/animal husbandry, family business, own business (capture rate)	32.8 (98.5)	48.5 (97.8)	53.4 (98.7)
Main employment question + agricultural work/animal husbandry, family business (capture rate)	32.1 (96.4)	47.1 (95.0)	52.1 (96.3)
Prevalence of child employment	33.3 (100)	49.6 (100)	54.1 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

Indeed, 98.3 per cent of working children would be captured if the third filter question were to be replaced by just the three most common economic activities (Table 3.39). The capture rate of these three control questions, together with the main employment question, is 98.4 per cent among boys and 98.7 per cent among girls. Furthermore, the capture rate does not seem to change significantly by age: 98.5 per cent for 5–11-year-olds, 97.8 per cent for 12–14-year-olds, and 98.7 per cent for 15–17-year-olds.

When the filter question is reduced to only two activities (agricultural work/animal husbandry and work in family business), its capture rate, together with the main employment question, remains high at 96 per cent: 96.1 per cent for boys and 95.6 per cent for girls. This finding also holds true for children of different ages (Table 3.40).

What we can conclude from the sensitivity analyses is that the third filter question is important, in order to capture children who are employed, for the most part, on their family farm or in family business. But this can be done without introducing a significant bias to the child employment estimates, using two or three control questions.

3.8 Senegal

The Child Labour Survey of Senegal has relied on a set of four questions to identify working children. The first, third, and fourth questions are similar to the ones proposed by ILO-SIMPOC. The extra filter question is about the form of employment and reads as follows: "Did (name) engage in any work during the past week for payment in cash/in kind, on own account, in own enterprise, as unpaid family worker?" Countries that do not include this filter question integrate it within the general employment question (see Box 3.1).

Based on these four filter questions, the employment rate among 5–17-year-olds in Senegal is estimated to be 19.7 per cent. The employment rate among boys is higher at 25.6 per cent, compared to 13.8 per cent for girls, as shown in Table 3.41. The main employment question does a good job of capturing a significant proportion (83 per cent) of employed children: 87 per cent of boys and 75 per cent of girls.

Interestingly, neither the first nor the second filter question can account for a significant portion of working children. The capture rate of the first filter question on form of employment is only 0.8 per cent for boys and 0.7 per cent for girls, while the capture rate of the second filter question on economic activity is 1.6 per cent for boys and 0.7 per cent for girls. However, the third filter question on temporary absence from work is able to account for far higher proportions: it captures 10.9 per cent of working boys and 23.2 per cent of working girls.

It is surprising that the third filter question on temporary absence from work is able to account for a large proportion of children, given that most working children (74 per cent) are unpaid family workers. On closer examination, 95 per cent of children identified by this filter question to be employed are found to be unpaid family workers, mainly engaged in agriculture (as we have also seen in Benin). These findings raise concerns that "temporary absence from work" has been misinterpreted to mean seasonal work. The concept of work covers only those individuals whose attachment to their job/workplace continues, but who have not actually worked in the reference period as a result of, for example, illness, vacation, or disruption of their work by the weather or economic circumstances. It is not meant to cover children who work seasonally or casually.

Given the nature of children's work in Senegal, it seems that most of the children identified as temporarily absent from work are actually seasonal workers and should not, therefore, be classified as employed at the time of the survey.

TABLE 3.41 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by sex: Senegal**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	All	Male	Female
Main employment question (capture rate)	16.3 (82.7)	22.2 (86.7)	10.4 (75.4)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on form of employment (capture rate)	0.2 (1.0)	0.2 (0.8)	0.1 (0.7)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	0.3 (1.5)	0.4 (1.6)	0.1 (0.7)
Increase as a result of 3rd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	2.9 (14.7)	2.8 (10.9)	3.2 (23.2)
Prevalence of child employment	19.7 (100)	25.6 (100)	13.8 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

TABLE 3.42 **Contribution of employment questions to child employment estimates by age: Senegal**

Prevalence of child employment as measured by:	Age 5–11	Age 12–14	Age 15–17
Main employment question (capture rate)	9.8 (79.7)	19.8 (82.5)	29.5 (85.8)
Increase as a result of 1st filter question on form of employment (capture rate)	0.1 (0.8)	0.3 (1.3)	0.3 (0.9)
Increase as a result of 2nd filter question on economic activity (capture rate)	0.2 (1.6)	0.4 (1.7)	0.3 (0.9)
Increase as a result of 3rd filter question on temporary absence from work (capture rate)	2.2 (17.9)	3.5 (14.6)	4.3 (12.5)
Prevalence of child employment	12.3 (100)	24.0 (100)	34.4 (100)

Notes: The capture rate relates to the overall child employment estimate.

Although the second and third filter questions identify only a small proportion of working children, it is informative to see the types of economic activities captured by these two questions.[7] Table 3.43 shows that the most commonly missed form of employment is unpaid family work. In total, almost 90 per cent of children identified as working by the first filter question were found to be unpaid family workers. Although multiple responses were allowed for this question, in none of the cases examined was more than one response provided. This suggests that the procedure followed in the field was to mark the first positive response and move on to the next question. If this was indeed the case, it is likely that the figure reported above is an underestimate, as unpaid work was the very last control question.

7 Due to the small number of observations, the first two filter questions are not analysed by age.

SENEGAL Boys with empty tin cans stand on a roadside in Diourbel, capital of the western region of the same name. The children, known as talibés *(pupils), are from a Koranic school. They have been sent by the school's religious leaders to beg on the streets for food, money, or other donations, in exchange for receiving a religious education. The students, however, spend most of their day on the streets, where they are often exposed to violence, abuse, or exploitation.*

Among economic activities (nine of them as given in Table 3.43), agricultural production, animal husbandry, and preparation of food items/clothing/handicrafts for sale appear to be instrumental in the identification of some working children missed by the general employment question and the first filter question. As with the first filter question, the second filter question allows multiple responses, but only one economic activity for each child emerges from the data.

The activity to receive the highest positive response is "cultivating/harvesting agricultural produce and catching/gathering fish," which appears as the first control question. The second most frequently marked economic activity, which appears as the sixth question in the list, is "tending animals" (17.7 per cent). It is interesting to note that this activity received a positive response among boys only. However, this does not necessarily mean that girls are not engaged in this activity. It is likely that "preparing food, making clothing or handicrafts for sale" is common enough among girls to capture those who are not engaged in agricultural work. However, it does appear that there is division of labour along gender lines, with girls more likely to engage in, for example, preparing food and boys more likely to be engaged in animal husbandry.

TABLE 3.43 **Proportion of working children involved in various activities by sex: Senegal**

Did (name) engage in any work during the past week?	All	Male	Female
For payment in cash	5.9	0.0	13.8
For payment in kind	0.0	0.0	0.0
On own account	0.0	0.0	0.0
In own enterprise	4.6	0.0	10.9
Unpaid family work	89.5	100	75.3
Did (name) engage in the following activities for payment or for own use or for someone else?			
Cultivating/harvesting agricultural produce, catching/gathering fish or seafood	76.7	78.6	67.4
Preparing food, making clothing or handicrafts for sale	5.7	0.0	32.6
Selling articles, newspapers, drinks, food, or agricultural products	0.0	0.0	-
Washing, ironing, cleaning, repairing tools/equipment for someone else for payment in cash or in kind	0.0	0.0	-
Cleaning cars and shining shoes	0.0	0.0	-
Tending domestic animals	17.7	21.4	-
Transportation of goods to market or for storage or other activities related to the transport of goods for sale	-	-	-
Construction/maintenance of buildings/homes, cars for someone else	-	-	-
Other similar activities	-	-	-

Notes: Only includes working children identified by the first and second filter questions. The dash symbol used in the table indicates that no positive response was recorded, suggesting that these questions were not posed to respondents.

3.9 Key findings on sensitivity of estimates of working children to questions on employment

The analyses of the filter questions on employment, drawing on eight country studies, indicate variation in the ability of the main employment question to identify working children. While it captured 94 per cent of working children in Jordan, this fell to as low as 39 per cent in Moldova.

Undoubtedly, the economic structure of specific countries and, therefore, the types of economic activities in which children are engaged both matter when it comes to explaining the difference. In agrarian societies where employment takes the

form of unpaid family work on the family farm or in family business, there is a greater likelihood that the main employment question will miss working children. Equally, the capture rate of the main employment question is likely to be higher when the work environment is more formal, which also explains why it tends to capture older children rather than younger. However, quite diverse capture rates even among countries where agriculture is the dominant employment (the capture rate among the three African countries is between 83 and 89 per cent, compared with 39 per cent in Moldova and 76 per cent in Kyrgyzstan) hints that other factors are also at play to produce these differences.

One potential source of variation relates to perceptions of work and childhood. The rather high capture rate in Africa might be linked to the fact that agricultural work is not only common among children but, perhaps more importantly, also common among adults, and constitutes an important source of livelihood for families. Consequently, the likelihood of recognizing agricultural work as work is higher, even if it takes place on the family's own plot of land and involves production for family consumption. In contrast, in countries like Moldova where commercial agriculture is more widespread, work on the family farm may not be recognized as work for either adults or children.

Adult perceptions about the meaning of childhood itself might also be contributing factors. In countries like Moldova and Kyrgyzstan, where school enrolment rates are quite high, schooling itself might be seen as the primary activity for children, as a good part of their day is spent in the classroom. Here, work is not seen as their primary activity. Instead, working children are seen as helping their parents/families in their spare time. In countries that boast low school enrolment rates, including some countries in Africa, work probably stands out as the primary activity of children and they are, therefore, classified as employed.

Another factor that might explain the divergent capture rates among countries is linked to survey procedures, particularly interviewer training. Interviewers who are trained more effectively on work issues are more likely to obtain accurate responses than those who are not. Although ILO-SIMPOC supplies a training manual to guide interviewers through the model questionnaire, it does seem that more effort needs to be extended at the country level to provide proper training for interviewers.

It is also important to note that the capture rate of the main employment question between boys and girls was similar in most countries. In most of the countries studied, the rate between the two groups differed by only 1–2 percentage points. The notable exceptions were Jordan and Senegal, where the difference was much higher, at an estimated 7 percentage points for boys and 12 percentage points for girls. This similarity in the capture rates implies similar time-use for boys and girls. In contrast, capture rates differed, in general, across age groups, indicating that children's time-use differs more by age than by gender. One implication of this finding is that the filter questions that aim to complement the general employment question need to pay special attention to the divergent time-use of children of different ages.

The capture rate of the first filter, where a series of questions on various economic activities are read out to the respondent, varies between 2 per cent in Senegal and 61 per cent in Moldova. Senegal is probably a unique case: such low rates were not recorded in any other country. In Benin and Madagascar, which may have more similarities with Senegal than other countries in this study, the corresponding rate was around 7 to 8 per cent.

COTE D'IVOIRE An 11-year-old girl works alongside other girls and women in a charcoal production yard near the southwestern city of San Pédro. She says she does not go to school. Workers are exposed to dangerous smoke and charcoal fumes throughout the day.

In addition to the variation in the capture rate of the first filter question across countries, the main finding is that unpaid farm work, animal husbandry, and help in family business are the economic activities that are most often 'missed.'[8] Fetching water and collecting firewood were also common in a number of countries, but children engaged in these activities were often found to be involved in farm work. The sensitivity analyses conducted across the case study countries indicated that taking these (and sometimes fewer activities) into account resulted in a bias in child employment estimates of no more than 5 per cent, which corresponded to changes in the estimated child employment rate of only 1 or 2 percentage points in countries with child employment rates of around 30 to 40 per cent.

The analysis carried out on the second filter question on temporary absence has shown, in general, that its contribution to the child employment estimates remains marginal because most children work as unpaid family workers. In the few countries where the second filter question was found to contribute significantly to the child employment estimates – Benin, Senegal, and, to some extent, Madagascar – we have provided evidence that these high rates were possibly related

8 In Jordan, wage/salary/commission work also emerged as important in capturing working children. However, this form of work should, technically, be captured by the main employment question. We do not see this activity picking up significant numbers of children in other countries, and do not, therefore, suggest its inclusion in the first filter.

to the inclusion of seasonally employed children in the ranks of the employed. As a result, the inclusion of the filter to avoid underestimation of child employment has resulted in its overestimation in these countries, which demonstrates very explicitly the importance of effective training for interviewers.

In light of the analyses in this section, Box 3.2 suggests questions for the employment section of the MICS module. The main employment question is similar to the question proposed by SIMPOC. The only suggested change is in the explanation the interviewer should provide to the respondent to clarify what is meant by unpaid work. As discussed, unpaid work is the most commonly encountered form of child employment, yet it is not always easy for respondents to relate to it. An explanation of this concept in one sentence, that it involves "helping out in family business or farm without pay," may help reduce the proportion of cases missed by the main employment question and, therefore, the need to go through the filter questions.

The main change to the employment questions involves the first filter. The suggestion is to re-formulate it by: (1) limiting the number of economic activity questions to be posed to the respondent to the most commonly encountered activities and (2) re-ordering the economic activity questions, starting with the most common and ending with the least common and stopping at the first affirmative response. This re-formulation will reduce survey time by enabling a quick capture of the non-market activities of children. The exact wording of the questions and activities to be listed can be country-specific and determined upon the completion of the pilot survey preceding the implementation of MICS.

Based on the country studies in this report, Box 3.2 also provides a potential list of activities that includes farm work/ animal husbandry, helping in family business or running own business, producing/selling articles, and fetching water/ collecting firewood for household use. A fifth question is included as a catchall to ensure that no working child is missed.

For the sake of completeness, the second filter question on temporary absence from work is also included among the employment questions, although, as mentioned earlier, its contribution to child employment estimates is marginal. To avoid confusion about what is meant by temporary absence from work, this question can be re-formulated as follows:

Does (name) have a job or business that he/she was not engaged in since last (day of the week) because of illness, vacation, business trip, temporary shutdown of business, or some other similar reason, but will definitely return to?

This proposed formulation differs from that of SIMPOC's in that it includes a definition of temporary absence in the question itself. The interviewer is also expected to tell the respondent that seasonal work in agriculture does not qualify as temporary absence from work. This point needs to be stressed during the training of interviewers to avoid the undue inflation of child employment estimates through the inclusion of seasonal work.

BOX 3.2 **SUGGESTED EMPLOYMENT QUESTIONS FOR MICS**

1. Did (name) engage in any work for at least one hour during the past week?

(As regular or casual employee, self-employed, or employer; or as an unpaid family worker helping out in household business or farm)

a. Yes

b. No

2. During the past week, did (name) do any of the following activities, even for only one hour?
(Read each of the following questions until an affirmative answer is received)

a. Work or help on your own or the household's plot/farm/food garden or look after animals (Examples: growing farm produce, harvesting, feeding/grazing/milking animals)	**Yes**	**No**
b. Help in family business or relative's business with or without pay or run your own business	**Yes**	**No**
c. Produce or sell articles, handicrafts, clothes, food, or agricultural products	**Yes**	**No**
d. Fetch water or collect firewood for household use	**Yes**	**No**
e. Any other activity similar to these	**Yes**	**No**

3. Does (name) have a job or business that (name) was not engaged in since last (day of the week) because of illness, vacation, business trip, temporary shutdown of business, or some other reason, but will definitely return to? (For agricultural activities, the off-season in agriculture is not a temporary absence.)

a. Yes

b. No

4

Sensitivity of child labour estimates to measurement

In this section of the report, we discuss the sensitivity of child labour estimates to measurement. We start with a brief discussion of what is meant by child labour and proceed with case studies illustrating how estimates of child labour change when the questions used to establish the nature of children's work change. The analysis in this part of the report will be disaggregated by sex but not by age, as the definition of child labour includes age as a primary indicator.

4.1 Child labour definition

Child labourers are defined as children who are engaged in work that is unsuitable for their capacities as children or are in work that may jeopardize their health, education, or moral development. This definition of child labour is based on ILO Convention No. 138 on Minimum Age for Admission to Employment (1973) and ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999). Convention 138 does not define child labour, while Convention 182 provides rough guidelines as to what child labour means. The latter refers to: (1) unconditional worst forms of child labour (e.g., slavery, slavery-like practices, trafficking of children, debt bondage, prostitution, pornography) and (2) hazardous forms of child labour, "work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children" (Article 3[d]). This is clarified by Recommendation 190 (Section II.3.a-e) to Convention 182, which defines hazardous work as:

- work which exposes children to physical, psychological, or sexual abuse;
- work underground, underwater, at dangerous heights, or in confined spaces;
- work with dangerous machinery, equipment, and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads;
- work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents, or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health; or
- work under particularly difficult conditions, such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.

The model child labour questionnaire developed by ILO-SIMPOC for stand-alone Child Labour Surveys reflects these general guidelines. It establishes child labour status through two open-ended questions on economic activity and occupation, 15 questions on possible hazards faced at work, and five questions on mistreatment at work.

The proposed section on hazardous work for the MICS child labour module, shown in Box 4.1, is very similar to the questions used in SIMPOC-CLS with one exception: the latter includes two more questions on workplace hazards:

- Do you carry heavy loads at work?
- Do you operate any machinery/heavy equipment at work?

BOX 4.1 SUGGESTED CLS QUESTIONS TO ESTABLISH HAZARDOUS WORK

1. Describe the main job/task (name) is performing (e.g., carrying bricks, mixing baking flour, harvesting maize, etc.)

2. Describe briefly the main goods produced and services rendered where (name) is working.

3. Is (name) exposed to any of the following at work?

(Read each of the following options and mark "YES" or "NO")

a. Dust/fumes
b. Fire/gas/flames
c. Loud noise or vibration
d. Extreme cold or heat
e. Dangerous tools (knives, etc.)
f. Work underground
g. Work at heights
h. Work in water/lake/pond/river
i. Workplace too dark or confined
j. Insufficient ventilation
k. Chemicals (pesticides, glues, etc.)
l. Explosives
m. Other things, processes, or conditions bad for your health or safety (specify)

4. Has (name) ever been subject to the following at work?

(Read each of the following options and mark "YES" or "NO")

a. Constantly shouted at
b. Repeatedly insulted
c. Beaten/physically hurt
d. Sexually abused (touched or things done to you that you did not want)
e. Other (specify)

Notes: This is an excerpt from the CLS questionnaire suggested for MICS. For ease of presentation it is shown in a slightly different format from the one given in Appendix 1.

One important feature of the SIMPOC stand-alone CLS is that information about the working conditions of children is intended to be collected from the children themselves. The justification is that children know more about their working conditions than their parents/guardians. Therefore, countries that have conducted SIMPOC stand-alone CLS have used the responses provided by both the adults and children to determine whether children are involved in child labour.

This study follows a similar strategy, using the information provided by children to understand their conditions of work. However, as noted earlier, interviews in MICS are conducted with a knowledgeable adult and, therefore, all the questions in the child labour module (including those that aim to establish the working conditions of children) will be gathered from the adult respondent. This difference in survey procedure must be kept in mind when generalizing the results obtained, particularly in relation to questions on mistreatment at work. The adult respondent may not be aware of any mistreatment at work or might perceive mistreatment very differently from the child. This is especially true in situations where the child's 'employer' is his/her own family (a parent or other relative) or where physical and verbal punishment is viewed as a valid way to discipline a child.

Questions on workplace/occupational hazards concern only the working children (see Box 4.1). However, the *Resolution concerning statistics of child labour* (RCL) that was adopted at the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians

(ICLS) in 2008 recognizes that unpaid household services that fall outside the SNA production boundary could be as important as economic activities in giving rise to child labour.[9] Within the framework of the RCL, some countries have defined excessive unpaid household services (defined in terms of hours) as constituting child labour. However, the model CLS does not contain questions examining the working conditions of children engaged in unpaid household services.

Although the countries under study have employed very similar child labour questionnaires, no unique and operational definition of child labour exists – the result of country-specific legislation and provision for such legislation in the Conventions. As we shall discuss shortly, countries have used various definitions to identify child labourers. The sensitivity analysis carried out in this section uses the child labour definition of respective countries, and contrasts these to the estimates that would emerge were this definition to be changed.

4.2 Azerbaijan

The definition of child labour in Azerbaijan depends on the ages of working children, their hours of work, and their occupation held (see Box 4.2). According to this definition, 6.1 per cent of children, or 82 per cent of working children, are child labourers, with only a small gender gap: a larger proportion of boys are child labourers (7 per cent as compared to an estimated 5.1 per cent of girls).

BOX 4.2 CHILD LABOUR DEFINITION: AZERBAIJAN

1. Working children under age 15.
2. 15-year-olds employed for more than 24 hours per week.
3. 16–17-year-olds employed for more than 36 hours per week.
4. Children under age 18 engaged in hazardous work, which is defined on the basis of occupations.

Table 4.1 shows the classification of child labourers into mutually exclusive categories by risk. Within the framework of this categorization, children are counted only once and in the order given in Table 4.1, even if they face multiple risks. For example, children in hazardous occupations are categorized as involved in hazardous work. They may have also worked more than 36 hours during the reference week – yet another risk that needs to be eliminated – but are counted only once on the basis of their engagement in a hazardous occupation. The ordering of risks naturally affects the proportion of children assigned to each risk category, the groups higher up in the list having precedence over others. However, since our concern is to understand how the estimated prevalence of child labour changes with the changes in questions related to child labour, the order in which risks appear does not pose a problem.

According to this classification, 82 per cent of child labourers in Azerbaijan are found to hold occupations that are deemed hazardous by the relevant authorities. This proportion is slightly higher among girls (84 per cent) compared to boys (81 per cent). Working children younger than 15 constitute another 7 per cent, and the rest are children working for excessively long hours. It is interesting to note that the authorities in Azerbaijan define most agricultural work as hazardous, so that almost

9 This resolution draws from the *Resolution concerning the measurement of working time*, also adopted at the 18th ICLS and discussed in Section 5 of this report.

three-quarters of children in agriculture are classified as child labourers. This explains why a larger proportion of girls are found in hazardous occupations than boys.

TABLE 4.1 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk: Azerbaijan**

Children in hazardous work	National definition: All	National definition: Male	National definition: Female
In hazardous economic activity	NA	NA	NA
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	5.0 (82.0)	5.7 (81.4)	4.3 (84.3)
Employed under hazardous conditions	NA	NA	NA
Working children aged 5–14 years (Percentage in child labour)	0.4 (6.6)	0.4 (5.7)	0.3 (5.9)
Children aged 15 working more than 24 hours per week, children aged 16–17 working more than 36 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	0.7 (11.5)	0.9 (12.9)	0.5 (9.8)
Prevalence of child labour	6.1 (100)	7.0 (100)	5.1 (100)

Notes: NA = not applicable. The national definition of child labour does not define child labour on the basis of economic activity or working conditions. Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

TABLE 4.2 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 1: Azerbaijan**

Excessive hours for age	Alt. def. 1: All	Alt. def. 1: Male	Alt. def. 1: Female
Working children aged 5–13 years (Percentage in child labour)	1.5 (24.6)	1.7 (24.3)	1.3 (25.5)
Children aged 14-15 working more than 24 hours per week, children aged 6-17 working more than 36 hours per week	1.8 (29.5)	2.2 (31.4)	1.3 (25.5)
Hazardous work			
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	2.8 (45.9)	3.1 (44.3)	2.5 (49.0)
Prevalence of child labour	6.1 (100)	7.0 (100)	5.1 (100)

Notes: The national definition of child labour does not define child labour on the basis of economic activity or working conditions. Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

In an alternative exercise, we change the ordering of risks. We first define underage working children (5–13-year-olds) and children working excessively long hours and take them out of the ranks of child labourers before we consider children engaged in hazardous occupations (see Table 4.2). When the ordering of risks is changed, the capture rate of age and hours of work information increases to 54 per cent. However, a substantial proportion of child labourers still need to be

captured by the information on hazardous occupations. It has not been possible to investigate whether workplace hazards could capture some of these child labourers, because the CLS of Azerbaijan did not collect information on the hazards children face at work.

4.3 Benin

Child labourers in Benin are defined on the basis of multiple criteria: children's age, their hours of work, the nature of economic activities in which they are engaged, the nature of their occupation, and the conditions under which they work (Box 4.3). Benin defines underage children – those who are not allowed to work even for one hour per week – as those younger than 12 years of age. Children aged 12 to 13 are not allowed to work more than 22.5 hours per week, while the cutoff point is set at 40 hours for children aged 14 to 17. Irrespective of their age, children are not allowed to work in hazardous economic activities or occupations (as defined by AfriStat), or under hazardous conditions.[10]

BOX 4.3 CHILD LABOUR DEFINITION: BENIN

1. Children in hazardous work that includes: carrying heavy loads at work; operating heavy machinery or working with dangerous tools; exposure to adverse conditions such as dust/fumes, gas/flames, loud noises, etc.; working at night.
2. Children employed underground (in mines or quarries), in construction, or in transport.
3. Children engaged in hazardous occupations such as hunters, drillers, carpenters, welders, deliverymen, etc.
4. Working children younger than 12.
5. Working children aged 12–13 employed for 22.5 hours or more per week.
6. Working children aged 14–17 employed for 40 hours or more per week.

In estimating the prevalence of child labour, we have opted to exclude children who were temporarily absent from work in the week preceding the survey (260 cases out of 8,641 children). We have also dropped the data on 221 children for whom no information on working conditions was available (32.5 per cent of these children were employed at the time of the survey). In addition, hours of work were not reported for 77 children.[11] Excluding these three groups of children had the effect of slightly reducing the prevalence of employment from 34 per cent to 31.4 per cent. In the full sample, children temporarily absent from work constitute 3 per cent of all children.

The definition given in Box 4.3 puts the prevalence of child labour at 29.4 per cent, which means that almost 95 per cent of working children are child labourers. The prevalence of child labour is equally high among boys and girls (29.1 per cent and 29.7 per cent, respectively). Table 4.3 shows that the single most important factor that contributes to the rather high estimate of child labour in Benin is the conditions under which children work. Although working conditions comes third in the list of classifications of risks (and has, therefore, a reduced chance of positive responses as a result of the way the

10 The child labour classification of AfriStat lists some 90 occupations as hazardous for children.

11 The hours of work information was collected for each day of the reference week. In a number of cases (203) the respondents provided information only for certain days of the week. Instead of dropping these cases from the data, we have used the information provided for the rest of the week to arrive at weekly work hours, which probably underestimates the true work input of these children somewhat. Furthermore, 40 children were reported to work less than one hour per day. The hours of work information for these children was reported as zero in the data.

table is constructed), its share in child labour is 60 per cent. Furthermore, 12.9 per cent of child labourers are found to be engaged in hazardous occupations and 2.7 per cent in hazardous economic activities. The sequential ordering of risks given in Table 4.3 also shows that underage children account for almost one-fifth of child labourers.

TABLE 4.3 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk: Benin**

Children in hazardous work	National definition: All	National definition: Male	National definition: Female
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.8 (2.7)	1.2 (4.1)	0.4 (1.3)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	3.8 (12.9)	3.8 (13.2)	3.8 (12.8)
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	17.6 (59.9)	16.8 (57.7)	18.5 (62.3)
Working children younger than 12 (Percentage in child labour)	5.8 (19.7)	6.0 (20.6)	5.5 (18.5)
Children aged 12–13 employed for more than 22.5 hours per week and children aged 14–17 employed for more than 40 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	1.4 (4.8)	1.4 (4.8)	1.5 (5.1)
Prevalence of child labour	29.4 (100)	29.1 (100)	29.7 (100)

Notes: Children temporarily absent from work are excluded from data. Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

In Table 4.4 we carry out an alternative classification of risks where we first account for the underage children who work, followed by older children who work beyond permissible hours, and finally children working in hazardous conditions and hazardous economic activities and occupations. This alternative classification, while having no effect on the overall prevalence of child labour, is useful to show the proportion of child labourers that can be captured at different levels of difficulty using CLS-type questionnaires. This alternative classification estimates that 57.8 per cent of child labourers are underage. As a result, these children can be dropped from the outset from those for whom the conditions and nature of work need to be established. The alternative classification also shows that almost one-fifth of child labourers are employed for excessive hours. The proportion working under hazardous conditions, on the other hand, is 21.8 per cent. In this re-ordering of risks, hazardous economic activities and occupations together account for 1.1 per cent of child labourers.

Similar results emerge for boys and girls when the analysis is disaggregated by sex. In both cases, a sizeable proportion of child labourers (59.1 per cent of boys and 56.6 per cent of girls) consist of underage children. However, a higher proportion of girls than boys (21.9 per cent and 16.5 per cent, respectively) are found to work excessively long hours for their age. The proportion of boys employed in hazardous conditions, on the other hand, is somewhat higher (23 per cent) as compared to girls (20.5 per cent). Boys are also found to be more likely to work in hazardous occupations. Nevertheless, the overall risk picture is quite similar for boys and girls.

BENIN A girl working at home, washing clothes and grinding in a mortar, in the village named Tchetti.

TABLE 4.4 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 1: Benin**

	Alt. def.1: All	Alt. def. 1: Male	Alt. def. 1: Female
Working children younger than 12 (Percentage in child labour)	17.0 (57.8)	17.2 (59.1)	16.8 (56.6)
Children aged 12–13 employed for more than 22.5 hours per week and children aged 14–17 employed for more than 40 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	5.6 (19.0)	4.8 (16.5)	6.5 (21.9)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	6.4 (21.8)	6.7 (23.0)	6.1 (20.5)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.04 (0.1)	0.1 (0.3)	0.02 (0.1)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.3 (1.0)	0.4 (1.4)	0.2 (0.7)
Prevalence of child labour	29.4 (100)	29.1 (100)	29.7 (100)

Notes: Information on hazardous occupations is adopted from AfriStat. Children temporarily absent from work are excluded from data. Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

TABLE 4.5 **Risks faced by children employed under hazardous conditions: Benin**

Work environment	All	Male	Female
Carrying heavy loads at work	44.5	43.1	46.2
Operating machinery/heavy equipment	5.3	6.8	3.4
Dust/fumes/gas	86.6	85.5	88.0
Loud noise or vibration	12.7	14.7	10.2
Extreme cold or heat or humidity	33.6	34.7	32.2
Dangerous tools	25.9	29.3	21.5
Work underground	0.4	0.0	1.0
Work at heights	1.2	0.9	1.4
Workplace too dark or confined	1.4	1.4	1.5
Insufficient ventilation	3.3	2.8	3.9
Chemicals	4.9	4.4	5.4
Explosives	0.2	0.2	0.1
Other	2.2	0.3	4.6
Night work	7.2	6.3	8.3

Notes: Includes children in hazardous work only.

Next, we take a closer look at the risks faced by children at their workplaces. Table 4.5 shows that 44.5 per cent of children carry heavy loads at work. This proportion is found to be slightly higher among girls. The workplace risk cited most frequently is dust/fumes/gas, with 86.6 per cent of child labourers working under hazardous conditions found to be exposed to this risk. Again, the proportion of girls who complain about this risk is slightly higher than for boys. Almost one-third of children complain about extreme temperatures and humidity, while about one-fifth report working with dangerous tools.

In Table 4.6 we carry out a sensitivity analysis to see how the child labour estimates would change when the definition of hazardous conditions is changed to only include "carrying heavy loads at work," being exposed to "dust/fumes/gas," "loud noise/vibration," "extreme cold/heat," and work with "dangerous tools." The child labour estimates drop only slightly from 29.4 per cent to 29.3 per cent. This is not, perhaps, surprising, as these five risks, taken together, determine almost entirely who the child labourers working under hazardous conditions are. Indeed, the selective reduction of hazard questions from 13 to five changes the proportion of children in hazardous conditions only by 0.2 percentage points (see Table 4.4 and 4.6), but has practically no effect on estimates of children working in hazardous economic activities or occupations.

TABLE 4.6 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 2: Benin**

	Alt. def. 2: All	Alt. def. 2: Male	Alt. def. 2: Female
Working children younger than 12 (Percentage in child labor)	17.0 (58.0)	17.2 (59.3)	16.8 (56.9)
Children aged 12–13 employed for more than 22.5 hours per week and children aged 14–17 employed for more than 40 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	5.6 (19.1)	4.8 (16.6)	6.5 (22.0)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions* (Percentage in child labour)	6.2 (21.1)	6.6 (22.8)	5.9 (20.0)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.04 (0.1)	0.05 (0.2)	0.02 (0.1)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.4 (1.4)	0.4 (1.4)	0.3 (1.0)
Prevalence of child labour	29.3 (100)	29.0 (100)	29.5 (100)

*Notes: Information on hazardous occupations is adopted from AfriStat. Children temporarily absent from work are excluded from data. *Hazardous conditions include "carrying heavy loads at work," being exposed to "dust/fumes/gas," "loud noise/vibration," "extreme cold/heat," and work with "dangerous tools." Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.*

The sensitivity analysis also shows that the change in the child labour estimates for boys and girls is just as small. In both cases, the prevalence of child labour drops by less than a half percentage point. For boys, the proportion of children engaged in hazardous economic activities and occupations remains practically unchanged. For girls, we see a slight increase in the proportion engaged in hazardous occupations. Nonetheless, the exercise in Table 4.6 implies that the selective reduction of the risk conditions to the five hazards shown above and the omission of occupations and economic activities would result in a bias that does not exceed 2 per cent of child labourers. The corresponding rates for boys and girls are 1.9 per cent and 1.8 per cent, respectively.

4.4 Jordan

Jordan's child labour definition is based on the age of the child, hours of work, economic activity engaged in, occupation held and working conditions (Box 4.4). In total, 1.6 per cent of children are found to be child labourers. Although this figure looks low, it represents almost 90 per cent of working children. The prevalence of child labour for boys, at 2.8 per cent, is considerably higher than the estimate for girls at 0.3 per cent. Child labourers constitute 90 per cent of working boys and 75 per cent of working girls.

BOX 4.4 CHILD LABOUR DEFINITION: JORDAN

1. All children in employment under age 12.
2. Children aged 12–15 employed for 14 hours or more per week.
3. Children under age 18 engaged in hazardous work, which is defined to include those who:
   a. carry heavy loads at work;
   b. operate any machinery/heavy equipment at work;
   c. are exposed at work to adverse conditions (i.e., dust/fumes, fire/gas/flames, loud noise, etc.);
   d. work in the construction sector; electricity, gas, steam or hot water supply; mining and quarrying; or in hotels and restaurants;
   e. work in hazardous occupations;
   f. work on the streets or as scavengers;
   g. work 43 hours or more per week (ages 16–17);
   h. are mistreated at work (i.e., children who are subjected to physical, psychological or sexual abuse).

TABLE 4.7 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk: Jordan**

Children in hazardous work	National definition: All	National definition: Male	National definition: Female
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (12.5)	0.4 (14.3)	0.0 (0.0)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.1 (6.3)	0.1 (3.6)	0.0 (0.0)
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	0.8 (50.0)	1.4 (50.0)	0.2 (66.7)
Working children aged 5–11 years (Percentage in child labour)	0.1 (6.3)	0.1 (3.6)	0.1 (33.3)
Ages 12–15 working more than 13 hours per week, ages 16–17 working more than 42 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	0.4 (25.0)	0.7 (25.0)	0.1 (33.3)
Prevalence of child labour	1.6 (100)	2.8 (100)	0.3 (100)

Notes: Column totals may not be precise, due to rounding. Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

Table 4.7 shows that half of all child labourers face hazardous working conditions and another quarter work long hours. The true proportions of child labourers who face these risks are likely to be higher, because, as mentioned earlier, children are classified into risk categories (five groups in the case of Jordan) that are mutually exclusive, and these two risks appear third and last in the list. The proportions of boys who face hazardous work conditions and long hours are exactly the same as obtained for all children. For girls, however, these two risks define completely who the child labourers are.

In an alternative definition, we re-order the risks. We identify, first, working children who are under 12 years of age, followed by children working excessively long hours for their age. These two groups are followed by children facing hazardous working conditions, children in hazardous economic activity, and those in hazardous occupations. Table 4.8 shows that information on the age of children and their hours of work (which is gathered to establish their employment status) is able to capture 80 per cent of child labourers. In addition, questions that establish employment under hazardous conditions identify another 18.8 per cent, so that almost all child labourers are accounted for by these three sets of questions without the need to go into the details of the activities they carry out. The results are similar for boys and girls in that information on the occupations held by children and the industries where they work add very little to child labour estimates.

As discussed earlier, a total of 20 questions are used to establish hazardous working conditions. In Table 4.8, therefore, we try to understand the individual contributions of these 20 questions to child labour estimates with a view to economizing on the number of questions needed to gather the relevant data.

TABLE 4.8 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 1: Jordan**

Excessive hours for age	Alt. def. 1: All	Alt. def. 1: Male	Alt. def. 1: Female
Working children aged 5–11 years (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (11.9)	0.3 (8.9)	0.1 (38.7)
Children aged 12-14 working more than 13 hours per week, children aged 15-16 working more than 24 hours per week, and children aged 17 working more than 35 hours per week	1.1 (68.1)	2.0 (70.1)	0.2 (48.4)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	0.3 (18.8)	0.5 (19.2)	0.04 (12.9)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.01 (0.6)	0.03 (1.1)	0.0 (0.0)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.01 (0.6)	0.02 (0.7)	0.0 (0.0)
Prevalence of child labour	1.6 (100)	2.8 (100)	0.3 (100)

Notes: Column totals may not be precise, due to rounding. Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

TABLE 4.9 **Risks faced by children employed under hazardous conditions: Jordan**

Work environment	All	Male	Female
Carrying heavy loads at work	24.0	24.1	22.9
Operating machinery/heavy equipment	15.8	16.8	0.0
Dust/fumes	49.1	47.1	78.8
Fire/gas/flames	8.1	8.6	0.0
Loud noise or vibration	27.6	29.5	0.0
Extreme cold or heat	45.3	47.4	14.2
Dangerous tools	22.3	23.8	0.0
Work underground	3.2	3.4	0.0
Work at heights	12.1	12.9	0.0
Work in water/lake/pond/river	0.9	1.0	0.0
Workplace too dark or confined	2.8	3.0	0.0
Insufficient ventilation	4.2	4.5	0.0
Chemicals	16.3	16.5	14.2
Explosives	1.6	1.7	0.0
Other unfavorable conditions	1.6	1.7	0.0
Constantly shouted at	22.4	21.5	35.3
Repeatedly insulted	10.7	11.5	0.0
Beaten/physically hurt	3.9	4.2	0.0
Sexually abused	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other mistreatment at work	0.0	0.0	0.0

Notes: Includes children in hazardous work only. The number of child labourers identified in the raw data to face hazardous working conditions is 31 (26 males and 5 females). Caution must be exercised in interpreting results with so few observations.

Table 4.9 shows that the most common hazards faced by working children are: "dust/fumes" (49.1 per cent) in their workplaces; "extreme cold/heat" (45.3 per cent); "loud noise/vibration" (27.6 per cent); "carrying heavy loads" (24 per cent), and "working with dangerous tools" (22.3 per cent). In total, 22.4 per cent of child labourers in hazardous work conditions also complained about being constantly shouted at. The hazards listed in Table 4.9 also describe the risks faced by boys, as they account for the majority of child labourers. Girls, on the other hand, report five hazards: "dust/fumes" (78.8 per cent), "carrying heavy loads at work" (22.9 per cent), "extreme cold/heat" (14.2 per cent), "work with chemicals" (14.2 per cent), and "being constantly shouted at" (35.3 per cent).

In an alternative exercise, we define child labourers on the basis of the five hazards faced most frequently by children: "carrying heavy loads at work," "dust/fumes," "extreme cold/heat," "loud noise/vibration," "working with dangerous tools," and "constantly shouted at." Table 4.10 shows that the proportion of children in hazardous work changes very little when the 20 questions used to establish hazardous work are replaced with these five questions. When questions related to mistreatment at work are excluded altogether, the estimates of child labourers do not change in any significant manner. It is also important to note that very low proportions of children are employed in hazardous economic activities and occupations.

TABLE 4.10 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 2: Jordan**

Excessive hours for age	Alt. def. 2: All	Alt. def. 2: Male	Alt. def. 2: Female
Working children aged 5–11 years (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (12.0)	0.3 (9.1)	0.1 (40.0)
Children aged 12-14 working more than 13 hours per week, children aged 15-16 working more than 24 hours per week, and children aged 17 working more than 35 hours per week	1.1 (69.0)	2.0 (71.4)	0.2 (50.0)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions* (Percentage in child labour)	0.3 (17.1)	0.5 (17.8)	0.03 (10.0)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.02 (1.3)	0.03 (1.1)	0.0 (0.0)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.01 (0.6)	0.02 (0.7)	0.0 (0.0)
Prevalence of child labour	1.6 (100)	2.8 (100)	0.3 (100)

*Notes: Column totals may not be precise, due to rounding. * Hazardous conditions include "carries heavy loads at work," subject to "dust/fumes," "extreme cold/heat," "loud noise/vibration," "works with dangerous tools," and "constantly shouted at." Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.*

We have illustrated that the questions that identify the hazardous work conditions of children can indeed be cut quite substantially without any significant change in child labour estimates. The explanation for this is that children are likely to experience more than one hazard at their workplaces, so identifying the most common hazard helps to identify a large proportion of child labourers.

4.5 Kyrgyzstan

The child labour definition used in Kyrgyzstan is quite unusual in that it distinguishes between school-going children and school-leavers. While children who no longer attend school (beyond compulsory schooling) face a higher threshold of working hours before they are classified as child labourers, the permissible work hours for children who go to school (again, beyond compulsory schooling) is much lower (see Box 4.5). In other words, it is less likely for school-leavers to be classified as child labourers, even though they face the disadvantage of being unable to continue with their schooling. For the purposes of this study, we ignore this rather unconventional distinction made between school-leavers and those going to school and establish the same threshold of working hours for both groups of children: 24 hours per week for 14–15-year-olds and 36 hours per week for 16–17-year-olds. With the exception of this modification, we adopt the national definition of Kyrgyzstan in measuring child labour.

BOX 4.5 CHILD LABOUR DEFINITION: KYRGYZSTAN

1. Children in hazardous work, which includes those who carry heavy loads at work; operate machinery/heavy equipment; are exposed to adverse working conditions such as dust/fumes, gas/flames, loud noises, etc.; or are mistreated at work.
2. All working children aged 5–13.
3. Working children aged 14–15 who attend school and work 12 or more hours per week.
4. Working children aged 14–15 who do not attend school but work 24 or more hours per week.
5. Working children aged 16–17 who attend school and work more than 18 hours per week.
6. Working children aged 16–17 who do not attend school but work more than 36 hours per week.

TABLE 4.11 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk: Kyrgyzstan**

Children in hazardous work	National definition: All	National definition: Male	National definition: Female
In hazardous economic activity	NA	NA	NA
In hazardous occupation	NA	NA	NA
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	10.8 (38.6)	12.8 (42.4)	8.7 (34.0)
Working children aged 5–13 years (Percentage in child labour)	15.9 (56.8)	16.1 (53.3)	15.8 (61.7)
Ages 14–15 working more than 24 hours per week, ages 16–17 working more than 36 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	1.3 (4.6)	1.3 (4.3)	1.2 (4.7)
Prevalence of child labour	28.0 (100)	30.2 (100)	25.6 (100)

Notes: NA = not applicable. The national definition of child labour does not define child labour on the basis of economic activity or occupation held. Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

The prevalence of child labour is found to be quite high in Kyrgyzstan, at an estimated 28 per cent overall, or 75 per cent of working children. Table 4.11 shows the two main groups that account for this high rate: children who are too young to engage in any form of work (5–13-year-olds) and children working under hazardous conditions. Together, these two groups constitute about 95 per cent of child labourers – boys and girls.

Re-ordering the risks faced by children (Table 4.12), starting with thresholds for age and working hours, we find that underage children constitute 71 per cent of child labourers (68 per cent of them boys and 75 per cent girls). Older children who exceed the permissible work hours account for 8.6 per cent of child labourers (9.3 per cent of them boys and 7.4 per cent girls). So, most child labourers are already accounted for by age and employment variables, with hazardous conditions accounting for the remainder.

TABLE 4.12 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 1: Kyrgyzstan**

Excessive hours for age	Alt. def. 1: All	Alt. def. 1: Male	Alt. def. 1: Female
Working children aged 5–13 years (Percentage in child labour)	20.0 (71.4)	20.6 (68.2)	19.2 (75.0)
Children aged 14-15 working more than 24 hours per week, children aged 16-17 working more than 36 hours per week	2.4 (8.6)	2.8 (9.3)	1.9 (7.4)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	5.7 (20.4)	6.8 (22.5)	4.5 (17.6)
Prevalence of child labour	28.0 (100)	30.2 (100)	25.6 (100)

Notes: Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

Table 4.13 shows the various risks reported by children in hazardous work. The most common risk – encountered by 58 per cent of children – is "carrying heavy loads at work." Being subjected to "dust/fumes" while working constitutes another important risk and is experienced by 44 per cent of children in hazardous work. Other common risks include "fire/gas/flames" (14.6 per cent), "extreme cold/heat" (19.9 per cent), and work with "dangerous tools" (16.2 per cent). A smaller proportion of children (6 per cent) also complain about being "constantly shouted at." Given that the overwhelming majority of working children (94 per cent) are unpaid family workers, those shouting at them are likely to be their relatives.

TABLE 4.13 **Risks faced by children employed under hazardous conditions: Kyrgyzstan**

Work environment	All	Male	Female
Carrying heavy loads at work	58.1	63.0	49.7
Operating machinery/heavy equipment	10.1	12.1	6.8
Dust/fumes	44.1	45.9	41.1
Fire/gas/flames	14.6	9.1	23.8
Loud noise or vibration	1.4	1.9	0.4
Extreme cold or heat	19.9	20.5	19.0
Dangerous tools	16.2	12.3	22.8
Work underground	0.7	0.6	0.7
Work at heights	0.5	0.9	0.0
Work in water/lake/pond/river	0.5	0.2	0.9
Workplace too dark or confined	0.9	0.4	1.8
Insufficient ventilation	1.5	1.1	2.1
Chemicals	0.0	0.0	0.0
Explosives	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other unfavorable conditions	1.3	2.0	0.0
Constantly shouted at	6.0	6.5	5.2
Repeatedly insulted	2.5	1.5	4.0
Beaten/physically hurt	0.9	0.0	2.3
Sexually abused	2.0	2.2	1.7
Other mistreatment at work	0.0	0.0	0.0

Notes: Includes children in hazardous work only.

Table 4.14a shows how the child labour estimate changes when these six risk factors alone are used to determine the conditions of work. The overall child labour estimate drops by 0.2 percentage points, as does the estimate for children in hazardous work. The resulting estimate is therefore 0.7 per cent lower than the true figure. The drop in the child labour estimate is 0.3 percentage points for boys and 0.1 percentage points for girls, introducing a bias to the estimates in the order of 1 per cent and 0.4 per cent, respectively.

KYRGYZSTAN A child follows his donkey carrying water on the way to the southwestern village of Karakamyr, Ak-Suu Ayila Okmotty district.

TABLE 4.14A **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 2: Kyrgyzstan**

Excessive hours for age	Alt. def. 2: All	Alt. def. 2: Male	Alt. def. 2: Female
Working children aged 5–13 years (Percentage in child labour)	20.0 (71.9)	20.6 (68.9)	19.2 (75.3)
Children aged 14-15 working more than 24 hours per week, children aged 16-17 working more than 36 hours per week	2.4 (8.6)	2.8 (9.4)	1.9 (7.5)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions* (Percentage in child labour)	5.5 (19.8)	6.5 (21.7)	4.3 (16.9)
Prevalence of child labour	27.8 (100)	29.9 (100)	25.5 (100)

*Notes: *Hazardous conditions include "carries heavy loads at work," subject to "dust/fumes," "fire/gas/flames," "extreme cold/heat," "works with dangerous tools," and "constantly shouted at." Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.*

TABLE 4.14B **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 3: Kyrgyzstan**

Excessive hours for age	Alt. def. 3: All	Alt. def. 3: Male	Alt. def. 3: Female
Working children aged 5–13 years (Percentage in child labour)	20.0 (72.5)	20.6 (69.6)	19.2 (75.6)
Children aged 14-15 working more than 24 hours per week, children aged 16-17 working more than 36 hours per week	2.4 (8.7)	2.8 (9.5)	1.9 (7.5)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions* (Percentage in child labour)	5.3 (19.2)	6.2 (20.9)	4.3 (16.9)
Prevalence of child labour	27.6 (100)	29.6 (100)	25.4 (100)

*Notes: *Hazardous conditions include "carries heavy loads at work," subject to "dust/fumes," "fire/gas/flames," "extreme cold/heat," and "works with dangerous tools." Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.*

As a final exercise, we analyse the sensitivity of child labour estimates to the exclusion of mistreatment at work (i.e., "constantly shouted at"). This time, the overall child labour estimate (from the true estimate) drops by 0.4 percentage points, introducing a bias to the true estimate on the order of 1.4 per cent (Table 4.14b). The size of the bias introduced is higher for boys (2 per cent) than for girls (0.8 per cent), showing that it is mostly boys who suffer from this risk.

It is also interesting to note that while mistreatment at work is cited as a problem by a small proportion of children, its omission from the analysis leads to a bias as large as the omission of ten other workplace risks (plus four other risks related to mistreatment at work). This finding implies that workplace risks do not necessarily correlate with mistreatment at work, so questions that capture the former do not necessarily identify the latter. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the omission of workplace hazards that relate to mistreatment introduces only a small bias to the true estimate.

4.6 Madagascar

The definition of child labour in Madagascar is based on children's ages and daily hours of work,[12] their occupation and the economic activity in which they are engaged, and their working conditions (see Box 4.6). According to this definition, 23 per cent of all children are child labourers, constituting about 83.3 per cent of working children.[13] The prevalence of child labour is slightly higher among boys, at an estimated 24.8 per cent as compared to a rate of 21.1 per cent for girls. Based on these figures, 86 per cent of working boys and 80 per cent of working girls are found to be child labourers.

12 CLS did not collect information on days worked in the reference week. Therefore, instead of the 8-hours-per-day threshold, a 40-hours-per-week threshold is used to determine hazardous work.

13 Information on the working conditions of 267 children is missing and they are excluded from this analysis. We have also excluded children who were temporarily absent from work. As discussed earlier in this paper, there is clear evidence in the data that these children are seasonal workers. Furthermore, the reported hours of work for three-quarters of these children is zero.

BOX 4.6 CHILD LABOUR DEFINITION: MADAGASCAR

1. Children in hazardous economic activities (e.g., work in bars/discos/casinos; paid domestic work; work in mines/quarries).
2. Children in hazardous occupations (e.g., domestic servants).
3. Children in hazardous work that includes carrying heavy loads at work; operating machinery/heavy equipment at work; being exposed to adverse conditions at work such as dust/fumes, gas/flames, loud noises, etc.
4. Children who work in excess of 8 hours per day.
5. Children who work at night.
6. All working children aged 5–14.

TABLE 4.15 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk: Madagascar**

Children in hazardous work	National definition: All	National definition: Male	National definition: Female
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	1.5 (6.5)	1.2 (4.8)	1.9 (9.0)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.4 (1.7)	0.7 (2.8)	0.1 (0.5)
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	6.1 (26.5)	6.2 (25.0)	6.0 (28.4)
Working children aged 5–14 years (Percentage in child labour)	12.8 (55.7)	14.1 (56.9)	11.4 (54.0)
Children working more than 40 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	2.2 (9.6)	2.6 (10.5)	1.7 (8.1)
Prevalence of child labour	23.0 (100)	24.8 (100)	21.1 (100)

Notes: Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

The risks faced most commonly by children are employment at too young an age and employment under hazardous conditions (Table 4.15). These two risks are able to define the majority of child labourers – boys and girls.

Therefore, we use an alternative definition to re-order the risks. First, we identify children who are too young to work for even one hour per week and older children working for excessively long hours. Then we identify children working under hazardous conditions. This re-ordering of risks, shown in Table 4.16, reveals that over 92 per cent of child labourers can be identified simply by using information on their age and working hours: around 93 per cent for boys and 92 per cent for girls, with the remaining child workers captured by questions on hazardous work conditions. Information on hazardous economic activities and occupations held by children contributes only marginally in the identification of child labourers.

MADAGASCAR A boy carries water home in a suburb of Antananarivo, the capital.

TABLE 4.16 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 1: Madagascar**

Excessive hours for age	Alt. def. 1: All	Alt. def.1: Male	Alt. def. 1: Female
Working children aged 5–14 years (Percentage in child labour)	17.9 (77.8)	19.4 (78.2)	16.3 (77.3)
Children working more than 40 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	3.4 (14.8)	3.7 (14.9)	3.1 (14.7)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	1.5 (6.5)	1.5 (6.0)	1.5 (7.1)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.1 (0.4)	0.1 (0.4)	0.2 (0.9)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.1 (0.4)	0.1 (0.4)	0.0 (0.0)
Prevalence of child labour	23.0 (100)	24.8 (100)	21.1 (100)

Notes: Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

TABLE 4.17 **Risks faced by children employed under hazardous conditions: Madagascar**

Work environment	All	Male	Female
Carrying heavy loads at work	34.5	39.6	29.4
Operating machinery/heavy equipment	5.5	5.8	5.2
Dust/fumes	34.7	33.0	36.3
Loud noise or vibration	3.3	2.9	3.7
Extreme cold or heat	34.3	29.5	39.2
Dangerous tools	28.2	37.5	18.8
Work underground	3.8	5.6	2.0
Work at heights	17.8	14.1	21.6
Workplace too dark or confined	3.8	3.7	4.0
Insufficient ventilation	5.4	7.9	2.8
Chemicals	2.1	3.9	0.2
Explosives	0.7	1.1	0.2
Other unfavorable conditions	6.2	6.4	6.0
Work at night	3.2	4.4	2.0

Notes: Includes children in hazardous work only.

Next, we take a closer look at the five hazards encountered most commonly by working children who have not been identified as child labourers because of their age or working hours. Table 4.17 shows that these hazards are: "carrying heavy loads at work" (34.5 per cent), "dust/fumes" (34.7 per cent), "extreme cold/heat" (34.3 per cent), work with "dangerous tools" (28.2 per cent), and "work at heights" (17.8 per cent). The ordering of risks is similar for boys and girls, showing that the risks to which they are exposed are not that different. Therefore, in an alternative exercise, we look at how child labour estimates change when we define the hazards children face at work on the basis of only the five they encounter most frequently.

Table 4.18 shows that this re-definition of hazardous work affects the estimates of child labour only marginally (the drop in the estimate is from 23 per cent to 22.9 per cent) primarily because of a minimal change (of around 0.1 percentage points) in the proportion of children exposed to workplace hazards. The change in the proportion of children identified by information on hazardous economic activities and occupations is also minimal, with similar conclusions for boys and girls.

In fact, if occupation and economic activity questions were to be dropped altogether and hazardous conditions are defined to include only the five risks given in Table 4.18, the child labour estimate would only change from 23 per cent to 22.6

per cent – limiting the bias introduced to the estimate to 1.7 per cent. A similar exercise shows the bias to be very similar for boys and girls. Therefore, based on this exercise, we can conclude that reducing questions on workplace hazards substantially and omitting questions on economic activity and occupation do not bias the child labour estimates in any significant way.

TABLE 4.18 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 2: Madagascar**

Excessive hours for age	Alt. def. 2: All	Alt. def. 2: Male	Alt. def. 2: Female
Working children aged 5–14 years (Percentage in child labour)	17.9 (78.2)	19.4 (78.5)	16.3 (77.6)
Children all ages working more than 40 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	3.4 (14.8)	3.7 (15.0)	3.1 (14.8)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions* (Percentage in child labour)	1.4 (6.1)	1.4 (5.7)	1.4 (6.7)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (0.9)	0.1 (0.4)	0.2 (1.0)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.1 (0.4)	0.1 (0.4)	0.0 (0.0)
Prevalence of child labour	22.9 (100)	24.7 (100)	21.0 (100)

*Notes: *Hazardous conditions include "carrying heavy loads at work," being exposed to "dust/fumes," "extreme cold/heat," working with "dangerous tools," and "working at heights." Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.*

4.7 Moldova

The definition of child labour in Moldova is multidimensional. It considers the age of the children, their hours of work, their occupation, and the economic activity in which they are engaged, as well as the conditions under which they work (as outlined in Box 4.1 at the start of this section). Interestingly, Moldova is the only country in this study that considers excessive amounts of unpaid household services to be child labour.

BOX 4.7 CHILD LABOUR DEFINITION: MOLDOVA

1. Children employed in hazardous economic activities that include mining/quarrying/construction.
2. Children employed in hazardous occupations, including, but not limited to: extraction and building trades; metal, machinery, and related trades; precision handicrafts, printing, and related trades; machine operators/assemblers; and drivers and mobile-plant operators.
3. Children employed for more than 43 hours per week.
4. Children working under hazardous conditions that involve carrying heavy loads; operating any machinery/heavy equipment; exposure to adverse conditions such as dust/fumes, fire/gas/flames, or loud noise, etc.; as well as children who are verbally or physically abused at work.
5. Children aged 5–11 who are employed (even if only for 1 hour per week).
6. Children aged 12–14 who work more than 13 hours per week.
7. Children aged 15–16 who work more than 24 hours per week.
8. Children aged 17 who work more than 35 hours per week.
9. Children performing unpaid household services for more than 27 hours per week.

Based on an elaborate definition of child labour given in Box 4.7 and the 24 questions that try to measure it (excluding questions that establish the employment status of children), the prevalence of child labour in Moldova is found to be 18.3 per cent. Boys are more likely to be child labourers than girls, at 22.6 per cent and 13.7 per cent, respectively. Child labourers constitute about 60 per cent of working children.

The figures in Table 4.19 show that there are two main reasons why children in Moldova are categorized as child labourers: (1) they are too young to work (under 12 years of age) and (2) they work under hazardous conditions. Information on these two risks alone puts the child labour estimate at 15.8 per cent (19.9 per cent among boys and 11.6 per cent among girls). These two figures are possibly underestimates of the true figure, as some children are already classified as child labourers because of their excessive working hours, their economic activity, and their occupation. Interestingly, hazardous and unpaid household services (above 27 hours per week) contribute less than 1 percentage point toward the overall child labour figure. Therefore, excluding them from the definition of child labour reduces its prevalence to 17.5 per cent. Even among girls, the prevalence of hazardous UHS is limited to 1.2 per cent of the total.

TABLE 4.19 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk: Moldova**

Children in hazardous work – SNA	National definition: All	National definition: Male	National definition: Female
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.3 (1.6)	0.6 (2.7)	0.1 (0.7)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.7 (3.8)	1.0 (4.4)	0.4 (2.9)
Hours of work exceed 42 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (1.1)	0.2 (0.9)	0.1 (0.7)
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	11.3 (61.7)	14.2 (62.8)	8.4 (61.3)
Working children aged 5–11 years – SNA	4.5 (24.6)	5.7 (25.2)	3.2 (23.4)
Ages 12–14 working more than 13 hours per week, ages 15-16 working more than 24 hours per week, and age 17 working more than 35 hours per week – SNA (Percentage in child labour)	0.6 (3.3)	0.8 (3.5)	0.4 (2.9)
Children in hazardous UHS for more than 27 hours per week – Non-SNA (Percentage in child labour)	0.7 (3.8)	0.2 (0.9)	1.2 (8.8)
Prevalence of child labour	18.3 (100)	22.6 (100)	13.7 (100)

Notes: Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

Can a shorter list of questions be used to generate the child labour estimate noted above? In Table 4.20 we re-order the responses given to 24 questions and observe the contribution of each one to the overall child labour estimate. In this re-ordering we first identify working children aged 5 to 11. These children, irrespective of their working conditions, are considered to be child labourers. Therefore, if the whole aim is to arrive at a child labour estimate, none of the 24 questions are necessary for this group of children. Therefore, a skip pattern could ease the application of the survey. The results show that this group constitutes 6.3 per cent of all children or one-third of child labourers.

Next, we identify children who work excessively long hours for their age. These children are identified by checking their hours of work against their age. This group accounts for 2 per cent of all children or 10.9 per cent of child laborers. A similar exercise is conducted for children engaged in UHS. If they were engaged in this activity for more than 27 hours per week, they were regarded as child labourers. This group constitutes 0.8 per cent of all children (or 4.4 per cent of child laborers). Taken together, these three groups put the child labour rate at 9.1 per cent – around half of all child labourers. The other half is captured by 20 questions that establish their economic activity, occupation, and working conditions.

As noted earlier, the working conditions of children seem to be the main reason for their classification as child labourers. Therefore, we first identify children who work under hazardous conditions through 20 "yes" or "no" questions. These children are found to account for 9 per cent of all children or 49.2 per cent of child labourers. Children in hazardous economic activities and occupations, on the other hand, constitute about 1.2 per cent of child labourers. As noted earlier, questions on hazardous economic activities and occupations are open-ended, requiring the interviewer to make detailed notes of the type of economic activity and occupation in which children are engaged for classification and coding at a later stage.

TABLE 4.20 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 1: Moldova**

Excessive hours for age – SNA	Alt. def. 1: All	Alt. def. 1: Male	Alt. def. 1: Female
Working children aged 5–11 years (Percentage in child labour)	6.3 (34.4)	8.1 (35.8)	4.4 (32.1)
Children aged 12-14 working more than 13 hours per week, children aged 15-16 working more than 24 hours per week, and children aged 17 working more than 35 hours per week	2.0 (10.9)	2.9 (12.8)	1.1 (8.0)
Excessive hours for age – non-SNA			
Hours of work exceed 27 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	0.8 (4.4)	0.3 (1.3)	1.4 (10.2)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	9.0 (49.2)	11.2 (49.6)	6.7 (48.9)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.02 (0.1)	0.0 (0.0)	0.04 (0.3)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (1.1)	0.2 (0.9)	0.2 (1.5)
Prevalence of child labour	18.3 (100)	22.6 (100)	13.7 (100)

Notes: Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

4.21 **Risks faced by children employed under hazardous conditions: Moldova**

Work environment	All	Male	Female
Carrying heavy loads at work	49.8	59.0	33.7
Operating machinery/heavy equipment	31.0	32.9	27.8
Dust/fumes	35.5	35.1	36.1
Fire/gas/flames	1.0	1.2	0.7
Loud noise or vibration	5.7	7.1	3.3
Extreme cold or heat	37.7	38.3	36.8
Dangerous tools	42.6	43.4	41.3
Work underground	0.0	0.0	0.0
Work at heights	5.4	5.2	5.8
Work in water/lake/pond/river	0.0	0.0	0.0
Workplace too dark or confined	0.3	0.5	0.0
Insufficient ventilation	1.2	1.2	1.2
Chemicals	2.6	3.2	1.6
Explosives	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other unfavorable conditions	0.3	0.3	0.3
Constantly shouted at	13.2	13.7	12.4
Repeatedly insulted	7.6	9.0	5.0
Beaten/physically hurt	1.3	1.9	0.3
Sexually abused	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other mistreatment	0.0	0.0	0.0

Notes: Includes children in hazardous work only.

Next, we carry out an exercise to see the hazards that children encounter most frequently at work. Table 4.21 shows that almost half of the children who are reported to face risks at work "carry heavy loads," 31 per cent "operate machinery/heavy equipment," 42.6 per cent work with "dangerous tools," 37.7 per cent work in "extreme cold or heat," 35.5 per cent face "dust/fumes" at work, 13.2 per cent are "constantly shouted at," and 7.6 per cent are "repeatedly insulted." The table also shows that the proportion of working children who face other risks is lower.

TABLE 4.22A **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 2: Moldova**

Excessive hours for age – SNA	Alt. def. 2: All	Alt. def. 2: Male	Alt. def. 2: Female
Working children aged 5–11 years (Percentage in child labour)	6.3 (34.6)	8.1 (36.0)	4.4 (32.1)
Children aged 12-14 working more than 13 hours per week, children aged 15-16 working more than 24 hours per week, and children aged 17 working more than 35 hours per week	2.0 (11.0)	2.9 (12.9)	1.1 (8.0)
Excessive hours for age – non-SNA			
Hours of work exceed 27 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	0.8 (4.4)	0.3 (1.3)	1.4 (10.2)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions* (Percentage in child labour)	8.9 (48.9)	11.1 (49.3)	6.6 (48.2)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.02 (0.1)	0.0 (0.0)	0.04 (0.3)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (1.1)	0.2 (0.9)	0.2 (1.5)
Prevalence of child labour	18.2 (100)	22.5 (100)	13.7 (100)

*Notes: *Hazardous conditions include "carries heavy loads at work," "operates machinery/heavy equipment," subject to "dust/fumes" and "extreme cold/heat," "works with dangerous tools," "constantly shouted at," and "repeatedly insulted." Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.*

Therefore, in an alternative definition of child labour, we consider only the hazards faced most frequently. Table 4.22a shows that doing so reduces the child labour estimate by just 0.1 percentage points. In other words, child labour drops from 18.3 per cent to 18.2 per cent. The change observed in child labour estimates for boys is limited to 0.1 percentage points as well, while for girls it is even less than that.

TABLE 4.22B **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 3: Moldova**

Excessive hours for age – SNA	Alt. def. 3: All	Alt. def. 3: Male	Alt. def. 3: Female
Working children aged 5–11 years (Percentage in child labour)	6.3 (35.0)	8.1 (36.3)	4.4 (32.6)
Children aged 12-14 working more than 13 hours per week, children aged 15-16 working more than 24 hours per week, and children aged 17 working more than 35 hours per week	2.0 (11.1)	2.9 (13.0)	1.1 (8.1)
Excessive hours for age – non-SNA			
Hours of work exceed 27 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	0.8 (4.4)	0.3 (1.3)	1.4 (10.4)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions* (Percentage in child labour)	8.7 (48.3)	10.9 (48.9)	6.4 (47.4)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.02 (0.1)	0.0 (0.0)	0.04 (0.3)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (1.1)	0.2 (0.9)	0.2 (1.5)
Prevalence of child labour	18.0 (100)	22.3 (100)	13.5 (100)

*Notes: *Hazardous conditions include "carries heavy loads at work," "operates machinery/heavy equipment," subject to "dust/fumes" and "extreme cold/heat," and "works with dangerous tools." Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.*

As discussed earlier, getting information from adults concerning the mistreatment to which children are subjected at work can be a challenge. In an alternative exercise, we define child labour to exclude mistreatment at work. This exclusion causes the overall child labour estimate to drop from 18.2 per cent to 18 per cent: a drop of 0.2 percentage points (see table 4.22b). Similarly, the child labour estimates among boys and girls fall by 0.2 percentage points. It is interesting to note that the answers to questions on occupation and economic activity do not change in any significant way under these alternative definitions of child labour.

In summary, we have established that reducing the number of child labour questions from 24 to nine (five working conditions questions, one hours-of-work question, one domestic hours question, one occupation question, and one sector-of-economic activity question) would reduce the child labour estimate by 0.3 percentage points. If we were to also exclude occupation and economic activity questions, the child labour estimate would change by an additional 0.2 percentage points, so that the total bias introduced would be in the order of 3 per cent (from 18.3 per cent to 17.8 per cent).

4.8 Peru

The child labour definition of Peru is very detailed, with prohibitions on children's employment by age, occupation held, economic activity, and working hours. A general outline of the child labour definition used in this report that sets aside some of the detailed regulations is given in Box 4.8.[14]

BOX 4.8 CHILD LABOUR DEFINITION: PERU

1. Children in hazardous economic activities (e.g., mining, commercial fishing, transportation).
2. Children in hazardous occupations (e.g., brick makers, fisherman).
3. Children who work in excess of 6 hours per day or 36 hours per week.
4. Children in hazardous work that includes: carrying heavy loads at work; operating machinery/heavy equipment; being exposed to adverse conditions at work such as dust/fumes, gas/flames, loud noises, etc.; and working at night.
5. All working children younger than 12.
6. Working children aged 12–13 who work more than 4 hours per day or 24 hours per week.

The prevalence of child labour in Peru is 35.4 per cent, which represents 84.4 per cent of working children.[15] The child labour rate is higher among boys, at 39.1 per cent, than among girls, at 31.7 per cent. Child labourers constitute 87 per cent of male and 81.4 per cent of female working children.

Table 4.23 shows that it is not so much the nature of economic activities or the occupations they follow that cause working children to be classified as child labourers, but rather the conditions under which they work and the employment of children who are underage. In total, these two groups constitute about 95 per cent of boys and 92 of girls who are child labourers.

In Table 4.24, we repeat the analysis in Table 4.23 by re-ordering the risks to start with underage children and children who work beyond the permissible hours for their age. We then account for those in hazardous work. According to this re-classification, underage children constitute half of all child labourers (48.6 per cent of the boys and 51.7 per cent of the girls), while older children working excessively long hours constitute 9.9 per cent of child labourers (10 per cent of boys and 9.8 per cent of females). In addition, sizeable proportions work under hazardous conditions: 39.3 per cent of child labourers overall (40.7 per cent of boys and 37.5 per cent of girls). The contributions of hazardous occupations and economic activities, on the other hand, are relatively lower: together they increase the child labour estimate by only 0.3 percentage points.

14 Industrial fishing, for example, is prohibited work for children younger than 17, and commercial agriculture is prohibited for children younger than 15.
15 Information on conditions of work is missing for a total of 449 children (out of 5,436 children) in the raw data. These children are dropped from the analysis.

PERU Two boys stand on a steep hillside and break rocks with sledgehammers in a quarry outside Lima, the capital.

TABLE 4.23 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk: Peru**

Children in hazardous work	National definition: All	National definition: Male	National definition: Female
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	1.0 (2.8)	1.4 (3.6)	0.6 (1.9)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.5 (1.4)	0.2 (0.5)	0.9 (2.8)
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	27.5 (77.7)	31.1 (79.5)	23.7 (74.8)
Working children aged 5–11 years (Percentage in child labour)	5.7 (16.1)	5.7 (14.6)	5.6 (17.7)
Children aged 12–13 working more than 24 hours per week and children aged14–17 working more than 36 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	0.8 (2.3)	0.6 (1.5)	0.9 (2.8)
Prevalence of child labour	35.4 (100)	39.1 (100)	31.7 (100)

Notes: Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

TABLE 4.24 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 1: Peru**

Excessive hours for age	Alt. def. 1: All	Alt. def. 1: Male	Alt. def. 1: Female
Working children aged 5–11 years (Percentage in child labour)	17.7 (50.0)	19.0 (48.6)	16.4 (51.7)
Children aged 12–13 working more than 24 hours per week and children aged 14–17 working more than 36 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	3.5 (9.9)	3.9 (10.0)	3.1 (9.8)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	13.9 (39.3)	15.9 (40.7)	11.9 (37.5)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (0.6)	0.3 (0.8)	0.1 (0.3)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.1 (0.3)	0.02 (0.1)	0.2 (3.6)
Prevalence of child labour	35.4 (100)	39.1 (100)	31.7 (100)

Notes: Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

TABLE 4.25 **Risks faced by children employed under hazardous conditions: Peru**

Work environment	All	Male	Female
Carrying heavy loads at work	30.3	37.0	21.1
Operating machinery/heavy equipment	2.4	3.1	0.8
Dust/fumes/gas	43.7	43.7	43.7
Loud noise or vibration	9.2	11.0	6.8
Extreme cold or heat or humidity	68.1	67.8	68.5
Dangerous tools	27.4	28.5	25.9
Work underground	0.1	0.3	0.0
Work at heights	2.8	3.3	2.0
Workplace too dark or confined	0.5	0.5	0.5
Insufficient ventilation	1.2	1.4	0.9
Chemicals	5.7	6.7	4.3
Explosives	0.3	0.2	0.4
Constant contact with water	15.9	14.7	17.4
Contact with electricity	2.4	2.6	2.2
Contact with hot metals	1.0	1.2	0.7
Contact with waste	4.0	4.0	3.9
Other unfavorable conditions	1.5	1.3	1.7
Work at night	3.5	3.3	3.7

Notes: Includes children working under hazardous conditions only.

In Table 4.25, we document the types of hazards children face at work. In comparison to other countries studied in this report, the list of workplace hazards covered in Peru's CLS is very detailed. The working conditions of children are established on the basis of the 18 questions shown in Table 4.25. However, despite this very detailed questioning, four work-related hazards that have appeared in other country surveys also turn out to be those most commonly encountered in Peru. These are: "carrying heavy loads" (30.3 per cent), being exposed to "dust/fumes/gas" (43.7 per cent), working in "extreme cold/heat/humidity" (68.1 per cent), and working with "dangerous tools" (27.4 per cent). The fifth risk that is peculiar to Peru is "constant contact with water" (15.9 per cent). When workplace risks are tabulated separately for boys and girls, similar outcomes for the two groups emerge, indicating that their working environments are quite similar (Table 4.25).

TABLE 4.26A **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 2: Peru**

Excessive hours for age	Alt. def. 2: All	Alt. def. 2: Male	Alt. def. 2: Female
Working children aged 5–11 years (Percentage in child labour)	17.7 (51.0)	19.0 (49.6)	16.3 (52.4)
Children aged 12–13 working more than 24 hours per week and children aged 14–17 working more than 36 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	3.5 (10.1)	3.9 (10.2)	3.1 (10.0)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions* (Percentage in child labour)	13.9 (40.1)	15.9 (41.5)	11.9 (38.3)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (0.6)	0.3 (0.8)	0.1 (0.3)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.1 (0.3)	0.02 (0.1)	0.2 (0.6)
Prevalence of child labour	34.7 (100)	38.3 (100)	31.1 (100)

*Notes: *Hazardous conditions include "carrying heavy loads," being exposed to "dust/fumes/gas" and "extreme cold/heat/humidity," working with "dangerous tools," and working in "constant contact with water." Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.*

Next, we carry out a sensitivity analysis to see how the child labour estimates change when the survey questions that establish work hazards are reduced from 18 to five and then to four questions. The results given in Tables 4.26a and 4.26b indicate that selective omission of workplace risks changes the child labour estimates only marginally.

To be more specific, when hazardous work conditions include only "carrying heavy loads," being exposed to "dust/fumes/gas," "extreme cold/heat/humidity," work with "dangerous tools" and in "constant contact with water," the child labour estimate drops from 35.4 per cent to 34.7 per cent – a fall of less than 2 per cent (Table 4.26a). When the condition "in constant contact with water" is also omitted, the estimate drops again, only marginally, to 34.4 per cent (Table 4.26b). When questions that establish whether the child is engaged in hazardous economic activities or occupations are also dropped, the child labour estimate becomes 34.1 per cent. Therefore, a bias in the order of 3.7 per cent emerges.

TABLE 4.26B **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 3: Peru**

Excessive hours for age	Alt. def. 3: All	Alt. def. 3: Male	Alt. def. 3: Female
Working children aged 5–11 years (Percentage in child labour)	17.7 (51.5)	19.0 (49.9)	16.4 (53.2)
Children aged 12–13 working more than 24 hours per week and children aged 14–17 working more than 36 hours per week (Percentage in child labour)	3.5 (10.2)	3.9 (10.2)	3.1 (10.1)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions* (Percentage in child labour)	12.9 (37.5)	14.8 (38.8)	10.9 (35.4)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (0.6)	0.3 (0.8)	0.1 (0.3)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.1 (0.3)	0.02 (0.1)	0.3 (1.0)
Prevalence of child labour *	34.4 (100)	38.1 (100)	30.8 (100)

*Notes: *Hazardous conditions include "carrying heavy loads," being exposed to "dust/fumes/gas" and "extreme cold/heat/humidity," and working with "dangerous tools." Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.*

These results are broadly similar when the sensitivity analyses are repeated for boys and girls. For example, reducing the number of questions on workplace hazards from 18 to five and then to four reduces the child labour estimate among boys from 39.1 per cent to 38.3 per cent and then to 38.1 per cent. The corresponding rates among girls are 31.7 per cent, 31.1 per cent, and 30.8 per cent, respectively. In both cases, therefore, the drop in child labour does not exceed a single percentage point. Omitting occupations and economic activity questions increases the bias to 1.3 percentage points for both groups. Hence, the total deviation from the true estimate is 3.4 per cent among boys and 4.1 per cent among girls.

4.9 Senegal

The child labour definition that is used in Senegal is shown in Box 4.9. What differentiates this definition from the others in this study is that it establishes a single threshold of hours (eight hours per day) for all children, regardless of their age. In many countries, underage children (usually defined as under 12 or 15) are not allowed to work for even one hour per week. However, children younger than 15 who work for pay in establishments other than their own households are also recognized as child labourers.

Another distinction is the definition of hazardous work, which is seen in terms of daily, rather than weekly, hours of work. This necessitates the collection of data not only on the hours worked in the reference week, but also on the number of days worked. A tabulation of hours worked per day in the reference week shows that 23 per cent of children are employed for more than

eight hours a day. The tabulation of weekly hours, on the other hand, shows that this proportion of children would be obtained only when the threshold of weekly hours is set at 55. This number is considerably higher than the 43 hours used normally by countries to demarcate hazardous work. Setting the number of permissible hours each week at 43 (irrespective of the age of the child) would result in 34 per cent of working children in Senegal being classified as child labourers.

BOX 4.9 **CHILD LABOUR DEFINITION: SENEGAL**

1. Children in hazardous work that includes: those who carry heavy loads at work; are exposed to adverse conditions such as dust/fumes, gas/flames, loud noises, etc.; are mistreated at work.
2. Children employed at night.
3. All female children and male children younger than 16 employed underground (in mines or quarries), in construction, or in transport.
4. Children engaged in hazardous occupations such as butchers, garbage collectors, etc.
5. Children younger than 15 engaged in paid work outside non-farm household establishments.
6. Children who work in excess of eight hours per day.

Another data-related issue is the treatment of working children who were temporarily absent from work at the time of the survey. As discussed earlier, and as is also the case in Benin, there is strong evidence in the data that these children are employed seasonally and should not, therefore, have been classified as employed in the reference week. Because of this, combined with the fact that there is no information on the actual hours and days worked by these children in the reference week, we have excluded these children from the exercises for this analysis, as we did for Benin.

TABLE 4.27 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk: Senegal**

Children in hazardous work	National definition: All	National definition: Male	National definition: Female
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.5 (4.0)	0.7 (4.2)	0.3 (3.8)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.4 (3.2)	0.3 (1.8)	0.6 (7.5)
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	9.7 (78.2)	13.2 (79.0)	6.1 (76.3)
Working children less than age 15 in paid work outside household establishment (Percentage in child labour)	0.7 (5.6)	0.8 (4.8)	0.5 (6.3)
Children working more than 8 hours per day (Percentage in child labour)	1.1 (8.9)	1.7 (10.2)	0.6 (7.5)
Prevalence of child labour	12.4 (100)	16.7 (100)	8.0 (100)

Notes: Children temporarily absent from work are excluded from data. Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

Table 4.27 shows that the prevalence of child labour in Senegal is 12.4 per cent.[16] This rate is considerably higher for boys, at an estimated 16.7 per cent, than for girls, at 8 per cent. However, child labourers constitute about equal proportions of working boys and working girls, at 71.3 per cent and 72.8 per cent, respectively.

The main reason for the classification of working children as child labourers is their working conditions. More than three-quarters of child labourers suffer from hazardous working conditions. Before analysing what these conditions are, in Table 4.28 we present an alternative ordering of risks and the resulting child labour estimates.

In this new re-ordering, we first identify children younger than 15 who are employed for pay outside their households, followed by children who work in excess of eight hours per day and, finally, children in hazardous work. The re-ordering shows that 44.3 per cent of child labourers can be identified readily through questions on their hours of work and their employment status. The latter are collected frequently in child labour surveys (although not in MICS), but the distinction between work for pay and without pay and work within and outside the household is not always made in determining child labour status.

The re-ordering of risks also reduces the share of children employed under hazardous conditions from 78.2 per cent to 54 per cent. Children in hazardous economic activities and occupations, on the other hand, constitute 2.4 per cent of child labourers under the classification in Table 4.28. Therefore, the exclusion of the information on hazardous economic activities and occupations would result in a reduction in the child labour estimate from 12.4 per cent to 12.1 per cent.

TABLE 4.28 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 1: Senegal**

	Alt. def. 1: All	Alt. def. 1: Male	Alt. def. 1: Female
Working children less than age 15 in paid work outside household establishment (Percentage in child labour)	1.9 (15.3)	2.0 (12.0)	1.7 (21.3)
Children working more than 8 hours per day (Percentage in child labour)	3.6 (29.0)	5.5 (32.9)	1.7 (21.3)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions (Percentage in child labour)	6.7 (54.0)	9.0 (53.9)	4.3 (53.8)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (1.6)	0.2 (1.2)	0.2 (2.5)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.1 (0.8)	0.0 (0.0)	0.2 (2.5)
Prevalence of child labour	12.4 (100)	16.7 (100)	8.0 (100)

Notes: Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.

16 This figure is slightly lower than the 12.6 per cent child labour prevalence reported in the Child Labour Report of Senegal (2007). The discrepancy results from the way children who are temporarily absent from work are treated, as well as the exact listing of dangerous works in four-digit occupation and economic activity codes.

When the data on child labourers are disaggregated by sex, similar proportions of boys (44.9 per cent) and girls (42.6 per cent) are found to either work for excessively long hours or are too young to work for pay outside their households. The proportions are identical for boys and girls working under hazardous conditions, at 54 per cent. However, the proportions of boys and girls in hazardous economic activities and occupations do differ, at 1.2 per cent and 5 per cent, respectively.[17]

TABLE 4.29 **Risks faced by children employed under hazardous conditions: Senegal**

Work environment	All	Male	Female
Carrying heavy loads at work	68.5	67.2	71.2
Operating machinery/heavy equipment*	29.2	33.7	19.6
Dust/fumes/gas	35.2	38.7	28.0
Loud noise or vibration	8.2	10.2	3.9
Extreme cold or heat	39.0	41.3	34.1
Radiation	3.2	3.9	1.7
Dangerous tools	41.1	40.2	42.9
Work underground	0.8	0.8	0.8
Workplace too dark	0.0	0.0	0.0
Chemicals	0.1	0.2	0.0
Sexually abused	0.0	0.0	0.0
Night work	1.6	1.9	0.9

*Notes: Includes children in hazardous work only. *This risk is part of the child labour definition.*

When the types of risks faced by children employed under hazardous conditions are analysed, 68.5 per cent are found to be "carrying heavy loads" frequently or from time to time at work. Interestingly, this proportion is higher among girls (at 71.2 per cent) than boys (at 67.2 per cent), which, unless girls are more likely to carry heavy loads in Senegal, indicates the importance of the role of perceptions in the answers to these questions. Over one-third of boys working in hazardous conditions also said "yes" when they were asked whether they were "operating machinery or heavy equipment" at work, while this was the case for one-fifth of girls. The other work-related hazards cited most frequently include "dust/fumes/gas" (38.7 per cent of boys and 28 per cent of girls), "extreme cold/heat" (41.3 per cent of boys and 34.1 per cent of girls), and work with "dangerous tools" (40.2 per cent of boys and 42.9 per cent of girls).

Given that there are four key work hazards reported by children ("carrying heavy loads at work," being exposed to "dust/fumes/gas," working in "extreme cold/heat," and working with "dangerous tools"), we carry out a sensitivity analysis where we limit the hazard questions to these four areas only. Table 4.30 shows that the estimate of child labour changes only slightly: the overall estimate decreases by 1 percentage point from 12.4 per cent to 12.3 per cent. The estimate for boys also goes down by 1 percentage point, while the estimate for girls hardly changes. It is important to note that a reduction in the number of risk-related questions did not increase the capture rate of hazardous economic activities or occupations. Therefore, the number of questions can be cut substantially without much effect on child labour estimates.

17 Note the stricter occupational and industry regulations for girls given in Box 4.9.

TABLE 4.30 **Child labourers as a proportion of all children by risk – Alternative definition 2: Senegal**

	Alt. def. 2: All	Alt. def. 2: Male	Alt. def. 2: Female
Working children less than age 15 in paid work outside household establishment (Percentage in child labour)	1.9 (15.4)	2.0 (12.1)	1.7 (21.3)
Children working more than 8 hours per day (Percentage in child labour)	3.6 (29.3)	5.5 (33.3)	1.7 (21.3)
Hazardous work			
Employed under hazardous conditions* (Percentage in child labour)	6.6 (53.7)	8.8 (53.3)	4.3 (53.8)
In hazardous economic activity (Percentage in child labour)	0.2 (1.6)	0.2 (1.2)	0.2 (2.5)
In hazardous occupation (Percentage in child labour)	0.1 (0.8)	0.0 (0.0)	0.2 (2.5)
Prevalence of child labour	12.3 (100)	16.5 (100)	8.0 (100)

*Notes: *Includes carrying heavy loads at work, "being exposed to dust/fumes/gas, working in extreme cold/heat, and work with dangerous tools." Child labour categories are mutually exclusive. The table employs a sequential ordering of risks as they appear in the table.*

4.10 Key findings on sensitivity of child labour estimates to measurement

The discussion in this section has shown that underage working children and those engaged in excessive hours of work constitute a sizeable proportion of child labourers that varies from 45.3 per cent in Moldova to 93 per cent in Madagascar.

Naturally, the higher the minimum age set for entrance to employment and the lower the permissible hours of work, the higher the prevalence of child labour and the share of these two groups among child labourers. The minimum age after which children are allowed to work in non-hazardous activities varies, in general, between 12 and 15, corresponding to the end of compulsory schooling. For older children, the minimum threshold for permissible hours of work varies from 14 to 43 hours among countries. There does not seem to be any general agreement on what the maximum allowable hours by age should be beyond the 14-hour recommendation of ILO for 12–14-year-olds (light work) and 43 hours for older children.

After accounting for underage children and those who work excessively long hours for their age, the remaining child labourers are captured to a large extent by questions on working conditions. Here, the general conclusion is that four to five questions are enough to capture the overwhelming majority of children working under hazardous conditions. When it comes to children working in hazardous economic activities and occupations, the general conclusion is that questions on their conditions of work usually do a good job of capturing children in both areas. As a result, omitting questions on economic activities and occupations leads to a bias in child labour estimates that varies between just 1 and 5 per cent. The sensitivity

analyses disaggregated by sex produce similar results, so the same set of work-related questions should be able to capture both groups effectively without introducing a gender bias to the estimates.

Therefore, if the whole purpose of the child labour module in MICS is to estimate the prevalence of child labour and changes in prevalence over time, rather than a full description of the risks faced by children, one strategy would be to list potential work hazards in order, from those observed most frequently to those observed least, and stop at the first affirmative response received. The survey time can be reduced further by only asking children aged 12 years and older about workplace hazards.

BOX 4.10A **SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR MICS TO ESTABLISH THAT A CHILD IS ENGAGED IN HAZARDOUS WORK - I**

Work-related risks (asked of children 12 years of age and above)

(Read each of the following questions. Stop at the first affirmative response.)

1. Does (name) carry heavy loads at work?
2. Does (name) work with dangerous tools (knives, etc.) or operate heavy machinery at work?
3. Is (name) exposed to dust, fumes, or gas at work?
4. Is (name) exposed to extreme cold, heat, or humidity at work?
5. Is (name) exposed to loud noise or vibration at work?
6. Does (name) work at heights?
7. Does (name) work with chemicals (pesticides, glues, etc.) or explosives at work?
8. Is (name)'s workplace too dark or confined?
9. Is (name) exposed to insufficient ventilation at work?
10. Does (name) work in water/lake/pond/river?
11. Is (name) exposed to other things, processes, or conditions bad for his/her health or safety?

BOX 4.10B **SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR MICS TO ESTABLISH THAT A CHILD IS ENGAGED IN HAZARDOUS WORK - II**

Work-related risks (asked of children 12 years of age and above)

(Read each of the following questions. Stop at the first affirmative response.)

1. Does the work that (name) carries out require that he/she:

a. carry heavy loads at work?

b. work with dangerous tools (knives, etc.) or operate heavy machinery?

2. How would you describe the work environment of (name)? Is he/she:

a. exposed to dust, fumes, or gas?

b. exposed to extreme cold, heat, or humidity?

c. exposed to loud noise or vibration?

d. required to work at heights?

e. required to work with chemicals (pesticides, glues, etc.) or explosives?

f. required to work in dark or confined spaces?

g. exposed to insufficient ventilation at work?

h. required to work in water/lake/pond/river?

i. exposed to other things, processes, or conditions bad for his/her health or safety?

The suggested sets of questions in two different formats shown in Boxes 4.10a and 4.10b are, in essence, a modified version of the SIMPOC questions given in Box 4.1 at the beginning of this section. As the sensitivity analyses indicate, the first five questions ("carries heavy loads at work," "works with dangerous tools or operates heavy machinery," "exposed to dust/fumes/gas," "exposed to extreme cold/heat/humidity," and "exposed to loud noise or vibration") should be able to

capture nearly all child labourers working under hazardous conditions. The first risk ("carries heavy loads at work") alone accounts for one-third to half of child labourers working under hazardous conditions (excluding hazardous industries and occupations), so the interview time is greatly reduced after the first couple of hazards are addressed.

In a typical case, where child labourers constitute about 80 per cent of working children, and underage children about 40 per cent of child labourers, there would only be 25 to 35 per cent of child labourers left to capture with the child labour module once the first hazard question has been posed. In other words, the survey would end after the first hazard question for about half of the working children.

Although ordering risks in a descending order in terms of the frequency with which they are observed greatly reduces the survey time, in a typical case the entire list of 11 questions would still need to be posed to 20 per cent of working children, who will not be classified as child labourers. In situations where this is too time-consuming or costly, the list of hazard questions can be reduced to the first five or six questions, with the final question being the catchall question posed as "other things, processes, or conditions bad for his/her health or safety" (i.e., questions 1–5 and 11 in Box 4.10a, and questions 1a, 1b, 2a–2c, and 2i in Box 4.10b).

The other important issue to consider is whether to include questions on the mistreatment of children at work in the child labour module questions. As noted earlier, the main problem with this set of questions is that they are not answered by children but by their parents or guardians, who may not know whether children are mistreated at work, and even if they do know it, may not want to reveal it, especially if they are employing the children. This may, perhaps, be why only a very small proportion of children were reported to be mistreated at work in the countries studied.

BOX 4.11 SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR MICS TO ESTABLISH A CHILD'S ENGAGEMENT IN HAZARDOUS WORK

(Read each of the following and stop at first affirmative response)

1. Does (name) complain about:

a. being constantly shouted at at work?
b. being repeatedly insulted at work?
c. being beaten/physically hurt at work?
d. some other behavior similar to these?

Among this set of questions, the most frequently encountered response was "being constantly shouted at." The sensitivity analyses have shown that omitting treatment-related risks in general does not have a significant impact on child labour estimates. However, in a small number of cases, such as in Kyrgyzstan, the omission of these risks is found to change the child labour estimate by about 1 per cent, although the proportion of child labourers who reported the most frequently encountered mistreatment ("being constantly shouted at") was no more than 6 to 7 per cent. Nonetheless, if this set of questions is to be included in the survey, it may be wise to word them differently so that they do not deter the respondents from providing a true response. A possible alternative wording to the SIMPOC questions is given in Box 4.11.

The last point is on the inclusion of questions that aim to understand whether children are engaged in hazardous economic activities and occupations. As noted earlier, questions on workplace hazards usually do a good job of capturing these risks

as well. The main disadvantage of questions on economic activity and occupation is that they need to be open-ended, with a detailed account of the nature of the work and its tasks required to establish the hazard involved. In Benin, for example, some 90 occupations are identified as hazardous. It is not possible, therefore, to re-shape questions on occupations and economic activities in a closed form.

The sensitivity analyses have shown that, after accounting for children's working conditions, hazardous occupations and economic activities usually have a minimal impact on child labour estimates, given the high correlation between hazardous occupations and economic activities and unfavourable working conditions. There are, however, circumstances where questions on workplace hazards miss children who are in hazardous occupations or economic activities. Madagascar, for example, defines live-in domestic servants as engaged in hazardous work.[18] Questions on workplace hazards are likely to miss such children, as it is not so much the nature of the job itself that makes such activities hazardous, but the children's employment relationships.[19]

Despite the difficult and expensive task of collecting information on economic activites and occupations, answers to these questions have the advantage of providing an objective guide to the definition of child labour. It is objective in the sense that an expert judgment on the potential dangers of certain industries, occupations, or tasks can be used to classify working children as child labourers. For example, children in mining can be categorized automatically as child labourers without the need to establish their working conditions.

As noted earlier, the child labour module of MICS will be applied to adult respondents only, who will have to supply information on the work environment of children. Even if adult respondents are aware of the working conditions of children, the answers they provide will reflect their perceptions of what the work involves. An issue of equal importance is how respondents' perceptions of what work involves changes with the gender of the child and/or the child's age. It is not implausible that respondents will be more sympathetic to younger children and girls than to older boys. However, there is no general agreement as to what constitutes hazardous economic activites or occupations – perhaps because they span very different work environments and relations in different countries.

Therefore, the working conditions of children, the type of economic activity in which they are engaged, and the occupation they hold must be viewed as providing complementary information on working children and a basis on which to judge the potential harm that work inflicts upon them. This is the ideal situation. But if a choice must be made between collecting information on children's working conditions and the economic activity and/or occupation in which they are engaged, and if the aim is to generate a child labour estimate, the sensitivity analyses in this section suggest that information on working conditions is the priority.

18 While all domestic servants, as a group, face potential risks, it can be argued that the risks to live-in workers are greater.
19 In this specific case, other information in the data (from the household roster) can be used to identify such children.

5

Sensitivity of child labour estimates to hours of unpaid household services

The *Resolution concerning the measurement of working time*, adopted at the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians in 2008, recognizes all activities that fall within the general production boundary (including non-SNA activities) as productive. The recommendation is for the inclusion of non-SNA activities in satellite accounts with an aim "for a broader understanding of, and approach to, labour market, economic and social policies" (Resolution I, p. 42). In relation to working children, the common practice in many countries has been to stick to the conventional definition of work (referring to economic activities), but report the number and proportion of children engaged in unpaid household services separately along with hours devoted to such services.

As a consequence of the commonly accepted definition of work, unpaid household services are not, in general, covered by national legislation defining child labour.[20] However, as noted earlier, the *Resolution concerning statistics of child labour* recommends that unpaid hazardous and unpaid household services are considered as child labour. The nature of UHS (i.e., whether they are hazardous or not) can be established using the criteria established for economic activities. However, none of the countries under study here have incorporated questions that aim to understand the detailed nature of the UHS carried out or the conditions under which they are performed. Therefore, the only piece of information that is available to judge whether children are engaged in hazardous UHS is to look at the hours they spend in these activities.

In SIMPOC's model CLS, the involvement of children in UHS is established in two steps. First, the respondent is asked whether the child has done a series of UHS in the reference week. Second, information on the number of hours of UHS carried out each day of the week is collected. The total weekly hours is then calculated by adding together the reported daily hours worked. In MICS, the involvement of children in UHS is established using a single question that asks the respondent whether the child was engaged in any UHS in the reference week. For those who say "yes," the questionnaire proceeds to ask about the number of hours the child spent on UHS in that week. The rationale behind inquiring about each activity separately in SIMPOC is to reduce recall errors. While these activities are not asked about separately in MICS, recall errors are likely to be small, given the short reference period and the inclusion of various types of UHS within the question.

20 In our study, Moldova is an exception in this regard.

BOX 5.1 **SUGGESTED QUESTIONS ON UHS FOR MICS**

1. During the past week, did (name) do any of the tasks indicated below for this household? *(Read each of the following options and mark "yes" or "no.")*

a. Shopping for household
b. Repair any household equipment
c. Cooking/cleaning utensils/house
d. Washing clothes
e. Caring for children/old/sick
f. Other household tasks

2. During each day of the past week how many hours did he/she engage in these activities?

Notes: Excerpt from SIMPOC questionnaire proposed for MICS, see Appendix 1.

BOX 5.2 **UHS QUESTIONS IN MICS**

1. During the past week, did (name) help with household chores such as shopping, cleaning, washing clothes, cooking, or caring for children, old, or sick people?

2. Since last (day of the week), about how many hours did he/she spend doing these chores?

Notes: Excerpt from MICS questionnaire, see Appendix 2.

To see how sensitive child labour estimates are to the chosen UHS hours, we estimate child labour using 20, 28, and 35 hours as thresholds to demarcate hazardous UHS from non-hazardous UHS. MICS defines hazardous UHS as exceeding a 28-hours-per-week cutoff point, with the same cutoff used for children aged 5 to 11 and 12 to 14 years old. It corresponds to four hours of UHS per day and is twice the 14-hour limit used by ILO to demarcate light work for economic activities for 12–14-year-olds. The 20-hour threshold corresponds to roughly three hours of UHS per day and the 35-hour threshold to five hours. As noted earlier, SIMPOC collects hours of UHS for each day of the week so that data heaping is likely at multiples of seven (i.e., seven hours, 14 hours, 21 hours, etc.). In MICS, heaping is likely to occur at multiples of five, because information is collected on a weekly basis. The chosen thresholds (i.e., 20 and 35 hours) address both concerns.

Picking a reasonable threshold to demarcate hazardous UHS is one problem. The other is deciding whether to apply the same hours to all children concerned. The current conventions and recommendations on child labour are not helpful here. Because hours-of-work distinctions are made for economic activities, it makes sense to follow a similar logic and at least differentiate between older and younger children, with the latter having a higher threshold of hours than the former. Therefore, in an alternative exercise, we experiment with setting the threshold of hazardous UHS at 28 hours for younger children (aged 5 to 14) and at 43 hours for older children (aged 15 to 17) – a threshold often used to demarcate hazardous economic activities for these older children. In an additional exercise, we differentiate between those aged 5 to 11 and those aged 12 to 14 by setting the allowable UHS at less than 12 hours per week for the former and at 28 hours per week for the latter.

Another complication in the setting of hour thresholds to define child labour concerns children who are engaged in both economic activities and UHS. When judged by individual hour thresholds, the child may not be involved in hazardous UHS or economic activity, though the combined hours may exceed either threshold.

Clearly, the setting of individual hour thresholds for economic activities and UHS implies certain hour equivalence between the two activities. For instance, the setting of 14 hours per week for economic activities for 12–14-year-olds but 28 hours per week for UHS implies that the harmful effects of UHS are only observed when twice as much time is devoted to them as to economic activities. Based on this reasoning, would a 12-year-old child who devotes ten hours per week to economic activities and ten hours per week to UHS be classified as a child labourer because, in effect, they are working for 15 hours per week?

It is obvious from this example that the answer to this question is not straightforward and requires the use of actual data to determine the different combinations of the two activities and their effects on various child outcomes, including schooling and health. While such an investigation is beyond the scope of this study, we try to provide an idea about the size of the problem by generating what we call "equivalized work time."

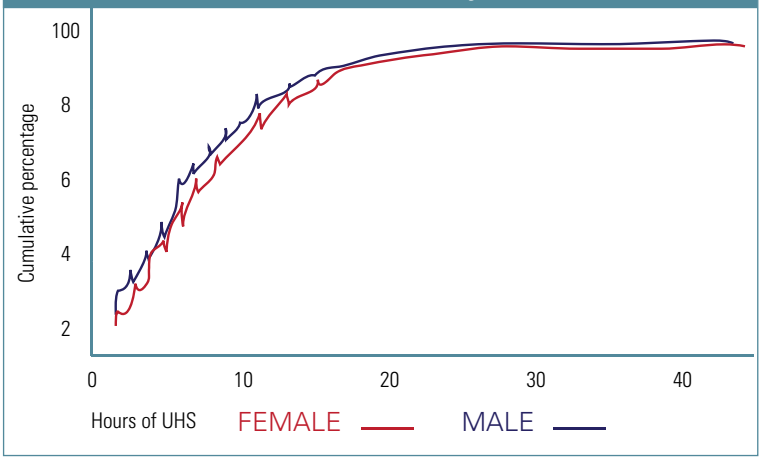
Basically, we compute the total time spent in work by children who are engaged in both economic activities and UHS by 'discounting' the time devoted to UHS by a factor implied by the hour thresholds set for hazardous economic activities and for UHS and add this figure to the work hours of children. We then take this total equivalized time as a basis to judge the child labour status of working children. Obviously, this correction applies only to children aged 12 and older, since, as discussed in the previous section, none of the countries under study here allow children younger than 12 years to work for even one hour.

Notwithstanding the problem of determining an appropriate conversion factor between UHS and work hours (e.g., the conversion may not be linear), the inclusion of hazardous UHS in child labour estimates may not have any great impact on those estimates if: (1) working children are less likely to be engaged in UHS and (2) UHS hours decline with work hours. Another related factor is the proportion of working children who are already classified as child labourers because of their hours or conditions of work and/or their UHS hours. If a high proportion of working children are already among the ranks of child labourers, increasing their (equivalized) time input by adding UHS to economic activity hours will not have any great impact on the estimates. In the country studies below, we look at these various concerns and document the sensitivity of child labour estimates to the inclusion of UHS.

5.1 Azerbaijan

Over three-quarters of girls and 71.3 per cent of boys are engaged in unpaid household services in Azerbaijan, with boys spending an average of 7.1 hours per week on UHS and girls spending 8 hours per week. The cumulative distribution of hours of UHS shown in Figure 5.1 confirms that the average hours reported above reflect the experiences of the majority of children. Indeed, 80 per cent of children who are reported to have done any UHS have carried out this activity for less than ten hours in the reference week.

Figure 5.1 **Cumulative distribution of UHS for male and female children: Azerbaijan**



Note: Includes children engaged in UHS only.

Excluding hazardous UHS, the prevalence of child labour is 6.1 per cent among children: 7 per cent among boys and 5.1 per cent among girls. When UHS is included and defined on the basis of a 20-hour threshold, the child labour estimate increases to 9 per cent, rising by almost half (Table 5.1). The corresponding increase among boys is 33 per cent, while it rises almost 70 per cent for girls.

TABLE 5.1 **Prevalence of child labour by UHS: Azerbaijan**

	All	Male	Female
Child labour (excluding UHS)	6.1	7.0	5.1
Hours of UHS >=20 hours per week	9.0	9.3	8.6
Hours of UHS>= 28 hours per week	6.9	7.6	6.0
Hours of UHS >=35 hours per week	6.4	7.3	5.5
Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 5–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	6.5	7.3	5.5
Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	8.4	9.1	7.7
For employed children: Equivalent hours>=14 hours per week for ages 12–14 Equivalent hours>=43 hours per week for ages 15–17 For children engaged in UHS only: Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	8.7	9.4	7.9

When the cutoff point is increased to 28 hours, the increase in the prevalence of child labour is more moderate, rising from 6.1 per cent to 6.9 per cent: a 13 per cent increase. In the case of boys it rises from 7 to 7.6 per cent (an increase of 9 per cent) and for girls it rises from 5.1 to 6 per cent (an increase of 18 per cent). Raising the hazardous UHS threshold further, to 35 hours per week, increases the prevalence of child labour to 6.4 per cent – a change of 5 per cent (4.2 per cent for boys and 7.8 per cent for girls).

When different thresholds are used for older and younger children – 28 hours for younger and 43 hours for older children – the resulting prevalence of child labour for boys and girls is very similar to the result obtained when a single threshold of 35 hours is used for all children: the child labour estimate for boys increases by 4.2 per cent and for girls by 7.8 per cent. However, when a lower threshold (14 hours per week) is set for children younger than 12, the child labour estimates for both girls and boys register substantial increases, with the prevalence of child labour among girls increasing by 2.2 percentage points (an increase of almost 50 per cent) and by 1.8 percentage points among boys (or 25 per cent).

Adding UHS hours to the economic activity hours has a moderate impact on child labour estimates. The overall prevalence of child labour increases to 8.7 per cent, up by 4 per cent from the level estimated when UHS hours are disaggregated by age, while the estimated rates for boys and girls increase to 9.4 per cent and 7.9 per cent, respectively (Table 5.1).

The rather modest change in child labour prevalence as a result of the joint evaluation of UHS and economic activity hours is not related to the lower engagement of working children in UHS – a larger proportion of them (92 per cent as compared to 85 per cent) are engaged in UHS – but to the low time input of children in UHS and its tendency to fall still further as the number of economic activity hours increases. While the overall correlation between UHS and economic activity hours is positive, the correlation coefficient is -0.09 for children working more than ten hours, -0.21 for those working more than 20 hours, and -0.33 for those working more than 30 hours.[21]

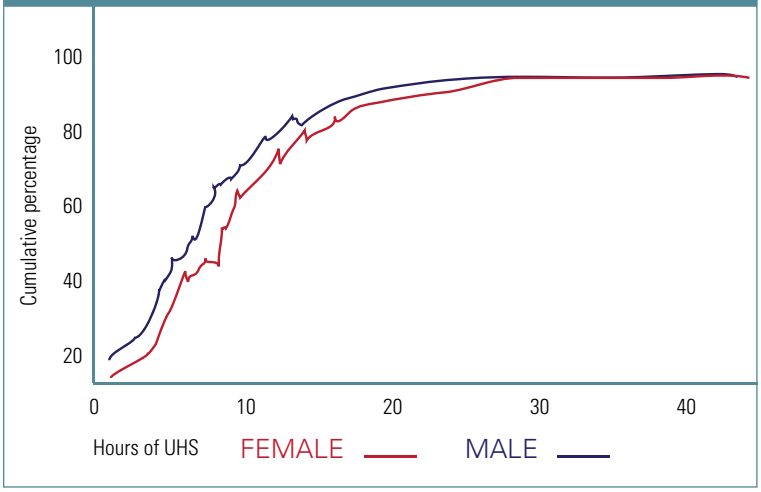
This exercise on data from Azerbaijan has shown that the choice of the number of minimum hours used to demarcate hazardous UHS has important implications for both girls and boys, although the child labour estimates for girls are more affected. The joint evaluation of economic activity and UHS hours has a moderate impact on child labour estimates as a result of children's low UHS hours and their tendency to drop as the hours spent on economic activities increase.

5.2 Benin

Almost 90 per cent of children are reported to be engaged in unpaid household services in Benin: 91.6 per cent of girls and 86 per cent of boys. The average time input, however, is estimated at only 10.3 hours per week among girls and 9.3 hours per week among boys. The cumulative distribution of UHS hours given in Figure 5.2 shows only a very small proportion of children working for many hours. The proportion of children working more than 20 hours per week is limited to 4 per cent of girls and 2.4 per cent of boys.

21 A correlation coefficient shows the strength and the direction of the relationship between two variables and ranges from -1 to +1. A value of -1 (+1) indicates a perfect negative (positive) correlation, while a value of zero indicates that there is no correlation between the two variables.

Figure 5.2 **Cumulative distribution of UHS for male and female children: Benin**



Note: Includes children engaged in UHS only.

Unpaid household services are not part of the national definition of child labour in Benin. Table 5.2 shows how the estimated prevalence of child labour changes when the definition of child labour is expanded to include hazardous UHS. Setting the threshold of hazardous UHS at 20 hours increases the prevalence of child labour by 0.4 percentage points or by 1.4 per cent. The corresponding change among boys is 1 per cent and in the case of girls it is 1.7 per cent. Increasing the threshold of hazardous UHS to 28 hours and beyond leaves the prevalence of child labour unchanged for girls but increases the prevalence among boys by about 0.3 per cent. The prevalence of child labour increases slightly when different thresholds are defined for older and younger children. The most significant change occurs when 5–11-year-olds are assigned a 14-hour threshold, which increases the prevalence of child labour by 1.5 percentage points (or 5 per cent) among boys and 2.4 percentage points (or 8 per cent) among girls.

TABLE 5.2 **Prevalence of child labour by UHS: Benin**

	All	Male	Female
Child labour (excluding UHS)	29.4	29.1	29.7
Hours of UHS >=20 hours per week	29.8	29.4	30.2
Hours of UHS>= 28 hours per week	29.4	29.2	29.7
Hours of UHS >=35 hours per week	29.4	29.1	29.7
Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 5–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	29.4	29.2	29.7
Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	31.3	30.7	32.1
For employed children: Equivalent hours>=22.5 hours per week for ages 12–13 Equivalent hours>=40 hours per week for ages 14–17 For children engaged in UHS only: Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	32.0	31.0	33.0

Combining working time and UHS hours adds another 0.7 percentage points to child labour estimates (the effect is in the order of 0.3 percentage points among boys and 0.9 percentage points among girls). This is rather a small change considering that a large proportion of children are engaged in UHS.

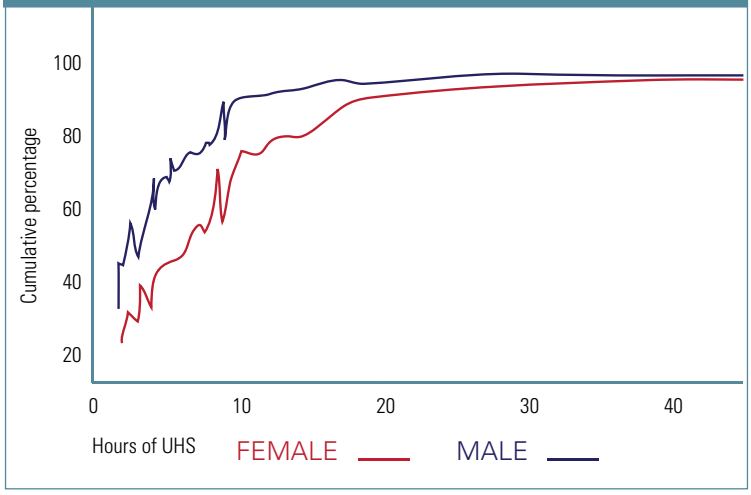
More importantly, a larger proportion of employed (98 per cent) than non-employed (94 per cent) children (aged 12 and older) are engaged in UHS. Those who are employed are also found to put in more hours per week (13.2 hours) to UHS than non-employed children (8.1 hours). The correlation coefficient between the time input into economic activities and into UHS is found to be small but positive (0.06). The small impact relates to the fact that a large proportion of employed children (86.2 per cent) are already classified as child labourers because of their working hours or conditions of work, or because of the separate consideration of UHS hours. As a result, increasing the work hours by adding in the time input of children to UHS adds only a small proportion of children to the ranks of child labourers – the proportion of child labourers among the employed becomes 90.4 per cent.

5.3 Jordan

Almost one-third of children in Jordan are engaged in unpaid household services, spending an average of 6.2 hours per week in UHS. This overall figure masks substantial disparities between boys and girls in terms of both the proportion of children engaged in UHS and the time devoted to these activities. While 37 per cent of girls are found to carry out UHS, this falls to 26.7 per cent of boys. Girls, on average, put 7.6 hours per week into UHS, compared to 4.1 hours for boys. Overall, however, only a small proportion of boys and girls devote substantial hours to UHS, as shown in Figure 5.3. The proportion of boys and girls putting in more than 20 hours to UHS per week is 0.5 per cent and 6.1 per cent, respectively.

The gender discrepancy in the amount of time devoted to UHS is reflected in child labour figures. While the choice of a threshold where UHS exceeds 20 hours per week has hardly any impact on the child labour estimates for boys, it has a substantial effect on the estimates for girls. Selecting a 20-hour threshold for hazardous UHS increases the prevalence of child labour among girls from 0.3 per cent to 2.4 per cent. When the threshold is increased to 28 hours, the change is smaller (from 0.3 per cent to 1.2 per cent) but still significant. When the threshold is increased further to 35 hours, the child labour estimate for girls increases by 0.4 percentage points from 0.3 per cent to 0.7 per cent. While using different thresholds for older and younger children has minimal effects on the estimates for boys, it increases the prevalence of child labour among girls substantially (Table 5.3), although the prevalence itself remains low.

Figure 5.3 **Cumulative distribution of UHS for male and female children: Jordan**



Note: Includes children engaged in UHS only.

TABLE 5.3 **Prevalence of child labour by UHS: Jordan**

	All	Male	Female
Child labour (excluding UHS)	1.6	2.8	0.3
Hours of UHS >=20 hours per week	2.7	2.9	2.4
Hours of UHS>= 28 hours per week	2.0	2.8	1.2
Hours of UHS >=35 hours per week	1.8	2.8	0.7
Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 5–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	1.8	2.8	0.6
Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	2.1	2.9	1.2
For employed children: Equivalent hours>=14 hours per week for ages 12–14 Equivalent hours>24 hours per week for ages 15–16 Equivalent hours>35 hours per week for age 17 For children engaged in UHS only: Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	2.1	2.9	1.2

When the child labour estimates take into account the total time input of working children into economic activities and UHS, the prevalence of child labour hardly changes from the estimate computed on the basis of different hour thresholds for younger and older children for economic activities and UHS. This is because employed children are less likely to be involved in UHS than non-employed children and there is a tendency for UHS to drop as working hours increase. Indeed, while 42.7 per cent of working children aged 11 and older are engaged in UHS, the corresponding rate among non-working children is 49.7 per cent. The correlation coefficient between UHS and work hours among children who carry out both activities is small, but negative (-0.03), and increases (in an absolute sense) as work hours increase, becoming -0.16 for children working more than 30 hours per week and -0.19 for those working more than 40 hours per week.

It is also important to mention that 86 per cent of working children are already classified as child labourers without any adjustment being made to estimates of their work hours. Adding UHS hours (with appropriate adjustment) to their work hours increases the prevalence of child labour among employed children by a single percentage point.

In sum, while child labour estimates among boys are insensitive to the chosen hours of UHS, quite significant changes are observed for girls. In fact, setting the hazardous UHS threshold at 20 hours produces child labour estimates that put girls on a par with boys. Considering UHS and work hours together does not impact child labour estimates in any meaningful way – a result of the small amount of children's time devoted to UHS as well as the general tendency for employed children to be less involved in UHS overall.

5.4 Kyrgyzstan

A significant proportion of both boys (64.4 per cent) and girls (77.3 per cent) in Kyrgyzstan are engaged in unpaid household services, putting in, on average, 11.3 hours per week to UHS, with girls putting in around two hours more per week than boys. Figure 5.4, which shows the distribution of UHS by sex, indicates that the proportion of children who carry out UHS for more than 28 hours per week is small, and that the proportion working more than 35 hours per week is even smaller.

Indeed, when a threshold of 28 hours per week is used to identify hazardous UHS, the change in the child labour estimate is 0.9 percentage points or 3.2 per cent. The change among boys is smaller, at 0.5 percentage points (1.7 per cent), than for girls, whose risk of child labour increases by 1.6 percentage points (6.3 per cent). When the threshold used to identify hazardous UHS is increased to 35 hours per week, the estimate for boys increases by only 0.1 percentage points, from 30.2 per cent to 30.3 per cent, while the increase for girls is 0.3 percentage points. If, instead, the permissible hours of UHS are reduced to 20 hours per week, the child labour estimate jumps from 28 per cent to 33.1 per cent – an increase of almost 20 per cent. Among boys this increase is in the order of 8.9 per cent, while in the case of girls it is almost 30 per cent.

When thresholds are set at 28 hours per week for 5–14-year-olds and 43 hours per week for 15–17-year-olds, the child labour estimate goes up by 0.3 percentage points or by only 1 per cent. The estimate for boys increases less than the estimate for girls (0.3 percentage points and 0.4 percentage points, respectively).

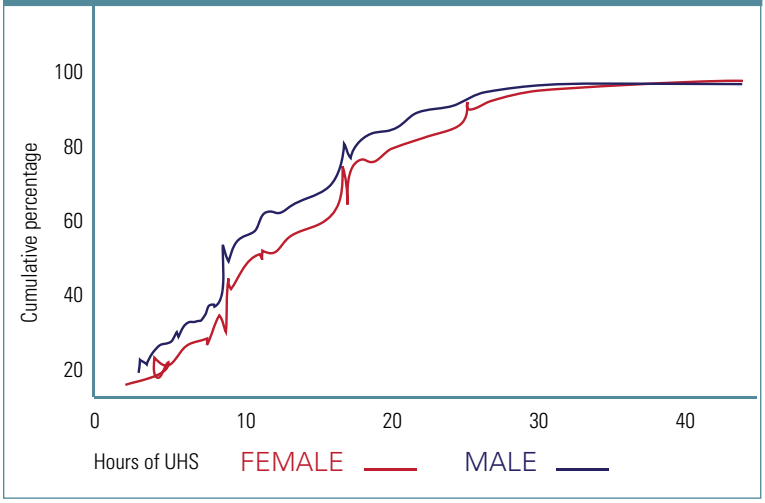
When the UHS hours threshold is reduced still further to 14 hours for 5–11-year-olds, the increase in child labour becomes quite sizeable, rising by 2 percentage points (or about 7 per cent) from the value recorded when 5–11-year-olds are pooled with 12–14-year-olds. The substantial increase in child labour must be related to UHS being a very integral part of the daily routine of all household members, including very young children.

When work and UHS hours are combined, and working children are evaluated on the basis of total (equivalized) time, the prevalence of child labour increases further to 33.9 per cent – an increase of 3.7 percentage points (or over 12 per cent) from the level estimated on the basis of disaggregated UHS hours by age. This re-definition of child labour seems to affect the child labour estimates of girls more than boys, which may not be surprising given that girls are more likely to be engaged in UHS and for longer hours.

The sharp increase in child labour with the change in the method of evaluation also demonstrates that a sizeable proportion of children must be engaged in both economic activities and UHS simultaneously. Indeed, we find that although working children (aged 14 and older) are slightly less likely to engage in UHS than non-working children (90.2 per cent as compared to 91.9 per cent), they spend an average of 2.5 hours more each week on UHS.

The simple correlation coefficient between UHS and working hours for the group of children who are engaged in both activities is not only positive but quite high, at 0.51. However, the correlation becomes negative for employed children who work for more than 20 hours per week. The correlation coefficient is -0.01 for them, but it becomes 0.14 for those putting in more than 30 hours per week.

Figure 5.4 **Cumulative distribution of UHS for male and female children: Kyrgyzstan**



Note: Includes children engaged in UHS only.

In sum, when individual thresholds for UHS and economic activities are used to identify child labourers, we can conclude that, unless a very low threshold is used to demarcate hazardous UHS, there is little change in the estimate of child labour for boys, while the effect on girls is greater. However, when the threshold is lowered – for either all children or for the youngest age group – significant changes are observed for both boys and girls. When total (equivalized) time is used for working children, the impact on child labour estimates is found to be quite substantial, which can be explained by the tendency of working children to be involved in both UHS and economic activities for a significant number of hours.

TABLE 5.4 **Prevalence of child labour by UHS: Kyrgyzstan**

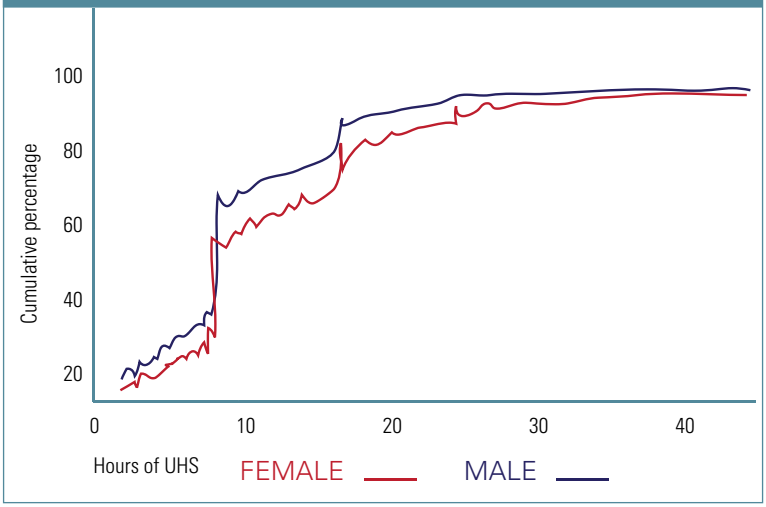
	All	Male	Female
Child labour (excluding UHS)	28.0	30.2	25.6
Hours of UHS >=20 hours per week	33.1	32.9	33.4
Hours of UHS>= 28 hours per week	28.9	30.5	27.2
Hours of UHS >=35 hours per week	28.2	30.3	25.9
Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 5–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	28.3	30.3	26.0
Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	30.2	32.0	28.3
For employed children*: Equivalent hours>23 hours per week for ages 14–15 Equivalent hours>36 hours per week for ages 16–17 For children engaged in UHS only: Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	33.9	34.8	32.9

*Notes: * The minimum age for admission to employment is 14 in Kyrgyzstan, so all employed children younger than this age are categorized as child labourers.*

5.5 Madagascar

Performing unpaid household services is widespread among children in Madagascar, with 84.6 per cent of children involved in this activity in the reference week. Girls are only slightly more likely to be involved in UHS – 86.1 per cent – as compared to boys, at 83.2 per cent. Despite the high involvement of children in UHS, the average hours devoted to this activity is quite moderate at ten hours per week, with girls putting in about two more hours (11 hours per week) than boys (9.1 hours per week). Figure 5.5 shows the cumulative distribution of UHS hours, indicating that over 95 per cent of children are engaged in UHS for 30 hours or less.

Figure 5.5 **Cumulative distribution of UHS for male and female children: Madagascar**



Note: Includes children engaged in UHS only.

The prevalence of child labour, excluding hazardous UHS, is estimated at 23 per cent overall: 24.8 per cent for boys and 21.1 per cent for girls. When a threshold of 20 hours per week is set for hazardous UHS, the child labour estimate increases by a quarter to 28.7 per cent. The increase is more moderate for boys, at 16 per cent, than for girls, at 36 per cent. Increasing the threshold for hazardous UHS to 28 hours per week brings about a more

TABLE 5.5 **Prevalence of child labour by UHS: Madagascar**

	ALL	Male	Female
Child labour (excluding UHS)	23.0	24.8	21.1
Hours of UHS >=20 hours per week	28.7	28.8	28.6
Hours of UHS>= 28 hours per week	24.9	25.8	23.9
Hours of UHS >=35 hours per week	23.6	25.1	22.1
Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 5–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	24.1	25.5	22.5
Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	30.9	31.4	30.4
For employed children*: Equivalent hours>=40 hours per week for ages 15–17 For children engaged in UHS only: Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	32.7	32.7	32.7

*Notes: *Minimum age for employment is 15, so working children younger than this age are considered child labourers.*

moderate rise in child labour. The overall estimate increases from 23 to 24.9 per cent (an increase of 8.3 per cent). The increase for boys is limited to 4 per cent, while the increase for girls is quite substantial at 13.3 per cent.

When the threshold is increased further to 35 hours per week, the overall estimate increases by 0.6 percentage points (or 2.6 per cent) – 0.3 percentage points for boys (1.2 per cent) and 1 percentage point for girls (4.7 per cent).

Setting different thresholds for older and younger children (28 hours per week for younger children and 43 hours per week for older children) increases the overall prevalence of child labour by 1.1 percentage points (or 4.8 per cent). The increase among boys is 0.7 percentage points (or 2.8 per cent), and for girls it is 1.4 percentage points (or 6.6 per cent).

When the threshold for hazardous UHS is reduced to 14 hours per week for the youngest group of children (5–11-year-olds), the child labour estimate registers a big jump, from 24.1 per cent (when 5–11-year-olds were pooled with 12–14-year-olds) to 30.9 per cent (Table 5.5). The increase is almost 6 percentage points among boys and 8 percentage points among girls.

When UHS hours are added (with appropriate adjustment) to the working hours of children, the prevalence of child labour increases to 32.7 per cent, which represents a 6 per cent increase on the level estimated on the basis of the child labour definition that includes disaggregated UHS hours. The corresponding increase for girls is higher, at 8 per cent, than for boys (4 per cent). The moderate increase in the overall rate is to do with the sizeable change in the proportion of working children classified as child labourers before (74.2 per cent) and after (83.9 per cent) the change in the calculation of time spent on productive activities. Although non-working children are more likely to be engaged in UHS than working children (95.6 per cent and 90.5 per cent, respectively), the weekly input of hours is slightly higher among the latter (11.2 hours per week versus 11.6 hours per week).

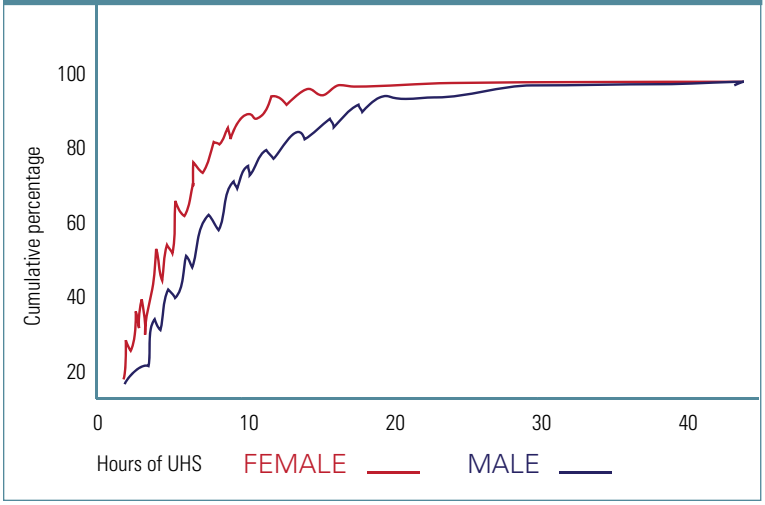
5.6 Moldova

As noted earlier, Moldova is the only country that has incorporated hazardous unpaid household services into its child labour definition. The full estimate of child labour (including hazardous UHS defined at 28 hours per week or more) is 18.3 per cent. Excluding hazardous UHS causes the child labour estimate to fall by 4.4 per cent to 17.5 per cent.

The question we ask here is the extent to which child labour estimates change as we change the threshold used to demarcate hazardous UHS from non-hazardous UHS. For this purpose we look first at the distribution of hours of UHS given in Figure 5.6. This shows that the proportion of children carrying out excessive amounts of UHS is rather small. Over 80 per cent of children who carry out UHS (86.1 per cent of all children; 83.5 per cent of boys and 88.7 per cent of girls) do so for less than ten hours per week. Although girls put more hours into UHS, even among them the proportion that spend substantial hours on UHS is small. The proportion of girls putting in more than 20 hours per week to UHS is 4.4 per cent, compared to 1 per cent of boys.

When a threshold of 20 hours is used to identify hazardous UHS, the child labour estimate increases from 17.5 per cent to 19.8 per cent – an increase of around 13 per cent. The increase is much higher among girls (31.1 per cent) than among

Figure 5.6 **Cumulative distribution of UHS for male and female children: Moldova**



Note: Includes children engaged in UHS only.

boys (3.1 per cent). This is because girls are more likely to engage in UHS and do so for longer hours. The difference between the time input of boys and girls is 2.7 hours per week, with boys putting in 5 hours per week and girls 7.7 hours, on average. However, the gender discrepancy in the estimated ratio also stems from the lower risk of child labour for girls and, therefore, an estimated increase that starts from a lower baseline.

When the threshold is increased to 28 hours the child labour estimate goes up by 0.8 percentage points, from 17.5 per cent to 18.3 per cent. For girls, the change is 1.5 percentage points, while for boys it is 0.5 percentage points. When the threshold is raised further to 35 hours per week, the estimate of child labour for boys hardly changes, while for girls it increases by 0.4 percentage points.

TABLE 5.6 **Prevalence of child labour by UHS: Moldova**

	All	Male	Female
Child labour (excluding UHS)	17.5	22.4	12.5
Hours of UHS >=20 hours per week	19.8	23.1	16.4
Hours of UHS>= 28 hours per week	18.3	22.6	13.7
Hours of UHS >=35 hours per week	17.7	22.4	12.9
Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 5–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	17.8	22.4	13.0
Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	18.5	23.0	13.9
For employed children: Equivalent hours>=14 hours per week for ages 12–14 Equivalent hours>24 hours per week for ages 15-16 Equivalent hours>35 hours per week for age 17 For children engaged in UHS only: Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	19.4	23.8	14.9

When the threshold for hazardous UHS is set at 43 hours for older children and 28 hours for younger children, the prevalence of child labour obtained remains very similar to that found where the threshold is set at 35 hours for all children: the child labour estimate for boys does not change, while for girls it increases by 0.5 percentage points or by 4 per cent.

When the threshold of hours for hazardous UHS for the youngest age group (5–11-year-olds) is set at 14 hours per week, the prevalence of child labour increases to 18.5 per cent. This re-definition represents a 0.7-percentage-point increase from the value obtained when 5–11-year-olds are pooled with 12–14-year-olds. The corresponding increases among boys and girls are 0.6 percentage points and 0.9 percentage points, respectively.

In a final exercise, we combine UHS hours with children's time input in economic activities. When we re-define child labourers on the basis of total (equivalized) time input, child labour increases by about one single percentage point from the level defined on the basis of UHS and economic activity thresholds set separately for 5–11-, 12–14-, 15–16-, and 17-year-olds (Table 5.6). Using combined hours to identify child labourers increases the prevalence of child labour among girls slightly more (by 1 percentage point as opposed to 0.8 percentage points for boys) because of their higher input of UHS hours.

However, contrary to our conjecture, the proportion of children (aged 11 years and older) engaged in UHS is larger among working than non-working children: 97 per cent of the former group and 91 per cent of the latter.[22] Neither do we find a big drop in UHS hours with the work hours of 11–17-year-olds. On the contrary: the correlation coefficient between work and UHS hours – although small – is positive, at 0.02. It becomes negative for children employed for more than 20 hours per week (-0.10), but it becomes positive again for those employed for at least 30 hours per week (0.18). When evaluated against this background, the rise in the child labour estimate by a single percentage point as a result of the addition of UHS hours to work hours can be considered quite modest.

A plausible explanation for the modest rise in child labour estimates with the addition of UHS hours to work hours is the low time input of children in UHS. Working children, on average, spend about seven to eight hours per week in UHS. Another related explanation is the already high child labour rate among the employed. Without any adjustment made to their working hours, 78 per cent of working children (aged 12 and above) are already classified as child labourers. The rise in effective work hours increases this rate by 3 percentage points to 81 per cent. The change in overall child labour prevalence is, therefore, based on this 3-percentage-point change.

We can draw two conclusions from the above analysis. First, the choice of hours used to identify hazardous UHS affects the child labour estimates for girls more than boys. While, in the case of girls, this varies between 31.2 per cent and 3.2 per cent, the change for boys varies between 3.1 per cent and zero. Second, using total (equivalized) hours to identify child labourers does not generate large jumps in child labour estimates. When compared to using separate thresholds, the use of combined hours increases child labour prevalence by less than 5 per cent.

22 We conjecture that the positive correlation between UHS and economic activity arises because the former is so widespread among children – due to a large household sector – that all able-bodied children are likely to engage in it. Because employment status is an indicator of physical and mental ability to carry out different activities, it becomes more likely for such children to also engage in UHS.

5.7 Peru

The proportion of children engaged in unpaid household services in Peru is 78.3 per cent. This proportion is higher among girls, at 82.4 per cent, than among boys, at 74.3 per cent. On average, children devote 9.1 hours per week to UHS, with girls spending two hours more on UHS than boys.[23] The cumulative distribution of hours given in Figure 5.7 shows that more than 90 per cent of children devote less than 20 hours per week to UHS, although a small proportion of children show excessive UHS hours. Among girls, 11.8 per cent put in more than 20 hours per week to UHS, while this figure is limited to 5.8 per cent of boys.

As noted earlier, the prevalence of child labour (excluding of UHS) in Peru is 35.4 per cent. When hazardous UHS is defined on the basis of a 20-hour threshold and is included within the definition of child labour, the prevalence of child labour increases by 4 percentage points (or 11.3 per cent), from 35.4 per cent to 39.4 per cent (Table 5.7). The increase is considerably higher among girls (5.8 percentage points) compared to boys (2.2 percentage points).

When the threshold of hours is increased to 28 hours per week, child labour increases by 1.7 percentage points (0.9 percentage points for boys and 2.6 percentage points for girls).

Increasing the threshold even further to 35 hours moderates the increase in child labour to 0.9 percentage points. However, the change in child labour among girls is still quite sizeable at 1.3 percentage points, or 4.1 per cent.

When the threshold is differentiated by age, with 28 hours per week for children younger than 15 and 43 hours for those 15 and older, the resulting change in child labour becomes very similar to the change generated by setting the hazardous UHS threshold at 35 hours per week for all children. However, when a lower threshold of 14 hours per week is set for 5–11-year-olds, the prevalence of child labour increases by almost 3 percentage points (or by 8 per cent) to 39.3 per cent. The increase is higher among girls than boys, at an estimated at 3.7 and 2.2 percentage points, respectively.

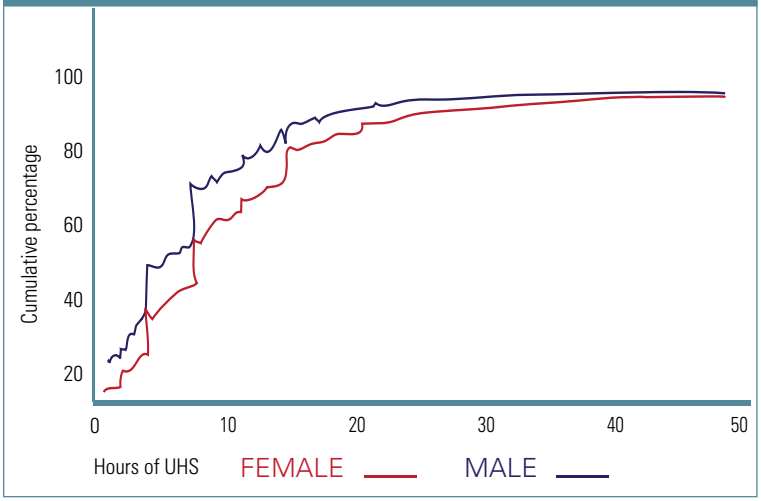
When the time inputs to UHS and economic activities are pooled for working children, the resulting increase in child labour is limited to 0.9 percentage points (0.6 percentage points for boys and 1.1 for girls).

As noted above, a large proportion of children are engaged in UHS. This proportion is slightly higher among working children aged 11 and up (at 84.6 per cent) than among non-working children (at 82.1 per cent). It is also the case that employed children, on average, put in slightly more UHS hours (11.3 hours per week compared to 10.4 hours). However, as work hours increase, the UHS hours tend to decline. While the overall correlation between work hours and UHS hours is positive, once a threshold of 20 hours of employment is exceeded, it becomes negative.

The rather small increase in child labour as a result of joint consideration of UHS and work hours can be explained

23 Peru differs from other countries in that the information on hours worked on UHS was collected for the day preceding the interview and the day before that. To arrive at weekly hours of UHS, we took the simple average of these two days and multiplied it by seven.

Figure 5.7 **Cumulative distribution of UHS for male and female children: Peru**



Note: Includes children engaged in UHS only.

by the already high proportion of working children classified as child labourers before working and UHS hours are factored in. Based on the definition of child labour where working hours, UHS hours, and working conditions are considered, 73.5 per cent of working children are child labourers – a figure that increases by only 3.6 percentage points, or to 77.1 per cent, when UHS hours are added to working hours.

TABLE 5.7 **Prevalence of child labour by UHS: Peru**

	All	Male	Female
Child labour (excluding UHS)	35.4	39.1	31.7
Hours of UHS >=20 hours per week	39.4	41.3	37.5
Hours of UHS>= 28 hours per week	37.1	40.0	34.3
Hours of UHS >=35 hours per week	36.3	39.5	33.0
Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 5–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	36.4	39.7	33.1
Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	39.3	41.9	36.8
For employed children: Equivalent hours>=24 hours per week for ages 12–13 Equivalent hours>=36 hours per week for ages 14–17 For children engaged in UHS only: Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	40.2	42.5	37.9

5.8 Senegal

The proportion of children who carry out unpaid household services in Senegal is 45.7 per cent. This average figure, however, hides a huge discrepancy between boys and girls: while three-quarters of girls are engaged in UHS, the corresponding proportion among boys is only 17.1 per cent. This gender gap in UHS helps explain the lower employment and child labour rates among girls presented in section 4.

An important difference in the definition of UHS between Senegal and other countries studied in this report relates to fetching water for household use. In other countries, this activity is defined as an economic activity, and children engaged in it are, therefore, categorized as employed. This is not the case in Senegal, where 22.5 per cent of children are reported to have carried water in the reference week. This rate is considerably higher among girls, at 35.5 per cent, than among boys, at 9.1 per cent, which suggests that carrying water is seen as a female activity. Since the data on hours of UHS are not collected on a per-activity basis, but as total time devoted to UHS, we could not treat this activity separately. This drawback must be kept in mind in interpreting the results of the analysis on the sensitivity of child labour estimates to the inclusion of hazardous UHS.

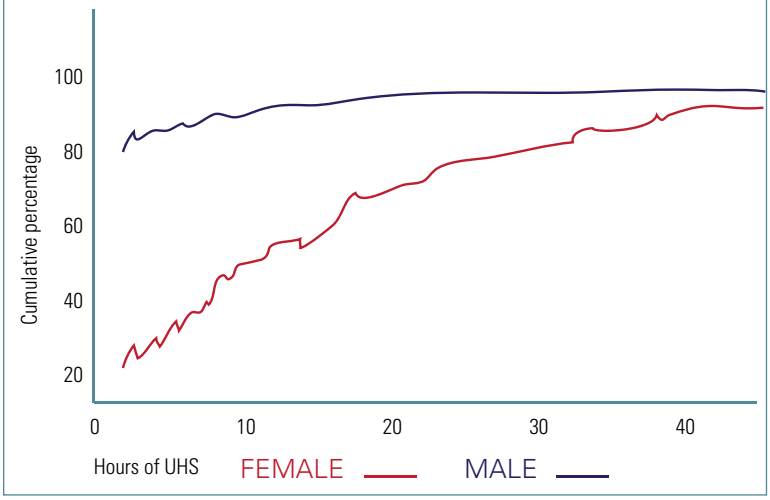
Before looking at the sensitivity analysis, we present some descriptive statistics on the amount of time children devote to UHS. This figure is, on average, 15.1 hours per week. Again, we see a significant gender gap: while girls devote, on average, 16.6 hours per week to UHS, the corresponding figure for boys is 9.1 hours. So, not only are girls more likely to be involved in UHS, but they also devote more time to them. The gender discrepancy in the input of hours to UHS is also apparent from Figure 5.8, which shows the cumulative distribution of hours devoted to UHS per week. While 13.1 per cent of boys put in more than 20 hours per week to UHS, this figure is substantially higher among girls, at 31.7 per cent.

Table 5.8 shows that setting hazardous UHS to 20 hours per week and including children engaged in such activities among the ranks of child labourers would more than double the prevalence of child labour in Senegal. This sharp increase is the result, primarily, of the dramatic change observed in the prevalence of child labour among girls – a four-fold increase. The increase for boys is far smaller: child labour increases by 1.6 percentage points, or by 9.5 per cent.

Increasing the threshold of hazardous UHS to 28 hours per week causes the child labour estimate to increase by 56 per cent. Again, the increase is considerably higher among girls than boys.

When the threshold is further increased to 35 hours, the increase in child labour becomes 36 per cent. For boys, the increase is now in the order of 3 per cent, but it remains far higher among girls at 109 per cent. When different thresholds of hours (i.e., 28 hours per week for children younger than 15 and 43 hours for children aged 15 years and older) are set for children of different ages, the overall increase in child labour becomes 36 per cent – a proportion similar to that obtained with a 35-hour threshold. Among boys, the increase is in the order of 3 per cent, but, once again, it is much higher among girls, at 106 per cent.

Figure 5.8 **Cumulative distribution of UHS for male and female children: Senegal**



Notes: Includes children engaged in UHS only. Includes fetching water for household use.

Setting a lower threshold of hours (14 hours per week) for the youngest age group (aged 5–11) increases the overall prevalence of child labour still further, to 22 per cent – an increase of 30 per cent from the level obtained when two, rather than three, separate thresholds of UHS hours are set by age. The increase among girls is drastic: setting 14 hours to demarcate hazardous UHS for younger children increases the prevalence of child labour among girls by almost 10 percentage points or over 60 per cent. The change in the prevalence of child labour among boys, however, is limited to a single percentage point.

We conjecture that the drastic change in child labour, with the lowering of the UHS threshold for younger children, as well as the gender discrepancy in levels and changes observed in child labour, are linked to the activity of carrying water and the perception that this is a female activity.

TABLE 5.8 **Prevalence of child labour by UHS: Senegal**

	All	Male	Female
Child labour (excluding UHS)	12.4	16.7	8.0
Hours of UHS >=20 hours per week	25.1	18.3	32.0
Hours of UHS>= 28 hours per week	19.4	17.4	21.4
Hours of UHS >=35 hours per week	16.9	17.2	16.7
Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 5–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	16.9	17.2	16.5
Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	22.0	18.2	26.0
For employed children*: Equivalent hours>8 hours/day for ages 15–17 For children engaged in UHS only: Hours of UHS >=14 hours per week for ages 5–11, and Hours of UHS >=28 hours per week for ages 12–14, and Hours of UHS >=43 hours per week for ages 15–17	22.5	18.4	26.5

*Notes: UHS includes fetching water for household use. *The minimum age for employment is 15, so working children younger than 15 are considered child labourers.*

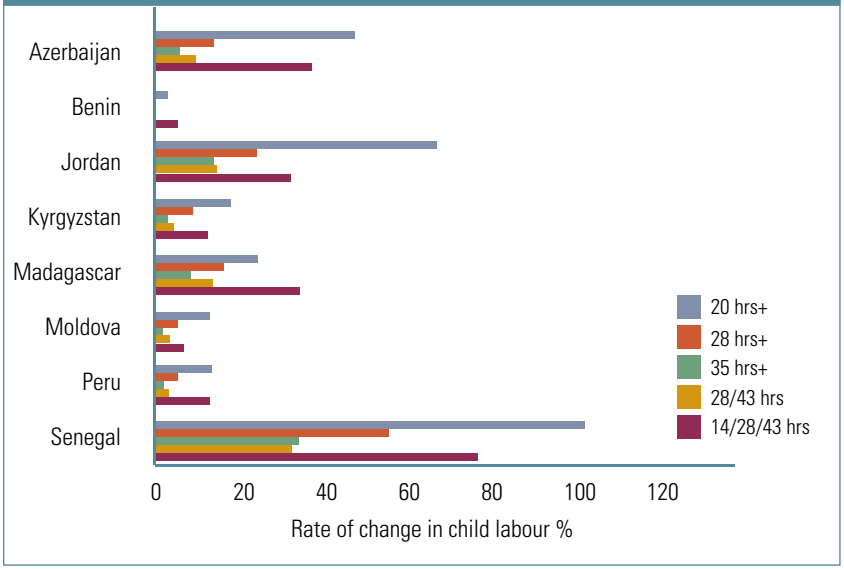
When the UHS hours of working children are combined with their working time, and this is used as a basis to determine their child labour status, the prevalence of child labour changes only slightly (by 0.5 percentage points) from the prevalence rate obtained when the UHS threshold is disaggregated by age. The small rise in child labour is linked, in part, to the fact that the re-definition of child labour affects only those children aged 15 and older (the national definition of child labour already considers working children younger than this age as child labourers) and, in part, to the substantially lower time input of employed children in UHS. While employed children aged 15 and older put in, on average, 8.9 hours per week to UHS, the corresponding figure among non-employed children is 13.7 hours per week. It is also the case that a substantially lower proportion of employed children (49.2 per cent, compared to 66.7 per cent of non-employed) are engaged in UHS.

5.9 Key findings on sensitivity of child labour estimates to the inclusion of hazardous unpaid household services

The inclusion of hazardous unpaid household services in child labour has produced very different results across countries. Using a 20-hour threshold to demarcate hazardous UHS, the impact of the inclusion of hazardous UHS in child labour is as low as 1.4 per cent in Benin, and as high as 102 per cent in Senegal. As noted earlier, unpaid household services in Senegal include carrying water (an economic activity), which explains, in part, why child labour estimates are so sensitive to the inclusion of UHS in that country. Leaving Senegal aside, the highest figure is recorded in Jordan, at 69 per cent (see Figure 5.3).

The wide range of impact estimates can be explained by three factors: (1) the size of the household sector (i.e., the amount of activity that goes on within the household by and for household members), (2) the degree of overlap between UHS and economic activities, and (3) the overall size of child labour. Countries that boast low levels of child labour, such as Jordan, experience a big impact, though the absolute change in the prevalence of child labour due to hazardous UHS might be low.

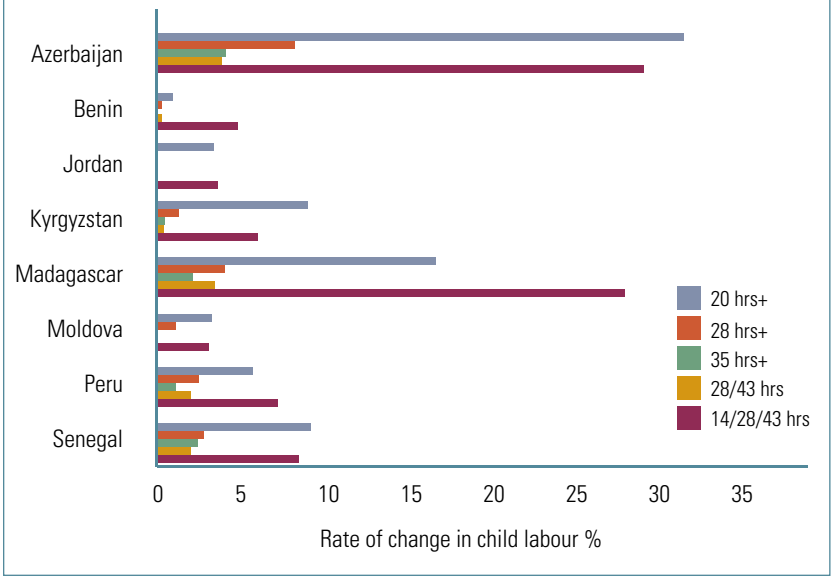
Figure 5.9 **Sensitivity of child labour estimates to inclusion of UHS**



When the definition of hazardous UHS is increased to 28 hours per week, the impact observed in child labour estimates across countries narrows somewhat, from zero in Benin to 25 per cent in Jordan (with the rate for Senegal at 56 per cent as a result of including the carrying of water).

When the threshold of hazardous UHS is increased to 35 hours, the range of estimates narrows even further. Again,

Figure 5.10 **Sensitivity of child labour estimates to inclusion of UHS: Male children**



the lowest figure is found for Benin, at zero, and the highest for Jordan, at 12.5 per cent.

When thresholds of 28 and 43 hours are used for younger and older children, respectively, the range of estimates obtained becomes even smaller, ranging from zero to 13 per cent (36 per cent in Senegal).

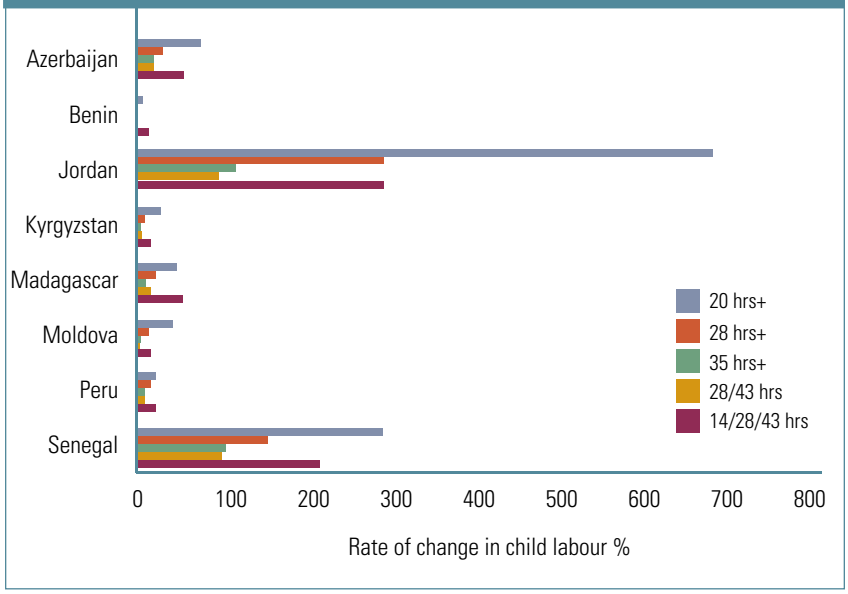
However, thresholds of 14 hours for 5–11-year-olds, 28 hours for 12–14-year-olds, and 43 hours for 15–17-year-olds cause an increase in the range of estimates. The lowest figure is recorded in Moldova at 5.7 per cent and the highest in Azerbaijan at 37.7 per cent (with a corresponding change in Senegal of 77 per cent). Figure 5.9 illustrates this wide variation in the rate of change in child labour estimates across countries. It also demonstrates the dramatic change in the country estimates with the change in the threshold of hazardous UHS.

The inclusion of hazardous UHS within the definition of child labour has the greatest impact on child labour estimates for girls. Setting the threshold of hazardous UHS to 35 hours, for example, brings about a change in child labour estimates for boys that ranges from zero (in three of the eight countries) to 4.3 per cent in Azerbaijan (Figure 5.10). Even in Senegal, where UHS is widespread, the impact on boys is limited to 3 per cent.

In contrast, the inclusion of hazardous UHS does not only have a greater impact on child labour estimates for girls, but also generates a much bigger variation among countries, as shown by the change in scale between Figures 5.10 and 5.11. At the 35-hours-per-week threshold, the country with the lowest change in child labour is Benin with zero per cent – the highest is Jordan, with 133 per cent. In Senegal there is a change of 109 per cent. Even if we put aside countries that experience very high rates of change (i.e., Jordan and Senegal), the rate of change in child labour in the remaining countries is sizeable, ranging from 1.2 per cent in Kyrgyzstan to 7.8 per cent in Azerbaijan.

Differentiating the threshold of hazardous UHS by age also has an impact on the child labour estimates for boys and girls. For example, setting thresholds of 14 hours for 5–11-year-olds, 28 hours for 12–14-year-olds, and 43 hours for 15–17-year-olds brings about a change in child labour estimates for girls that ranges from 8.1 per cent in Benin to 300 per cent in Jordan. For boys, the corresponding change ranges from 2.7 per cent in Moldova to 30 per cent in Azerbaijan. These exercises indicate that the gender division of labour occurs at very young ages and that, therefore, the choice of hours

Figure 5.11 **Sensitivity of child labour estimates to inclusion of UHS: Female children**



to demarcate hazardous UHS is unlikely to be gender neutral.

The assumed substitution between UHS and economic activities is not, in general, borne out by the data. Based on the case studies in this report, it seems that children who are engaged in economic activities are also likely to engage in UHS. One plausible explanation for this finding is that observed/unobserved factors (such as good health) increase the likelihood of both types of activities.

The correlation between UHS and work hours is not necessarily negative, but it tends to become negative as work hours increase. In other words, UHS and work hours may increase simultaneously at low levels, which may be linked to the joint nature of the two activities. This is not surprising, given that most children are employed in household establishments as unpaid family workers.

Using a very simple framework, we were able to add UHS hours to the working hours of employed children, so that children's total time input to all productive activities (whether economic or not) could be used as a basis to judge their child labour status. The impact of this exercise on child labour estimates is found to be generally low – not exceeding 5 per cent. However, it did reach around 5 per cent in a number of countries and went as high as 12 per cent in Kyrgyzstan.

Despite the heavy involvement of (working and non-working) children in UHS, the generally low impact on the estimates of child labour that emerge from considering UHS and working hours on child labour together – over and above the estimates obtained when separate thresholds of hours are used for UHS and economic activities – can be explained by the already high rate of child labour among employed children and their low to moderate input of UHS hours.

Because of their working hours and conditions of work,[24] most working children are already categorized as child labourers. Further additions to their work hours do not increase this figure drastically.[25] However, it is important to note that the impact of the addition of UHS hours (with appropriate adjustment) to children's work hours is not gender neutral and has more impact on estimates for girls than for boys. While the additional increase in child labour as a result of working children's simultaneous involvement in UHS and economic activities ranges from zero to 9 per cent for boys, it ranges from zero to 16 per cent for girls.

24 Employed children engaged in hazardous UHS (defined on the basis of hours put into UHS) are also considered child labourers. The case studies, however, show that employed children are categorized primarily as child labourers because of their working hours or conditions of work.
25 An exception was Madagascar, where an increase of almost 10 percentage points was observed.

ARGENTINA Five-year-old Kiara makes a sale in a commuter train car in Buenos Aires, the capital. She has been working in the Subte, the city's mass transit system, selling hairpins and other cheap goods, since she was three years old. Five members of Kiara's family work in the Subte; they give the money to her grandmother. A year ago, Kiara broke her arm when it was caught in a train door. She has also fallen onto the train tracks while playing.

In summary, we have observed that child labour estimates are quite sensitive to the inclusion of hazardous UHS. As would be expected, the lower the threshold of UHS hours that demarcates hazardous UHS from non-hazardous UHS, the larger the change in the estimates. Furthermore, we have shown that child labour estimates are most sensitive to the setting of threshold of hours for the youngest group of children.

Clearly, more work needs to be done on the household sector to understand the nature of the work that goes on there, and its impact on key child outcomes. Following the convention set for economic activities, it probably makes sense to differentiate between younger and older children.

As the case studies in this report have shown, there is a tendency in many countries to ban the employment of children younger than 12. Some countries increase this threshold to 14 or 15 years. Therefore, it probably makes sense to consider 5–11-, 12–14-, and 15–17-year-olds separately and conduct further studies to determine an appropriate threshold of UHS hours for them. Given the recommendations of the *Resolution concerning statistics of child labour*

(RCL) it is important to incorporate hazardous UHS into child labour estimates. Yet, for policy purposes, it is also important that child labour estimates can be broken down into the components that stem from economic activities and those that result from hazardous UHS.

6

Conclusion

The aim of this report was to contribute to the development of a new child labour module that could be used in MICS, as well as in similar household surveys. For this purpose, we have tried to answer the following three questions:

1. How does the prevalence of work among children change with employment questions?
2. How does the prevalence of child labour change with questions that aim to establish the hazardous nature of their work?
3. How sensitive are child labour estimates to the inclusion of hazardous unpaid household services in the definition of child labour?

On the first question, we conclude that a general employment question would fall short of producing an estimate that comes close to the true prevalence of employment among children. Such a question needs to be complemented with control questions that probe respondents about certain aspects of children's activities that might not be readily recognized as work. Examples include unpaid economic work carried out in household establishments or on family farms and in petty trade. Although filter questions increase the survey time, we have shown that four or five questions are, in fact, quite sufficient to capture the overwhelming majority of children missed by the general employment question. Furthermore, we have shown that a careful arrangement of these questions can save valuable survey time and improve survey quality.

Second, we have shown that survey questions that establish the hazards children face at work are important to identify child labourers. Again, rather than having a long list of workplace hazards and risks, we have shown that five to six risk-related questions would be sufficient to identify child labourers. Furthermore, a skip pattern for underage children can save valuable survey time.

Finally, we have shown that child labour estimates are sensitive to the inclusion of hazardous unpaid household services. The higher the threshold of hours that distinguishes between hazardous and non-hazardous UHS and the lower the prevalence of child labour, the greater the change in child labour estimates. Furthermore, we have found that child labour estimates for girls are especially sensitive to definitional changes in UHS. Therefore, the decision on whether to include hazardous UHS within the definition of child labour and the choice of hours to mark hazardous UHS would change not only the level of child labour but also its gender composition. Given that hazardous economic work and hazardous unpaid household services are likely to require different interventions, it is important that child labour estimates can be broken down to identify components that are the result of economic activities and those that stem from unpaid household services.

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Appendix 1: Draft child labour module suggested by ILO

CHILD LABOUR MODULE

To be administered to mother/caretaker of each child in the household, aged 5 – 17 years. For household members below age 5 or above age 17, leave rows blank.
NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK ABOUT ANY WORK CHILDREN IN THIS HOUSEHOLD MAY DO.

CL1. *Line number.*	CL2. *Name* *(Copy the names of all household members from HL2)*	CL3. Did (name) engage in any work for at least one hour during the past week? *(As employee, self employed, employer or unpaid family worker)* 1.Yes→CL6 2. No→CL4	CL4. * During the past week, did (name) do any of the following activities, even for only one hour? (*Read each of the questions given below the page and mark/circle the appropriate codes for all affirmative response obtained. However if no affirmative response is obtained, then mark/circle ONLY "NO (10)"*) If "YES"→ CL6 Otherwise → CL5 ***(CODES ARE BELOW)**	CL5. Even though (name) did not do any of these activities in the past week, does he/she have a job, business, or other economic or farming activity that he/she will definitely return to? *(For agricultural activities, the off-season in agriculture is not a temporary absence.)* 1.Yes→CL6 2. No→CL16	CL6. During the past week, for how many hours did he/she engaged in this/ these activities? *(If more than one job, include all hours at all jobs.)*	CL7. Describe the main job/task (name) was performing, e.g. carrying bricks, mixing baking flour, harvesting maize, etc.

Line	Name	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Number of hours	Occupation code
01		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
02		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
03		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
04		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
05		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
06		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
07		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
08		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
09		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
10		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
11		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
12		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
13		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
14		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____
15		1	2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	10	1	2	____ ____	____

*** Codes for CL4: Economic Activities**

1. Run or do any kind of business, big or small, for himself/herself or with one or more partners? *Examples: Selling things, making things for sale, repairing things, guarding cars, hairdressing, crèche business, taxi or other transport business, having a legal or medical practice, performing in public, having a public phone shop, barber, shoe shining etc.*
2. Do any work for a wage, salary, commission or any payment in kind? *Examples: a regular job, contract, casual or piece work for pay, work in exchange for food or housing.*
3. Do any work as a domestic worker for a wage, salary or any payment in kind?
4. Help unpaid in a household business of any kind? (*Don't count normal housework.*) *Examples: Helping to sell things, making things for sale or exchange, doing the accounts, cleaning up for the business, etc.*
5. Do any work on his/her own or the household's plot, farm, food garden, or help in growing farm produce or in looking after animals for the household? *Examples: ploughing, harvesting, looking after livestock.*
6. Do any construction or major repair work on his/her own home, plot, or business or those of the household?
7. Catch any fish, prawns, shells, wild animals, or other food for sale or household food?
8. Fetch water or collect firewood for household use?
9. Produce any other good for this household use? *Examples: clothing, furniture, clay pots, etc.*
10. Did not engage in any of the above activities.

CHILD LABOR MODULE

To be administered to mother/caretaker of each child in the household, aged 5 – 17 years. For household members below age 5 or above age 17, leave rows blank.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

CL8. Describe briefly the main goods produced and services rendered where (name) is working

CL9. During the past week, which of the following best describes (name)'s work situation at his/her main place of employment? *(Read out responses below)*
1. Employee
2. Own-account worker (His/her own business without employees)
3. Employer (His/her own business with employees)
4. Unpaid family worker

HEALTH AND SAFETY ISSUES OF WORKING CHILDREN

CL10. Did (name) suffer any of the following in the past 12 months because of his/her work? *(Read each of the following options and mark "YES" or "NO")*
1. Superficial injuries or open wounds
2. Fractures
3. Dislocations, sprains, or stains
4. Burns, corrosions, scalds, or frostbite
5. Breathing problems
6. Eye problems
7. Skin problems
8. Stomach problems/diarrhoea
9. Fever
10. Extreme fatigue

Other (specify)
11.

1. Yes
2. No

If "NO" → CL12
Otherwise → CL11

CL11. Think about his/her most serious illness/ injury, how did this/these affect his/her work/schooling?
1. Not serious - did not stop work/schooling
2. Stopped work or school for a short time
3. Stopped work or school completely

	Industry code	Status in Employment	Yes	No	Yes	No
01	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
02	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
03	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
04	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
05	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
06	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
07	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
08	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
09	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
10	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
11	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
12	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
13	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
14	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	
15	____	1 2 3 4	1	2	1 2 3	

CHILD LABOR MODULE

To be administered to mother/caretaker of each child in the household, aged 5 – 17 years. For household members below age 5 or above age 17, leave rows blank.

HEALTH AND SAFETY ISSUES OF WORKING CHILDREN

CL12.
Is (name) exposed to any of the following at work?

(Read each of the following options and mark "YES" or "NO")

1. Dust/fumes,
2. Fire/gas/flames
3. Loud noise or vibration
4. Extreme cold or heat
5. Dangerous tools (knives, etc.)
6. Work underground
7. Work at heights
8. Work in water/lake/pond/river
9. Workplace too dark or confined
10. Insufficient ventilation
11. Chemicals (pesticides, glues, etc.)
12. Explosives
13. Other things, processes or conditions bad for your health or safety (specify)

CL13.
Has (name) ever been subject to the following at work?

(R*ead each of the following options and mark "YES" or "NO")*

1. Constantly shouted at
2. Repeatedly insulted
3. Beaten/physically hurt
4. Sexually abused (touched or things done to you that you did not want)
5. Other (specify)

HOUSEHOLD TASKS OF CHILDREN

CL14.
During the past week, did (name) do any of the tasks indicated below for this household? (R*ead each of the following options and mark "YES" or "NO")*

1. Shopping for household
2. Repairing any household equipments
3. Cooking cleaning utensils/house
4. Washing clothes
5. Caring for children/old/sick
6. Other household tasks.

If "YES" → CL15
Otherwise → Go to the next line (person) Question CL1

CL15.
During each day of the past week, for how many hours did he/she engage in this/these activities?

	CL12 1. Yes	CL12 2. No	CL13 1. Yes	CL13 2. No	CL14 1. Yes	CL14 2. No	CL15 Number of hours
01	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
02	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
03	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
04	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
05	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
06	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
07	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
08	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
09	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
10	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
11	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
12	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
13	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
14	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____
15	1	2	1	2	1	2	____ ____

Appendix 2: MICS4 module on child labour

Child Labour

To be administered to children in the household, aged 5–14. For household members below age 5 or above age 14, leave rows blank.

"Now I would like to ask about any work children in this household may do."

CL1.	CL2.		CL3.			CL4.	CL5.		CL6.	CL7.		CL8.	CL9.		CL10.
Line number	*Name and Age* *Copy from Household Listing Form, HL2 and HL6*		During the past week, did (*name*) do any kind of work for someone who is not a member of this household? *If yes*: For pay in cash or in kind? 1 Yes, for pay (cash or in kind) 2 Yes, unpaid 3 No →CL5			Since last (*day of the week*), about how many hours did he/she do this work for someone who is not a member of this household? *If more than one job, include all hours at all jobs.*	During the past week, did (*name*) fetch water or collect firewood for household use? 1 Yes 2 No → CL7		Since last (*day of the week*), about how many hours did he/she fetch water or collect firewood for household use?	During the past week, did (*name*) do any paid or unpaid work on a family farm or in a family business or selling goods in the street? *Include work for a business run by the child, alone or with one or more partners.* 1 Yes 2 No → CL9		Since last (*day of the week*), about how many hours did he/she do this work for his/her family or himself/ herself?	During the past week, did (*name*) help with household chores such as shopping, cleaning, washing clothes, cooking, or caring for children, old, or sick people? 1 Yes 2 No → Next Line		Since last (*day of the week*), about how many hours did he/she spend doing these chores?
Line	Name	Age	Yes Paid		No Unpaid	Number of hours	Yes	No	Number of hours	Yes	No	Number of hours	Yes	No	Number of hours
01		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
02		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
03		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
04		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
05		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
06		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
07		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
08		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
09		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
10		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
11		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
12		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
13		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____
14		__ __	1	2	3	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____	1	2	____ ____

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