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Assessing the gender gap: Evidence from SIMPOC surveys

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> International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)

Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC)

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1. Introduction

Coinciding with the tenth anniversary of the adoption of ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention No. 182, the 2009 World Day against Child Labour highlighted the situation of girl child labour. Convention No. 182 and its accompanying Recommendation No. 190 require that the special situation of girls be taken into account when designing responses to the worst forms of child labour.

There is broad consensus on the importance of the gender dimension in understanding child labour. Gender can determine to a large extent the participation and characteristics of the work performed by boys and girls and consequently their further development opportunities. There are a number of economic, sociological and cultural explanations for why boys or girls engage in different working activities. These have been discussed at length in the literature.¹ This paper provides statistical evidence for some of the most important gender differences with regard to child labour.

In line with the Resolution on child labour statistics adopted in December 2008 by the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS),² this paper uses the broader framework of analysis of "children in productive activities", covering both potential sources of economic and non-economic activities. This includes *children in employment* and *children in other productive activities*.³

In Section 2, global statistics on child labour for children derived from the ILO's global estimates published in 2006 are presented. Section 3 explores gender differentials between boys and girls in employment in terms of prevalence, sectoral distribution and work intensity. Section 4 analyzes their participation in unpaid household services as a central element of the gender analysis. Section 5 presents a combined analysis of employment and unpaid household services as a way to obtain a general overview of all potential sources of economic and non-economic work carried out by children. Section 6 reflects on the different impacts that gender-specific working patterns have on children's education. Section 7 concludes the paper with a summary of the findings.

The dataset underlying the analysis includes 16 household-based national child labour surveys (NCLS) from all major regions of the world conducted between 1999 and 2007 with the assistance of ILO-IPEC's Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC).⁴ Country data are presented for children aged 5 to 14 and 15 to 17. The sample includes the following countries: Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador and Guatemala for Latin America; Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey and Ukraine for transitional and developed economies; Burkina Faso, Malawi, Mali and Senegal for Sub-Saharan Africa and; Cambodia, Mongolia, Philippines and Sri Lanka for Asia and the Pacific.

The terms "children in employment" and "economically active children" are used interchangeably in this paper. The same applies to the terms "unpaid household services in the child's own household" and "household chores".

¹ From an economic perspective individuals within a household have incentives to specialize in different types of activities as a mean to maximize household welfare. The extent to which specialization influences the specific types of work in which boys and girls participate is determined to a large extent by social and cultural norms prevailing within the family and in the society. For a more detailed analysis of such reasons see: IPEC-UCW, 2006, page 32.

² The Report of the ICLS and the Resolution can be accessed in: <u>http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---</u> <u>dgreports/---integration/---stat/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_101467.pdf</u>

³ *Children in employment* are those engaged in any activity falling within the production boundary in the SNA for at least one hour during the reference period. Children in other productive activities includes children who perform unpaid household services, that is, the production of domestic and personal services by a household member for consumption within their own household, commonly called "household chores". In contrast, the performance of household services in a third-party household, paid or unpaid is included within the production boundary of the SNA.

⁴ See Annex I for details on the surveys.

2. Global statistics on girl child labour

The most recent ILO global estimates on child labour indicated that more than 100 million girls between 5 and 17 years old were involved in child labour in 2004 (Chart 1).⁵ The majority of girl child labourers are in the age range from 5 to 11 years old, outnumbering their male counterparts in this specific age category. Girl's involvement in child labour decreases relative to boys in the older age groups, however, as girls become less involved in economic activities their participation in unpaid household services increases. Girls represent approximately 46 per cent of all child labourers in the world.



Chart 1: Child labour by age group and sex ('000s)

Source: ILO, 2006.

Approximately fifty-three million girls are estimated to be in *hazardous work that is* **considered to be a** *worst form of child labour* **under Convention No. 182 (Chart 2).**⁶ Nearly 20 million girls in the age range of 5 to 11 years old - and virtually the same number of boys - are engaged in work that exposes them to serious illnesses and injuries. Boys tend to be involved in more dangerous jobs than girls, particularly at older ages. Girls represent approximately 42 per cent of all children in hazardous work.

⁵ The term child labour reflects the engagement of children in prohibited work and, more generally, in types of work to be eliminated as socially and morally undesirable as guided by national legislation, the ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138), and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182), as well as their respective supplementing Recommendations (Nos 146 and 190).

⁶ Categories considered by ILO Convention No. 182 as worst forms of child labour include: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for the use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; and (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children. Activities covered by (a)–(c) are referred to as the "worst forms of child labour other than hazardous work", and often also termed "unconditional worst forms of child labour". Activities under (d) are referred to as "hazardous work".



Chart 2: Hazardous work by age group and sex ('000s)

Source: ILO, 2006.

Of particular concern is the fact that girls comprise a large proportion of the children in the other worst forms of child labour not covered by the hazardous work category (i.e., commercial sexual exploitation, forced labour, trafficking of children, armed conflict, illicit activities, etc.). It should be noted that household surveys used to derive global estimates are often ill-suited to capture these other *worst forms of child labour*. The ICLS Resolution on child labour statistics recognizes that standardized statistical concepts and definitions for these forms of child labour are not fully developed and statistical measurement methods are at an experimental stage.⁷ IPEC-SIMPOC is currently testing a series of pilot methodologies to estimate the magnitude of some of these extreme forms of exploitation. Progress achieved in this regard will be presented to the 19th International Conference of Labour Statisticians.⁸

It is also important to point out that the definition of employment used in the 2006 global estimates does not include the performance of household chores. This is a central subject of the present paper and is discussed in detail in Sections 4 and 5, where statistics of the magnitude and key characteristics of such work are presented for a number of countries. The analysis of household chores is crucial from the gender perspective in view of the significant body of evidence showing that these activities are disproportionately performed by girls in most societies.⁹

⁷ See paragraphs 36 and 37 of the Resolution on child labour statistics.

⁸ See paragraph 63 of the Resolution on child labour statistics.

⁹ Precursor work in this direction was undertaken by Cigno and Rosati, 2000. For an analysis of the importance on unpaid household services for child work estimates see Basu and Tzannatos, 2003.

3. Country statistics of children in employment: a gender perspective

3.1 Children's involvement in employment

Quantitative analysis of SIMPOC surveys reveals sex-based disparities in terms of children's involvement in employment for many countries. As shown in Chart 3, the proportion of 5 to 14 year-olds in employment is higher for boys than for girls in all countries considered with the exception of Cambodia and Kyrgyzstan where prevalence rates are virtually equal.¹⁰ These differences capture the disparities already reflected in the SIMPOC global estimates, and the fact that in several countries boys tend to participate more in economic activities.¹¹ Despite these discernible differences, the participation of very young girls in the labour market remains considerable (i.e. for the sample: 15.0 per cent of girls vs. 21.2 per cent of boys).



Chart 3: Children in employment by sex. 5-14 years old

Note: Average rate of boys in employment=21.2, Average rate of girls in employment=15.0, Overall average: 18.7. **Source**: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

Differences are due in large part to the definition of "work" used. A more broad-based analysis that includes the performance of other productive activities outside the *production boundary* of the United Nations System of National Accounts reveals that the employment framework used does not adequately cover all of the work that children perform. The most important example is *unpaid household services* provided by children for their own household (sometimes referred to as "household chores"). The omission of household chores creates a gender distortion in the data as this activity represents the work of an overwhelming majority of girls in most societies. As stated in *IPEC-UCW* 2004:

The distinction between labour and household chores is essentially technical. For example, if a male child helps his father on a family farm, his contribution places him in the "economically active"

¹⁰ Below each chart averages for all countries are presented disaggregated by sex.

¹¹ It should be noted however that research has provided evidence that in several cases girls have a greater probability to be found in employment than boys. This is the case of countries such as Nepal, Yemen, Angola, Cameroon, Comoros, Guinea, Malawi and Central African Republic (ILO;UCW, page 7-8, 2006.).

population", but if a female child assists her mother in the household, the female child is not considered part of the "economically active population", and for that reason falls outside of the official statistics on working children. However, the activities of both children, if they were carried out outside of the household, would be considered work, in the agricultural sector for the male and in the services sector for the female.¹²

Sections 4 and 5 discuss the issue of household chores in more detail.

Employment gaps between boys and girls deepen considerably with age. While for children aged 5 to 14 the magnitude of the employment gender gap is of 6.2 per cent points, it reaches 15.1 per cent points for children aged 15 to 17 years old (boys dominate in both cases). This does not necessarily mean that girls have left the workforce for school or vocational training. In most cases, the gap is explained by a much larger involvement of girls in unpaid household services (as discussed in Sections 4 and 5). Adolescent girls in many countries not only face the extra-charge of household chores, but may cease early involvement in economic activity as a result of marriage and pregnancy.



Chart 4: Children in employment by sex. 15-17 years old

Note: Average rate of boys in employment=45.5, Average rate of girls in employment=30.4. **Source**: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

3.2 Relevant characteristics of the employment of girls

3.2.1 Sectoral distribution of employment

Aggregate evidence

Children's work is primarily concentrated in agriculture (Chart 5).¹³ This applies to all ages and holds true for both sexes. However, the total proportion of girls aged 5 to 14 in agriculture is

¹² Household chores constitute a significant part of the puzzle of activities that children are assigned to do. As it will be seen later, girls not just participate much more than boys in activities such as cooking, cleaning, collecting fuel wood and fetching water, shopping for the own household and taking care of siblings or sick family members, but they also do them for longer hours. Before passing to the analysis of household chores, a more detailed analysis of the employment characteristics of girls will be presented.

¹³ The child labour global estimates (2006) provided for the first time a global sectoral distribution of children's employment, but not disaggregated by sex. The indicator of employment by sector broke employment down into three broad groupings of economic activity: agriculture, industry and services. See IPEC, 2006.

approximately 10 per cent points lower than for boys in the same age group. Younger girls tend to participate more in the services sector which comprises two major activities performed: child domestic work (CDW)¹⁴ and wholesale and retail trade, which accounts for many of the trades performed within the informal sector of the economy. This is significant in most developing countries and one of the key sources of employment for children.¹⁵



As the age of boys and girls increases their share in agricultural activities declines. In the case of boys, the shift favours the industrial sector more than the services sector; while in the case of girls the decline in agricultural activities is distributed evenly to the industrial and the services sector. In general, the drop in agricultural activities can be explained by a series of factors, for example, the migration of working children to other economic sectors with higher productivity levels or the

¹⁴ Child domestic work (CDW) is considered an economic activity under the SNA production boundary and should no be confused with household chores. The former is performed outside the own household for an employer, while the latter is performed within the family household of the child. Section 3.2.2 presents statistics of CDW.

¹⁵ For a detailed discussion on the particularities of the informal sector with regard to child labour see IPEC, 2004, page 23.

possibility to integrate into more regulated sectors (different from agriculture) after reaching the legal minimum age for admission to employment.

Specific country evidence

Aggregated data tend to mask important differences from country to country. Chart 6, which presents the total proportion of boys and girls aged 5 to 14 in agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing by country shows how this can be the case. In Colombia, El Salvador and Guatemala the proportion of working girls in this sector is significantly lower than that of boys. In Ecuador, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia and Sri Lanka working boys and girls have similar shares in the agricultural sector; indeed it accounts for roughly 70 to 90 per cent of total children's involvement in employment. A different situation is found in Turkey and Ukraine where girls are considerably more likely to be working in agriculture than boys. Finally, in Burkina Faso, Mali, Senegal, Cambodia and the Philippines boys have a higher probability of working in agriculture than girls even if the proportion of working girls in this sector is consistently higher than 50 per cent.



Chart 6: Proportion of working children aged 5 to 14 years old in agriculture

Note: Average rate of boys in employment=approx 71.0 per cent, Average rate of girls in employment=approx. 61.0 per cent **Source**: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries

As age increases, participation in agriculture declines for both sexes; however, differences among countries and by sex can be significant (Chart 7).¹⁶ In Colombia, El Salvador, Burkina Faso, Mali and Mongolia the variation is lesser than 10 per cent; in Guatemala, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey, Ukraine and the Philippines the variation is within the range of 10 to 20 per cent; and in Ecuador, Senegal and the Philippines it exceeds 20 per cent Country specific variations are presented for boys and girls in Table 1.

¹⁶ With the exceptions of Colombia and Burkina Faso.



Chart 7: Proportion of working children aged 15 to 17 in agriculture

Note: Average rate of boys in employment= approx. 61.0 per cent, Average rate of girls in employment = 49.0 per cent. **Source**: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

Table 1:Variation in the proportion of children in agriculture aged 15 to 17 and 5 to 14,
by sex

	Variation in the proportion of males in agriculture = (proportion of males aged 15-17 – proportion of males aged 5-14)	Variation in the proportion of females in agriculture = (proportion of females aged 15-17) – (proportion of females aged 5-14)
Colombia	-0.2	4.4
Ecuador	-19.0	-25.6
El Salvador	-9.6	-1.8
Guatemala	-19.6	-12.6
Azerbaijan	-20.0	-11.3
Kyrgyzstan	-18.7	-16.3
Turkey	-25.6	-19.8
Ukraine	-1.1	-18.4
Burkina Faso	0.8	-2.9
Mali	-2.7	-8.6
Senegal	-30.2	-25.5
Cambodia	-8.2	-14.6
Mongolia	-2.0	-6.2
Philippines	-8.2	-19.5
Sri Lanka	-16.4	-15.5

Source: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries

3.2.2 Child domestic work

Domestic work for an employer (third party household) is a fundamental area of concern within the child labour discussion, and is considered a *worst form of child labour* **in many countries.**¹⁷ Statistics confirm that the vast majority of child domestic workers are girls (Chart 8). With the exception of Mali and Cambodia, the proportion of working girls in child domestic work is overwhelmingly higher than that of boys, attesting to the fact that this sector is largely 'feminized' in most countries.



Chart 8: Proportion of working children aged 5 to 14 in child domestic work by sex

Note: Only countries where it was possible to isolate the branch of activity corresponding to "Activities of private households as employers of domestic staff" under the International Standard Industry Code (ISIC) were included. This should also be considered as minimum estimates of girl's involvement in child domestic work in the respective countries. **Source**: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

As age increases, the proportion of girls working in this sector to all working girls increases considerably, while the proportion of boys declines or remains more or less constant; (with the exception of Cambodia where it increases more than two times from a relatively small base) – (Chart 9). It is interesting to consider that while boys have better opportunities to integrate into other better remunerated sectors than agriculture upon reaching the minimum legal working age, the only prospect for many unskilled girls is to become domestic workers.

¹⁷ In the last years through the implementation of the rapid assessment methodology IPEC has produced a significant knowledge base on the situation of child domestic workers in different countries. The results confirm that boys and girls in this sector are often exposed to cruel treatment, forced to work excessive hours, deprived from schooling, etc. Rapid assessments on CDW have been conducted in Nepal, 2001; South Africa, 2002; Thailand; 2002; El Salvador, 2002; Brazil, 2003 and; Sri Lanka, 2003. CDW is one of the central elements of the document *Lessons learned when investigating the worst forms of child labour using the rapid assessment methodology*, published in 2005 by IPEC.

Chart 9: Proportion of working children aged 15 to 17 in child domestic work by sex



Note: Only countries where it was possible to isolate the branch of activity corresponding to "Activities of private households as employers of domestic staff" under the International Standard Industry Code (ISIC) were included. This should also be considered as minimum estimates of girl's involvement in child domestic work in the respective countries. **Source**: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

3.2.3 Hours in employment by sex

There are important differences in the number of hours in employment between countries, but not necessarily in terms of sex (Chart 10). So far we have focused our attention on measures of incidence of employment. However a critical variable to consider is the number of hours that children spend in such activities (as a proxy for work *intensity*). Employment hours are important because they affect the time available to attend school, do homework, and benefit from rest and leisure. The average hours of boys and girls in employment are quite similar, though boys work slightly longer hours, with the exceptions of Turkey, Ukraine and El Salvador. The average gender gap – in favour of boys – is about one hour per week (20.2 hours per week for boys vs. 19.2 hours per week for girls).

Chart 10: Average weekly hours in employment, 5 to 14 years age group, by sex and country



Note: Average male weekly hours in employment=20.2, Average female weekly hours in employment=19.2 **Source:** SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

Working hours increases proportional to age for boys and girls (Chart 11). Once children reach the minimum age of employment the hours of work of both girls and boys increase as returns to work augment and many more move into full time employment. In El Salvador, Ukraine, Malawi, Cambodia and the Philippines girls work in average more hours than boys, while the opposite holds true for the rest of countries.



Chart 11: Average weekly hours in employment, 15 to 17 years age group, by sex and country

Note: Average male weekly hours in employment=31.0, Average female weekly hours in employment=29.5 **Source**: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

For many boys and girls the situation in terms of work intensity is much worse than what is reflected by national averages in charts 10 and 11.¹⁸ Looking at the distribution of the working hour's variable allows assessing the proportion of children working below or beyond national averages. This is the subject of the next sub-section.

3.2.4 Distribution of hours in employment by sex and age group

More than 25 per cent of working boys and girls below the age of 15 are in employment for 28 hours or more per week (Chart 12). Weekly hours in employment were divided into four categories for each of 16 the countries and the results consolidated into Chart 12.¹⁹ As age increases and children reach the minimum legal working age, the proportion of boys and girls working for 28 hours or more per week almost doubles. It is important to highlight that the distribution of hours in employment indicates that once children are sent to work they end up working for a considerable number of hours. This holds true for both age groups considered.

¹⁸ Given that the same averages can be obtained from distributions completely different distributions.

¹⁹ The four categories considered according to the number of hours in employment are: i) children in employment between 1-13 hours per week; ii) between 14-20 hours per week; iii) between 21-27 hours per week and; iv) work for 28 hours per week or more.



Chart 12: Proportion of children by number of hours in employment, sex and age group.

Note: The four categories considered according to the number of hours in employment are: i) children in employment between 1-13 hours per week; ii) between 14-20 hours per week; iii) between 21-27 hours per week and; iv) work for 28 hours per week or more.

Source: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

4. Country statistics of children in unpaid household services: the invisible work of girls

As mentioned in Section 2, a comprehensive and gender-sensitive picture of children's work needs to take into consideration the performance of *unpaid household services* – commonly referred to as "household chores" – provided by children for their own households.²⁰ This section explores children's involvement in such activities and sheds light on key dimensions of this type of work that are likely to impact negatively children's development.

It is important to highlight that the interest of the international community in household chores was reinforced with the recent adoption of a Resolution on child labour statistics by the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians, held in Geneva in December 2008.²¹ The ICLS Resolution constitutes the first international statistical standard on child labour. It establishes that the broadest concept related to the measurement of child labour is that of *children in productive activities* falling within the general production boundary as defined in the System of National Accounts (SNA).²² This includes *children in employment* and *children in other productive activities*. The latter is defined as "the production of domestic and personal services by a household member for consumption within their own household, commonly called household chores."²³

It should be noted also that not all *children in employment* or in *other productive activities* should be considered to be performing child labour that must be eliminated. The Resolution provides guidance as to which forms of "employment" and "unpaid household services" could potentially constitute child labour. It establishes that:

For the purpose of statistical measurement, children engaged in *child labour* include all persons aged 5 to 17 years who, during a specified time period, were engaged in one or more of the following categories of activities:

- (a) worst forms of child labour;
- (b) *employment below the minimum age*; and
- (c) *hazardous unpaid household services*,²⁴ applicable where the general production boundary is used as the measurement framework.

²⁰ This is different from the performance of household services in a third-party household, paid or unpaid, which is included within the production boundary of the SNA and considered already in Section 2.

²¹ The Report of the ICLS can be accessed in: <u>http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---</u> integration/---stat/documents/meetingdocument/wcms 101467.pdf.

 $^{^{22}}$ The general production boundary also distinguishes between economic and non-economic production, understanding economic production to include any human-controlled activity resulting in outputs appropriate for exchange – i.e. the goods and services produced should be marketable. The latter criterion suggests that only basic human activities (e.g. eating and sleeping) are excluded, while services such as washing; preparing meals; and caring for children, the aged, and the ill fall within the general production boundary, since they can be exchanged between different units.

²³ Child labour measures used up until now have focussed primarily on a definition of work restricted to economic activities. The reason for this is that the framework of analysis for adults is at the origin of the conceptual framework of analysis for children's work. However specialized national child labour surveys conducted over the last years have provided concrete evidence of the significant engagement of children in other non-economic working activities outside the production boundary.

²⁴ Hazardous unpaid household services by children are those performed in the child's own household under conditions corresponding to those defined in paragraph 20 above, that is, (a) unpaid household services performed for long hours, (b) in an unhealthy environment, involving unsafe equipment or heavy loads, (c) in dangerous locations, and so on. The definition of long hours in unpaid household services of children, relative to their age, may differ from the one applied in respect to children in employment. The effect on a child's education should also be considered when determining what constitutes long hours. The ILO will develop guidelines regarding hours thresholds and will report the developments to the 19th ICLS.

Countries have the prerogative to decide on the framework of analysis which they want to use to measure child labour. If they opt for the more general framework of the *general production boundary*, the performance of hazardous unpaid household services should be included as a component of the child labour measure. However if the more restrictive *production boundary* is used, child labour measurement will be only estimated on the basis of the productive activities within the *production boundary*.

Discussion is ongoing as to the variables and thresholds that should be used to determine the unpaid household services that constitute child labour. The Resolution gives a clear mandate to the ILO to develop guidelines on the treatment of long hours by children in unpaid household services with respect to age and hours thresholds and report the developments to the 19th ICLS.²⁵

4.1 Children's involvement in household chores

When household chores are included in the horizon of children's activities, the earlier picture from the employment analysis is turned around: girls are considerably more involved in household chores than boys.²⁶ The comparison between the average gender gaps of children in employment and in household chores proves to be very illustrative. While boys in the age-bracket from 5 to 14 register an average incidence of employment that is 6.2 per cent higher than that of girls, the gender gap for household chores in the same age-bracket reaches 15.6 per cent (dominated by girls this time). This proves that gender imbalances are of different magnitudes between employment and household chores (Chart 13).

Gender-based disparities differ significantly between countries and regions. The average gender gap for Sub-Saharan African countries included in the sample is higher than in every other region of the world (33.1 per cent points), followed by Latin America (14.2 per cent points), Transitional and developed countries (9.8 per cent point) and Asia and the Pacific (5.5 per cent point).



Chart 13: Children in unpaid household services by sex. 5-14 years old

Note: Average incidence of unpaid household services for boys=54.9, Average incidence of unpaid household services for girls =70.5.

²⁵ See ILO, 2008, 63rd paragraph of the Resolution on child labour statistics.

 $^{^{26}}$ See charts 4 and 5.

Source: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

The involvement of boys and girls in household chores increases in proportion to their ages; however the increase for girls is twice as high as that for boys (Chart 14).²⁷ On average girls register a much higher prevalence of household chores than boys for the selected countries of Sub-Saharan (44.4 per cent points of difference), followed by Latin American countries (29.0 per cent points of difference), Transitional and developed (15.3 per cent of difference) and Asia and the Pacific (8.1 per cent of difference).



Chart 14: Children in unpaid household services by sex. 15-17 years old

Note: Average incidence of unpaid household services for boys=66.6, Average incidence of unpaid household services for girls =90.8.

Source: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

²⁷ 20.3 per cent point vs. 11.7 per cent points, passing from children aged 5 to 14 to those aged 15 to 17.

4.2 Hours in household chores by sex

While a more or less gender-balanced picture emerges from the analysis of hours in employment,²⁸ differences become apparent when comparing work intensity of household chores by sex. On average girls work more hours per week than boys in all the countries considered, even if the gender-disparities remain minor as in Ukraine and Cambodia. On average girls aged 5 to 14 are found to be working in household chores 2.7 hours more per week than boys. There are also important differences by country and in terms of regions.



Chart 15: Weekly hours in unpaid household services by sex. 5-14 years old

Note: Average male weekly hours in household chores=8.5, Average female weekly hours in household chores =11.2 **Source**: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

Boys and girls aged 15 to 17 tend to spend more hours on household chores, but the increase is much more important in the case of girls (Chart 16).²⁹ Girls involved in household chores are found to be working on average 8.1 hours more per week than boys. It is certain that for some countries the amount of working hours dedicated to unpaid household services represents a true obstacle for grasping education and training opportunities where they exist. Also the significant burden of household chores – such as in the case of Mali - may prevent young females who are legally entitled to work from integrating into the labour market.

²⁸ See section 3.2.4.

²⁹ With the exception of boys in Mali.



Chart 16: Weekly hours in unpaid household services by sex. 15-17 years old

Note: Average male weekly hours in household chores=10.7, Average female weekly hours in household chores =18.8 **Source:** SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

4.3 Distribution of hours in household chores by sex and age group

The proportion of children doing household chores for 28 hours or more per week is twice as high for girls aged 5 to 14 than boys in the same age bracket and three times higher for those aged 15 to 17.³⁰ Unlike working hours in employment, the overall picture for the distribution of household chores differs considerably by gender in prejudice of girls. Given the high prevalence of household chores (see section 4.1) proportions presented in Chart 17 (even if small) represent large absolute numbers of children, and especially of girls, in unpaid household services.

³⁰ Hours in unpaid household services were divided into four categories for each country and results were collapsed into Chart 17. The four categories considered according to the number of hours in unpaid household services are: i) between 1-13 hours per week; ii) between 14-20 hours per week; iii) between 21-27 hours per week and; iv) for 28 hours per week or more.

Chart 17: Proportion of children by number of hours in unpaid household services and sex.



Note: The four categories considered according to the number of hours in unpaid household services are: i) children in unpaid household services between 1-13 hours per week; ii) between 14-20 hours per week; iii) between 21-27 hours per week and; iv) for 28 hours per week or more.

Source: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

5. The double burden

Sections 3 and 4 analyzed the incidence and key characteristics of employment and unpaid household services as two separate categories. This section aims at understanding the interactions between both activities. By considering all potential sources of work (economic and non-economic) a more accurate, comprehensive and real picture of the total working burden faced by children can be obtained.

5.1 Interaction between employment and household chores.

In order to explore the working status of children considering both economic and non-economic activities, the following four non-overlapping categories were built:

- a) Children in employment only,
- b) Children in unpaid household services only,
- c) Children in employment and unpaid household services and,
- d) Children neither in employment nor doing unpaid household services

The figures in tables 2 and 3 indicate the following:

The overwhelming majority of girls in employment are also performing household chores. This implies that once a family decides to involve a girl in employment it is almost certain that she will also perform household chores. For instance if we consider all countries included in this sample, 92 per cent of girls in employment are also involved in household chores as compared to 67 per cent of boys.³¹ A significant proportion of boys in employment are also doing household chores.

Girls have a much higher probability to perform unpaid household services on an exclusive basis than boys. The average of all countries in the sample reveals that approximately 4 in every 10 boys are involved in unpaid household services only, as compared with nearly 6 out of every 10 girls.

If a combined measure of work is built to include economic and non-economic activities, there are more girls working than boys for all countries and regions considered in the analysis. This is certainly one of the central conclusions of this paper which confirms the need to use a more comprehensive framework of analysis able to capture all forms of work performed by children (economic and non-economic).³² Regional differences in this regard can prove to be significant; however a more comprehensive sample is needed to refine the analysis.

³¹ Such percentages result from dividing (C)/(A+C)*100 in the row of Total.

³² Evidence for this need is also provided in the last category under column (D) which represents the percentage of children not working in any activity. Boys outnumber girls for all regions considered.

Countries grouped by region	Sex	Employment only (A)	Unpaid household services only (B)	Employment and unpaid household services (C)	Neither in employment nor doing unpaid household services (D)	Total
Colombia, Ecuador, El	Male	6.5	45.2	9.2	39.1	100.0
Guatemala	Female	0.9	61.4	7.2	30.4	100.0
Azerbaijan,	Male	1.7	46.6	9.3	42.5	100.0
Kyrgyzstan, Turkey and Ukraine	Female	0.4	56.5	9.1	33.9	100.0
Burkina Faso, Malawi,	Male	17.8	23.5	19.2	39.5	100.0
Mali and Senegal	Female	2.5	53.9	22.0	21.6	100.0
Cambodia, Mongolia	Male	2.0	47.8	19.2	31.0	100.0
Philippines and Sri Lanka	Female	0.9	55.8	16.7	26.6	100.0
Total	Male	7.0	40.8	14.2	38.0	100.0
	Female	1.2	56.9	13.8	28.1	100.0
	Gender gap (Female – Male)	-5.8	16.1	-0.4	-9.9	-

Table 2:Children's activities by sex for selected countries. 5-14 years old

Source: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

Gender gaps increase proportional to age for children in employment only and in unpaid household services.³³ As age increases the involvement of boys in *employment only* relative to that of girls increases by 8.7 per cent.³⁴ Girls register an average incidence of *unpaid household services only* higher than that of boys by 8.9 per cent.³⁵ The gender gap remains almost constant for children combining both activities or not doing any.

 $^{^{33}}$ Note that gender gaps for children aged 5 to 14 are presented in last row of Table 2 and for children 15-17 in Table 3.

³⁴ Passing from -5.8 per cent for children aged 5 to 14 to -14.5 per cent for children aged 15 to 17.

³⁵ Passing from 16.1 per cent for children aged 5 to 14 to 25.1 per cent for children aged 15 to 17.

Countries grouped by region	Sex	Employment only	Unpaid household services only	Employment and unpaid household services	Neither in employment nor doing unpaid household services	Total
Colombia,	Male	24.0	36.3	23.0	16.7	100.0
Ecuador, El	Female					
Guatemala		3.7	70.2	18.1	7.9	100.0
Azerbaijan,	Male	6.3	55.4	21.4	16.9	100.0
Kyrgyzstan, Turkey and	Female		70.0	10.0		400.0
Ukraine		0.8	73.2	18.9	7.2	100.0
Burkina Faso,	Male	30.3	21.1	27.8	20.8	100.0
Malawi, Mali and Senegal	Female	2.7	54.8	38.3	4.2	100.0
Cambodia,	Male	7.8	39.9	42.1	10.3	100.0
Mongolia Philippines and Sri Lanka	Female	3.3	54.5	35.5	6.6	100.0
Total	Male	17.1	38.2	28.6	16.2	100.0
	Female	2.6	63.2	27.7	6.5	100.0
	Gender gap (Female – Male)	-14.5	25.0	-0.9	-9.7	-

 Table 3:
 Children's activities by sex for selected countries. 15-17 years old

Source: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

5.2 Intensity of work

Based on the guidelines of the ICLS Resolution the total number of hours in employment and household chores may be used as a proxy of the *total intensity* of children's work when the general production boundary is used as a framework of analysis.³⁶ Tables 4 and 5 present the average weekly hours for children in employment only, in household chores only and performing both activities.

Some highlights from Table 4 concerning the weekly hours of work:

Girls involved in *unpaid household services only* work for a higher number of hours per week than boys in unpaid household services in all countries considered. Gender-based disparities are more significant for the group of African and Latin American countries in the sample.

Girls combining *employment and unpaid household services* work for a higher number of hours per week than boys in all countries considered. Gender-based disparities are more significant for the group of African countries; similar in Latin American and Developed and Transitional countries and; very small in Asian countries in the sample.

Evidence for children involved in *employment only* **is mixed**. For the group of selected Latin American and Transitional and Developed countries girls work more hours per week than boys, while the opposite holds for the group of African and Asian countries in the sample.

³⁶ The Resolution on child labour statistics in its paragraph 16 sets the guidelines for the performance of such analysis by establishing that: "When child labour is measured on the basis of the general production boundary, a child may be considered to be in child labour when the total number of hours worked in employment and unpaid household services exceeds the thresholds that may be set for national statistical purposes". ILO, 2008.

Countries grouped by region	Sex	Employment only	Unpaid household services only	Employment and unpaid household services
Colombia, Ecuador, El	Male	24.4	8.2	30.5
Salvador and Guatemala	Female	29.5	12.6	33.5
	Gender gap = Female - Male	5.1	4.4	3.0
Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan,	Male	16.3	6.0	24.5
Turkey and Ukraine	Female	19.1	7.4	27.7
	Gender gap = Female - Male	2.8	1.4	3.2
Burkina Faso, Malawi,	Male	27.1	14.7	34.1
Mali and Senegal	Female	25.5	21.4	39.4
	Gender gap = Female - Male	-1.6	6.7	5.3
Cambodia, Mongolia	Male	21.9	7.7	26.4
Philippines and Sri Lanka	Female	16.3	9.1	26.6
	Gender gap = Female - Male	-5.6	1.4	0.2
Total	Male	22.5	9.2	29.0
	Female	23.0	12.8	32.1
	Gender gap = Female - Male	0.5	3.6	3.1

Table 4: Weekly hours worked by type of activity and sex. 5-14 years old

Source: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

Some highlights from Table 5:

Gender-based disparities prejudicing girls deepen considerably with age. Girls aged 15 to 17 are found working more hours per week in all the categories considered. Differentials are striking for the group African and Latin American countries in the sample. For instance in Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador and Guatemala girls work for 7.6 additional hours compared to boys when they are in *employment only*; 12.2 additional hours than boys when they are in unpaid household services only; and 9.4 hours additional hours compared to boys when they are combining employment and unpaid household services. The total number of working hours reaches as high as 50.3 hours per week in the latter case, which is an hour threshold far beyond the one used by SIMPOC to quantify hazardous work at the global level.³⁷

³⁷ This relates to the 43 hour threshold used by SIMPOC in its global child labour estimates for determining hazardous work in industries or occupations not per se classified as hazardous for children.

Male		services only	nousenoiu services
	38.1	10.6	40.9
Female	45.7	22.8	50.3
Gender gap = Female	7.6	10.0	9.4
Male	33.5	7.8	38.1
Female	34.8	11.8	30.8
Gender gap = Female - Male	1.3	4.0	1.7
Male	31.5	15.4	40.7
Female	35.0	30.8	53.5
Gender gap = Female - Male	3.5	15.4	12.8
Male	42.6	10.9	40.1
Female	44.8	15.3	44.8
Gender gap = Female - Male	2.2	4.4	4.7
Male	36.0	11.2	39.9
Female	39.7	20.5	47.2
Gender gap = Female - Male	3.7	9,3	7.3
	MaleFemalegap =Female- MaleMaleFemaleGendergap =Female- MaleGendergap =Female- MaleGendergap =Female- MaleGendergap =Female- MaleFemaleGendergap =Female- MaleFemale- MaleFemale- MaleFemale- MaleFemale- MaleFemale- Male	Male 38.1 Female 45.7 Gender gap = Female 7.6 Male 33.5 Female 34.8 Gender 35.0 Gender 35.0 Gender 35.0 Gender 3.5 Male 3.5 Male 42.6 Female 44.8 Gender 36.0 Female 39.7 Gender 39.7	Male 38.1 10.6 Female 45.7 22.8 Gender gap = 22.8 Female 7.6 12.2 Male 33.5 7.8 Female 34.8 11.8 Gender 34.8 15.4 Female 35.0 30.8 Gender 35.0 30.8 Gender 35.0 30.8 Gender 35.0 15.4 Male 3.5 15.4 Male 3.5 15.4 Male 42.6 10.9 Female 44.8 15.3 Gender 9ap = 7 Female 2.2 4.4 Male 36.0 11.2 Female 39.7 20.5 Gender

 Table 5.
 Weekly hours worked by type of activity and sex. 15-17 years old

Source: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

6. Education

Understanding the interplay between work and education constitutes one of the core concerns of the child labour analysis. Child labour constitutes a major hindrance to human capital development. It affects the ability of boys and girls to participate in the education system and reduces their school performance. Working children attend less school, have higher repetition and drop-out rates, spend fewer years in school (late entrance and early leaving) and may find themselves as youngsters without the basic tools to escape marginalization and poverty.³⁸

Gender can determine to a large degree the type or types of working activities that boys and girls do. This is relevant to the extent that gender-specific working patterns may impact schooling differently. Evidence presented in this paper suggests that almost all girls performing economic activities are also doing household chores (more than 9 in every 10) and that their involvement in unpaid household services in the own household is much higher than that of boys.

"Hours of work" constitutes a key variable to understand the true impact of work on education. The length of a child's work day in economic and non-economic activities determines to a large extent her/his possibilities to participate in the education system. This applies to work of economic and non-economic nature.

Taking into consideration the previous two paragraphs this research looks at the different impacts of specific working activities by considering school attendance rates by "type of work" and "hours of work". Previous research suggested that household chores have a smaller impact on school attendance than employment.³⁹ Findings suggest that some of the characteristics of household chores could pose a lower barrier to the participation of children in the education system (i.e., flexible schedules or parents having a greater interest in safeguarding the education of their children). However this should not be a reason to underestimate the effects of what constitutes the most prevalent form of work of children in the world, especially for girls. Even if its impact on education seems to be less than that of economic activities, it affects a much wider proportion of children and therefore requires special attention.

6.1 School attendance

School attendance rates vary significantly by type of work (tables 6 and 7). First, school attendance rates of children in *unpaid household services only* are higher than those in any other working category. As previously mentioned this category concentrates the largest share of children and an accurate schooling impact analysis must imperatively take into consideration the hours spent in such activities. Even if a small percentage is found to be working beyond the fixed acceptable threshold, such small percentage is likely to reflect large absolute numbers.

Children combining *employment and unpaid household services* have higher school attendance rates than children in *employment only*. This is somehow counterintuitive. As mentioned before, hours in employment seem to be more detrimental to school attendance than time spent in household chores. Even if children performing both activities work more hours per week in total (as seen in previous section), they dedicate fewer hours to employment activities than those engaged exclusively in economic activities. Therefore the 'hour mixture' between economic and non-economic activities seems to favour school attendance. Nonetheless school attendance rates for this group are much lower than national averages.

³⁸ See evidence in IPEC, 2008.

³⁹ *Idem*. Also see UCW, 2006.

Gender gaps for school attendance indicate that with few exceptions girls attend less school for the majority of countries in this sample. As age increases, school attendance rates drop considerably, but they decrease much more for girls. Some of the gaps reveal the profound distortion in terms of development possibilities between both sexes. It is important to acknowledge that school attendance rates of females aged 15 to 17 in unpaid household services only are approximately 14 per cent lower than those of their male counterparts in the selected countries, especially after considering that more than 6 out of every 10 girls are concentrated in this category.⁴⁰

Countries grouped by region	Sex	Employment only	Unpaid household services only	Employment and unpaid household services
Colombia, Ecuador, El	Male	67.4	91.2	75.4
Salvador and Guatemala	Female	69.4	88.6	75.1
	Gender gap = Female	2.0	-2.6	-0.3
Azerbaijan Kyrgyzstan	Male	84.2	95.0	-0.5
Turkey and Ukraine	Female	80.5	94.4	85.7
	Gender gap = Female	2.7	1.5	5.4
Burkina Faso, Malawi	- Male	-3.7	-1.0	-5.4
Mali and Senegal	Female	39.3	55.3	49.4
	Gender gap = Female - Male	-9.3	-6.5	-5.0
Cambodia, Mongolia	Male	70.3	87.9	74.9
Philippines and Sri Lanka	Female	65.4	87.8	79.9
	Gender gap = Female - Male	-4.9	-0.1	5.0
Total	Male	65.3	84.2	72.7
	Female	61.3	81.5	71.3
	Gender gap = Female	4.0	27	
	- wate	-4.0	-2.1	-1.4

Table 6.	School attendance rate by type of work and sex. 5-14 ye	ears old.
	School allendance rate by type of work and sex. 5-14 y	cai s vit

⁴⁰ This is shown in previous Section.

Countries grouped by region	Sex	Employment only	Unpaid household services only	Employment and unpaid household services
Colombia, Ecuador, El	Male	33.2	86.9	48.8
Salvador and Guatemala	Female	33.3	68.3	47.5
	Gender gap = Female	0.1	-18.6	-1 3
Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan,	Male	49.7	91.1	62.9
Turkey and Ukraine	Female	39.5	83.5	61.3
	Gender gap = Female - Male	-10.2	-7.6	-1.6
Burkina Faso, Malawi,	Male	29.6	68.6	38.2
Mali and Senegal	Female	21.8	46.3	28.9
	Gender gap = Female - Male	-7.8	-22.3	-9.3
Cambodia, Mongolia	Male	31.3	86.9	49.3
Philippines and Sri Lanka	Female	25.5	79.5	49.8
	Gender gap = Female - Male	-5.8	-7.4	0.5
Total	Male	36.0	83.4	49.8
	Female	30.0	69.4	46.9
	Gender gap = Female - Male	-6.0	-14.0	-2.9

 Table 7.
 School attendance rate by type of work and sex. 15-17 years old.

6.2 Effect of hours in household chores and employment

Unfortunately some of the national household surveys samples were not large enough to undertake an aggregate gender analysis of the impact of working hours on school attendance for children in employment only, in unpaid household services only or combining employment and household chores, as three separate working categories. In order to provide an approximate aggregate picture for the entire sample by sex, these three categories were merged into two groups: children in employment and children in unpaid household services. This allows us to obtain a first approximation of the overall impact of economic activities vis-à-vis unpaid household services.⁴¹

6.2.1 Household chores

There is an inverse correlation between the number of working hours in household chores and the capacity of children to attend school. The average school attendance rate of girls performing household chores for 28 hours per week represents 74.2 per cent of that corresponding to girls in household chores for less than 14 hours per week. It is possible to observe a progressive deterioration of school attendance rates as the number of hours in unpaid household services increases. Such decline

⁴¹ There is some degree of approximation contained in this analysis given that children in employment and children in unpaid household services are not mutually exclusive categories. Some children in employment are doing household chores, and some children in unpaid household services are also in employment.

becomes fairly sharp after 28 hours per week. We observe also that girls are particularly affected, probably because they are working much longer hours beyond this threshold than boys.



Chart 18. School attendance by hours in household chores and sex (5-14 years old)

Source: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

6.2.2 Employment

The inverse correlation is stronger between hours in employment and school attendance rates. Average school attendance rates of economically active children working for 28 hours or more per week represent approximately 62 per cent of that corresponding to economically active children working for less than 14 hours per week. Effects are similar for boys and girls.



Chart 19. School attendance by hours in employment (5-14 years old).

Source: SIMPOC calculations based on national child labour surveys from 16 sample countries.

7. Conclusions

This paper has examined the different working patterns between girls and boys by analyzing existing data for gender differences. A fresh look at the data has revealed that when a broader definition of work which includes economic and non-economic activities is used, more girls work than boys. Specific forms of unpaid household services and employment clearly affect their ability to benefit from education, their leisure time and their well-being.

Boys are more likely to be involved in economic activities than girls, but the latter also have a significant participation in the labour market. The gender gap between girls and boys in the age group 5-14 accounts for 6.2 per cent points (21.2 per cent for boys vs. 15.0 per cent for girls). For the group of children aged 15 to 17 years old (above the minimum age), the gap reaches 15.1 per cent (45.5 per cent for boys vs. 30.4 per cent of girls), perhaps constituting an early sign of exclusion from the labour market that females face as adults.

Agriculture constitutes in average the main source of employment for most girls, but they are also found in significant proportions in manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade and child domestic work. The proportion of working girls in child domestic work is considerably higher than that of boys for all countries.

There are no significant gender differences in the number of hours that boys and girls spend in employment. For the age group of children aged 5 to 14 the average difference is about 1 hour per week (20.2 hours per week for boys vs. 19.2 hours per week for girls), while for those aged 15 to 17 the difference is 1.5 hours per week (31.0 hours per week for boys vs. 29.5 hours per week for girls).

When analyzing the distribution of working hours it is possible to observe that many children are working beyond national averages. Concretely, more than 25 per cent of boys and girls below the minimum age for admission to employment are in economic activities for 28 hours or more per week.

Girls are considerably more involved in household chores than boys. The gender gap between girls and boys 5 to 14 years old accounts for 15.6 per cent points (54.9 per cent for boys vs. 70.5 per cent for girls). For children aged 15 to 17 the gap reaches 24.2 per cent points (66.6 per cent for boys vs. 90.8 per cent for girls).

Girls are not only involved more in household chores but they also work longer hours in these activities. The difference accounts for 2.7 hours per week and 8.1 hours per week for children aged 5 to 14 and 15 to 17, respectively.

The proportion of girls performing household chores for 28 hours per week or more is two times higher for the age group from 5 to 14 (10.0 per cent vs. 5.1 per cent) and three times higher for the category of 15 to 17 years old (22.7 per cent vs. 7.8 per cent). These small percentages however represent large absolute numbers given the high levels of participation of children in household chores.

A broader definition of work which includes economic and non-economic activities reveals that girls have higher working rates than boys. This is certainly one of the central conclusions of this paper which confirms the need to use a more comprehensive framework of analysis able to capture all forms of work performed by children, and especially the non-economic work undertaken by girls.

The overwhelming majority of girls in employment are also performing household chores. In average 92 per cent of girls in employment aged 5 to 14 are also involved in household chores as well as compared to 67 per cent of boys. In the case of adolescents 15 to 17 years old the figures are similar

with 91 per cent of girls in employment also performing household chores vs. 63 per cent of boys. A very small percentage of girls are involved in economic activities on exclusive basis.

Girls involved in *unpaid household services only* work for a higher number of hours per week than boys in unpaid household services in all countries considered. Gender-based disparities are more significant for the group of African and Latin American countries in the sample.

Girls combining *employment and unpaid household services* work for a higher number of hours per week than boys in all countries considered. Gender-based disparities are more significant for the group of African countries; similar in Latin American and Developed and Transitional countries and; relatively small in the Asian countries in the sample.

Evidence for children involved in *employment only* **is mixed**. For the group of selected Latin American and Transitional and Developed countries girls work more hours per week than boys, while the opposite holds for the groups of African and Asian countries in the sample.

Gender-based disparities in prejudice of girls deepen considerably with age. Girls aged 15 to 17 are working more hours per week in all the categories considered. Differentials are striking for the group of African and Latin American countries in the sample.

School attendance rates vary significantly by type of work. School attendance rates of children in *unpaid household services only* are higher than those in any other working category. The school attendance analysis of this category is only meaningful when combined with hours of work in such activities.

Children combining *employment and unpaid household services* have higher school attendance rates than children in *employment only*. Hours in employment seem to be more detrimental to school attendance than time spent in household chores. Even if children performing both activities work more hours per week in total, they dedicate fewer hours to employment than children engaged exclusively in economic activities. Therefore the 'hour mixture' between economic and non-economic activities seems to be more favourable for school attendance. Nonetheless school attendance rates for this group are much lower than national averages.

School attendance gender gaps indicate that with few exceptions girls attend less school. As age increases, school attendance rates drop considerably, but they decrease much more for girls and to lower levels. Some of the gaps reveal the profound disadvantages in terms of development possibilities for girls.

There is an inverse correlation between the number of working hours in household chores and the capacity of children to attend school. The average school attendance rate of girls performing household chores for 28 hours per week represents 74.2 per cent of that corresponding to girls in household chores for less than 14 hours per week.

The inverse correlation is stronger between hours in employment and school attendance rates. Average school attendance rates of economically active children working for 28 hours or more per week represent approximately 62 per cent of that corresponding to economically active children working for less than 14 hours per week. Effects are similar for boys and girls.

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9. Annex

	Country	Year
1	Colombia	2001
2	Ecuador	2006
3	El Salvador	2001
4	Guatemala*	2006
5	Azerbaijan	2005
6	Kyrgyzstan	2007
7	Turkey*	2006
8	Ukraine	1999
9	Burkina Faso	2006
10	Malawi	2002
11	Mali	2005
12	Senegal	2004
13	Cambodia	2001
14	Mongolia	2002
15	Philippines	2001
16	Sri Lanka	1999

SIMPOC national child labour survey datasets at the basis of this report

* Successor data collection exercises based on previous SIMPOC surveys