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A photograph showing two young women in a garment factory. They are both wearing yellow shirts and are focused on their work at sewing machines. The woman in the foreground is operating a white sewing machine with 'Unic' and '157' visible on its side. The background shows other sewing machines and factory equipment.

WORLD REPORT ON CHILD LABOUR

Paving the way to decent work for young people

A photograph of a young boy in a tobacco field. He is wearing a green shirt and is carrying a large bundle of harvested tobacco leaves on a wooden pole balanced across his shoulders. The field is filled with large green tobacco plants under a cloudy sky.

2015

World Report on Child Labour 2015
Paving the way to decent work for young people

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Preface

This Report is the second of a series of World Child Labour Reports called for in the outcome document, the Roadmap, emerging from The Hague Global Child Labour Conference of 2010. The World Report series is seen as an additional vehicle for promoting effective action against child labour, complementing the periodic Global Estimates exercise and other global ILO publications. The series is aimed in particular at helping inform global efforts in the lead up to the 2016 target date for the elimination of worst forms of child labour. The World Reports are an integral part of the 2010 Child Labour Global Action Plan, endorsed by the ILO's Governing Body in November 2010 and by the November 2012 Action Plan to Promote Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work.

The World Reports are technical and evidence-based in orientation and thematic in nature. Each is designed to assess the current “state of the art” in terms of knowledge in a selected child labour-related policy area. The series is used to build an evidence-based case for policies necessary for accelerated progress towards eliminating child labour. The Reports do not present new primary research; rather, they assemble and analyse existing research in the field of child labour, much of it supported by the ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and the Understanding Children's Work (UCW) programme, a joint research Initiative of ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank.

Child labour and social protection was the thematic focus for the first World Report, published in 2013. The present World Report assesses the interplay between child labour and youth employment. The Report through analysis of data generated by the ILO's Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) and the ILO's School-to-Work Transition Survey (SWTS) programme assesses the major impediments for the 15-17 years category of workers in securing decent jobs. In so doing, it examines the employment outcomes of former child labourers and those who begin the transition to work at an early age (i.e. before 15 years) and compares these to others. The work on the report was led by UCW in close collaboration with the Youth Employment Programme based in the ILO's Employment Department.

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Abbreviations

CRC	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
DWCP	Decent Work Country Programme (ILO)
ECA	Eastern Europe and Central Asia
ENTE	Enquête nationale sur le travail des enfants
ENTI	Encuesta Nacional de Trabajo Infantil
ESAW	European Statistics on Accidents at Work
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO)
IT	Information technology
IUF	International Union of Food workers
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
NCLS	National Child Labour Survey
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPT	Occupied Palestinian Territory
PNAD	Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (ILO)
SWTS	School-to-Work Transition Survey programme (ILO)
UCW	Understanding Children's Work programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
YEP	Youth Employment Programme (ILO)

Executive summary

The case for accelerated global action targeting child labour and the lack of decent work opportunities for youth is very clear. Some 168 million children remain trapped in child labour while at the same time there are 75 million young persons aged 15 to 24 years of age who are unemployed and many more who must settle for jobs that fail to offer a fair income, security in the workplace, social protection or other basic decent work attributes.

This World Report focuses on the twin challenges of child labour elimination and ensuring decent work for youth. This focus is driven by the obstacles that child labour and the youth decent work deficit pose to implementing the Post-2015 Development Agenda and by the close connection between the two challenges. The Report makes the case that achieving decent work for all, one of the likely core Sustainable Development Goals for the post-2015 period, will not be possible without eliminating child labour and erasing the decent work deficit faced by youth.

The Report begins with a background discussion of standards, concepts and policy. It then proceeds to a discussion of the two-way linkages between child labour and youth employment: first, how child labour and early schooling leaving affect the transition paths of youth and their eventual employment outcomes; and second, how youth employment difficulties and low returns to education can impact on household decisions concerning child labour and schooling earlier in the lifecycle. The Report then addresses the issue of child labour among 15–17 years age group, the overlapping group that is relevant to broader efforts relating to both child labour and youth employment. The Report concludes with a set of recommendations for aligning and improving the coherence of policies and programmes addressing child labour and the youth decent work deficit.

How child labour and early schooling leaving affect the transition paths of youth and their eventual employment outcomes

Evidence from ILO School-to-Work Transition Survey (SWTS) programme indicates that between 20 and 30 per cent of adolescents and young adults in the low-income countries included in the SWTS programme complete their labour market transition by the age of 15 years, i.e. as child labourers.¹ The same survey source indicates that even more youth in these countries leave school prior to this age (see Figure 17), driven, *inter alia*, by poverty, social vulnerability, problems of education access and quality

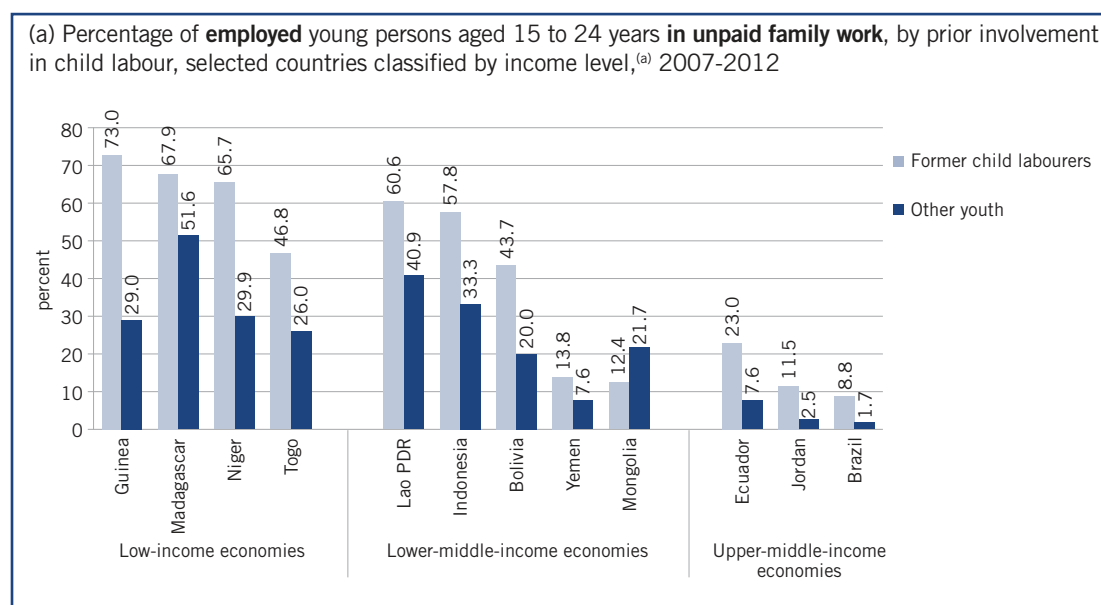
¹ ILO: *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2013: A generation at risk* (Geneva, 2013).

and gender-related social pressures.² How do the employment outcomes of former child labourers and others who began the transition to work at an early age differ from those of other young persons?

A survey programme supported by the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC), the statistical arm of the ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour, allows us to partially address this question. The SIMPOC surveys contain information on the age at which individuals begin working, allowing for simple comparisons of the employment and schooling outcomes of those that were already working by the age of 15 years with those that began work after this age.

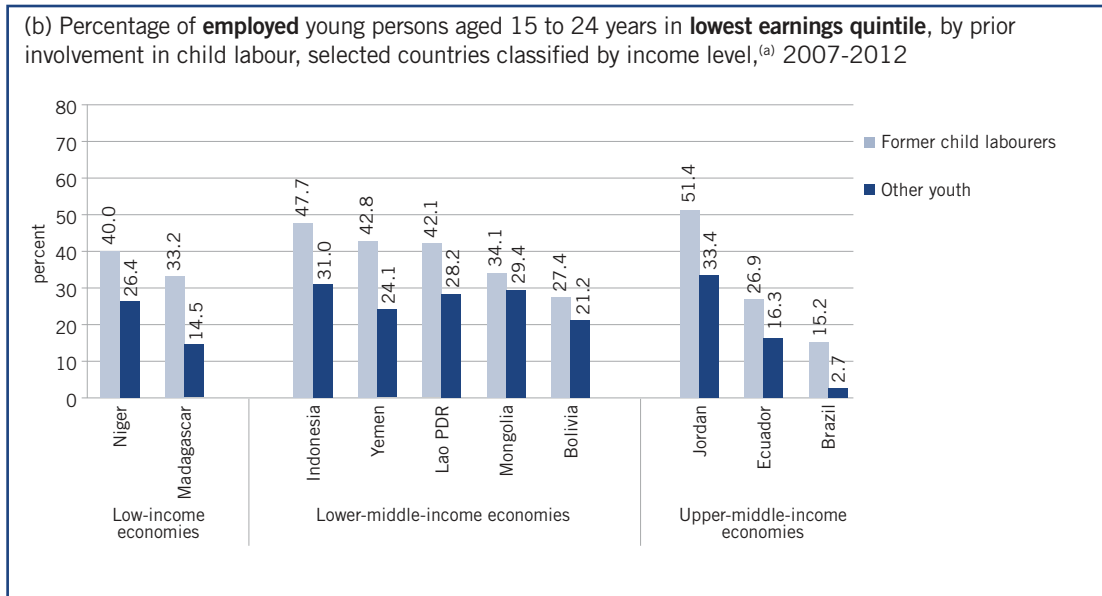
The results of this comparison are consistent across the 12 countries where these data are available – *prior involvement in child labour is associated with lower educational attainment and with jobs that fail to meet basic decent work criteria.*³ Young persons who were burdened by work as children are consistently more likely to have to settle for unpaid family jobs (Figure 1a) and are also more likely to be in low paying jobs (Figure 1b).

Figure 1. Young persons who worked as children are more likely to be unpaid family workers



² For a more detailed discussion of this point, see, for example, ILO: *World report on child labour 2013: economic vulnerability, social protection and the fight against child labour* (Geneva, 2013); and ILO: *Joining forces against child labour. Inter-agency report for The Hague Global Child Labour Conference of 2010* (Geneva, 2010).

³ Decent work sums up the aspirations of people in their working lives. It involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income, security in the workplace and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration, freedom for people to express their concerns, organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives and equality of opportunity and treatment for all women and men. The definition of decent work is discussed further in Box 2 and its measurement is discussed in Box 4.



Note: (a) World Bank country income classifications by GNI per capita as of 1 July 2012: Low-income: US\$1,025 or less; Lower-middle-income: US\$1,026 to US\$4,035; Upper-middle-income: US\$4,036 to US\$12,475; and High-income: US\$12,476 or more. Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A1).

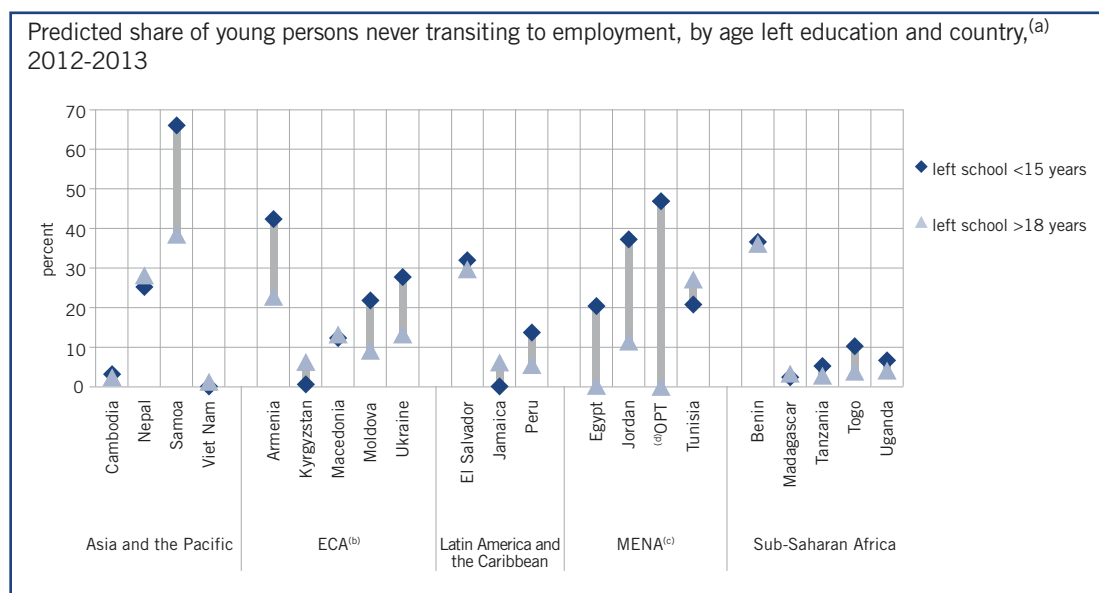
This information, however, is limited essentially to a person's activity status at two distinct stages of the lifecycle – specifically, work status during childhood (i.e., up to the age of 15 years) and job status (at a particular point) during youth (i.e. the 15–24 years age group). The results from the SIMPOC surveys do *not* tell us anything about how the first status affects the transition trajectory leading to the second one, information that is critical to understanding *why* premature work involvement influences employment outcomes during youth.

We now therefore turn to the issue of *transition to work* and how early school leaving can influence the transition path. Another important ILO data initiative – the School-to-Work Transition Survey (SWTS) programme – allows us to characterize the transition paths of youth in developing countries and how beginning the transition to work at an early age affects the transition paths and outcomes of young persons.

Large shares of youth leave school at or below the general minimum working age of 15 years – as set forth in ILO Convention No. 138⁴ – in the developing countries that were included in the SWTS programme. This group of early school leavers is at greater risk of remaining outside the world of work altogether, i.e. of never transiting

⁴ ILO Convention No. 138 allows a Member State whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed to initially specify a minimum age of 14 years. National laws or regulations may permit the employment or work of children aged 13 to 15 years on light work which is (a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received. A Member whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed may substitute the ages 13 and 15 for the ages 12 and 14 for light work.

Figure 2. Early school leavers are generally at greater risk of remaining outside the world of work altogether



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) OPT - Occupied Palestinian Territory.

Source: Calculations based on ILO School-to-Work Transition Surveys.

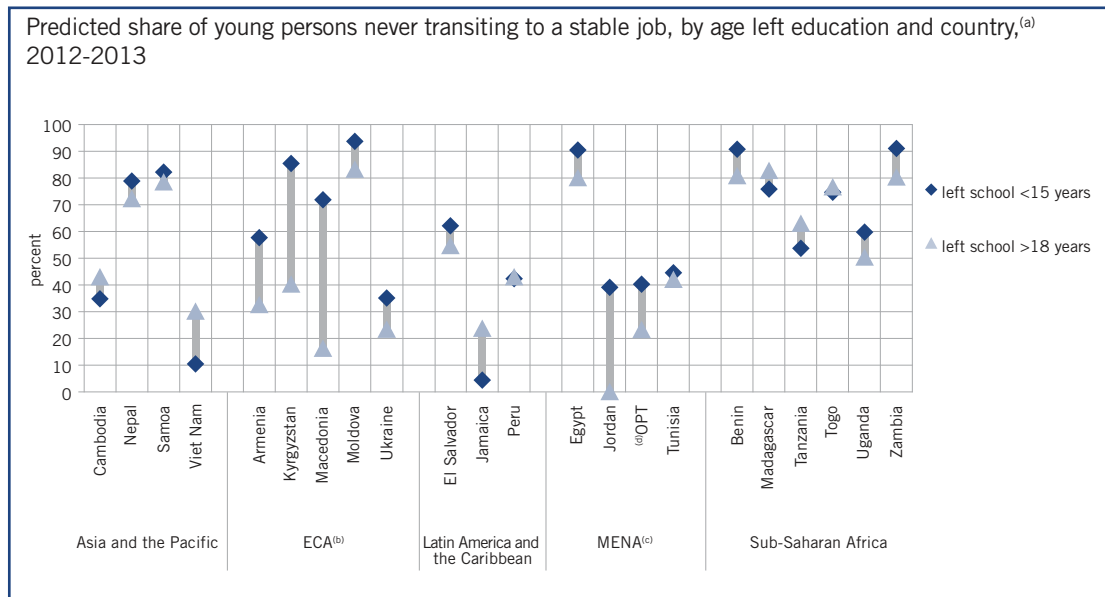
to work (Figure 2).⁵ Early school leavers who do eventually transit are less likely than more-educated youth to ever secure *stable jobs*, where we define stable jobs as paid work with a contract of 12 months or more (Figure 19).⁶ Job stability, in turn, is critical to security in the workplace and ultimately to decent work, the desired outcome of the transition to work.

Those leaving school prior to the age of 15 years that *do* manage to secure jobs take longer to do so than other youth. Figure 4, which reports results for the duration of the transition to the first job, indicates that the difference in duration times between early school leavers and other youth is often very large. Early school leavers securing stable jobs also take more time to do so than better-educated youth in the SWTS countries (not shown). These results run counter to the common perception that better-educated school-leavers with more specialized skill sets have relatively greater difficulty in gaining an initial foothold in the labour market.

⁵ For further details regarding the methodology, see UCW: *Pathways to work in the developing world: An analysis of young persons' transition from school to the workplace*. UCW Working Paper (Rome, 2014).

⁶ Following the model used for the analysis of the SWTS programme. See Elder, S.: *ILO School-to-Work Transition Survey: A methodological guide* (Geneva, ILO, 2009). This indicator should be considered with care in our case for two reasons. In low- and middle-income countries, the share of paid employment jobs tends to be much lower than in high-income countries (for which the concept of stable employment has been developed). Moreover, in our sample we have countries with very different level of development and economic structures: this reflects of course on the prevalence of stable employment among youth. As has been demonstrated in the national reports summarizing the SWTS results, a majority of adolescents in low-income countries complete the transition to self-employment rather than a stable job.

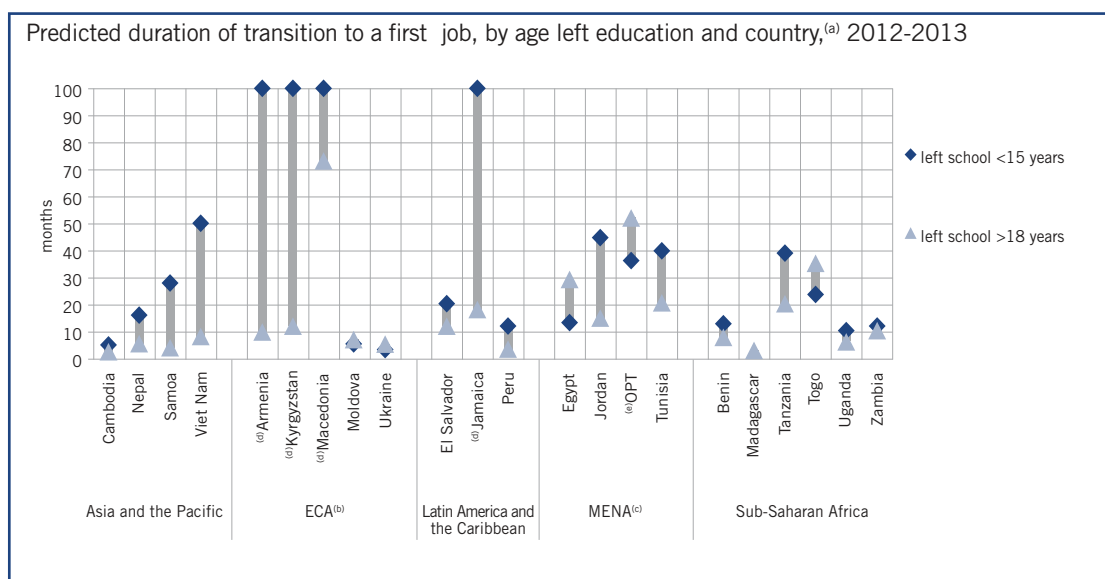
Figure 3. Early school leavers are generally less likely than their more-educated counterparts to secure *stable jobs*



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) Occupied Palestinian Territory. Source: Calculations based on ILO School-to-Work Transition Surveys.

Taken together, these results indicate that children forced by their household circumstances or other factors to leave school prior to their fifteenth birthday are doubly disadvantaged: they are less likely to ever find jobs and those who do find jobs take much longer to do so. The results reinforce a central message of this Report: in many

Figure 4. Early school leavers take longer to find first jobs



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia FYR and Jamaica have been top coded at 100. (e) Occupied Palestinian Territory. Source: Calculations based on ILO School-to-Work Transition Surveys.

national contexts policy interventions addressing premature school leaving and child labour are critical to broader efforts towards ensuring decent work for young persons.

Why the employment situation of youth matters for child labour

How are the labour market conditions faced by young people relevant to child labour? In theoretical terms, the answer is clear. Poor youth employment prospects can serve as a disincentive to investment in children's education earlier in the lifecycle. In other words, in countries where there are few opportunities for decent work requiring advanced skills, and where returns to education are therefore limited, parents have less reasons to delay their children's entry into work and to incur the costs associated with their children's schooling. By the same reasoning, in countries where the demand for skilled labour is high, and returns to education are therefore significant, families have a strong incentive to postpone their children's transition to work and to instead invest in their education.

We now move from theory to practice, reviewing evidence from real world case studies concerning the impact of youth employment on child labour and schooling decisions. Broadly, the cases that we cite indicate that, in keeping with theory, increased demand for skilled workers is accompanied by increased school participation and reduced child labour. This is an area, however, where substantial knowledge gaps remain.

The first case focuses on the impact of access to high-yield seeds by farmers in a set of villages in India in the late 1960s.⁷ Adoption of these new seeds was not straightforward and required considerable experimentation and learning. Farmers with higher levels of education were arguably more equipped to go through this process of experimentation and learning and thus to profitably take-up the new seeds. The introduction of these seeds, in other words, *increased* the returns to education.⁸ The study of this case shows that the areas where the new seeds were most profitable due to advantageous soil and climate conditions, and where the increase in returns to education were therefore greatest, households responded by increasing their children's school enrolment.⁹

Not all children, however, benefited equally from these developments. The increase in enrolment was much higher among children from landed households able to take advantage of this new technology than for children from households without land.¹⁰ The

⁷ Rosenzweig, M.R.: "Why Are there Returns to Schooling?", in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 85, No. 2, pp. 153-158 (1995); and Foster, A.D. and Rosenzweig, M.R.: "Learning by Doing and Learning from Others: Human Capital and Technical Change in Agriculture", in *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 103, No. 6, pp. 1176-1209 (1995).

⁸ Large landowners, who had better access to production inputs such as tractors, tubewells, fertilizers and pesticides, also enjoyed a considerable advantage in this context.

⁹ Foster, A.D. and Rosenzweig, M.R.: "Technical Change and Human Capital Returns and Investments: Evidence from the Green Revolution", in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 86, No. 4, pp. 931-953 (1996). The study authors do not investigate the possible role of a substitution effect in explaining this result. It is possible, however, that the introduction of the high-yield seeds also decreased labour requirements on the farm, including labour provided by children.

¹⁰ Foster, A.D. and Rosenzweig, M.R.: "Technological Change and the Distribution of Schooling: Evidence from Green-revolution India", in *Journal of Development Economics*, Vol. 74, pp. 87-111 (2004).

study also showed that the benefits of the high-yield seeds introduction in terms of school attendance depended on the availability of schools in the areas in question.¹¹ Consistent with experience in other countries, access to services (in this case schools) was a necessary condition for the potential increase in returns to education to become effective.

Another interesting experience in India involves the rapid growth of the information technology (IT) industry beginning in the 1990s, which also strongly affected returns to education in the Indian labour market. The growth of this industry resulted in a strong increase in the demand for highly skilled workers, and in particular those with a good command of the English language. A study of this case shows that, over the period from 1995 to 2003, the districts that experienced the greatest influx of businesses and jobs in the IT services industry also saw a higher increase in school enrolment. The study also shows that the increase in school enrolment was particularly marked in schools where English was the language of instruction.¹²

Two cases from outside India offer further insight into how children's school participation can be affected by changes in returns to education in a local labour market. The first case involves the recent rapid growth of the garment sector in Bangladesh.¹³ This growth primarily benefited women, both because this sector primarily employs female workers and because education was associated with better work conditions relative to the available alternatives. A study of the impact of the garment sector expansion shows that the school participation of younger girls (aged 5 to 10 years) *increased* in direct proportion to the rate of expansion of the garment sector.¹⁴ The second case involves the rapid expansion of Mexico's export manufacturing industry in the late 1980s and 1990s. The findings of this case show that the effects of factory openings depend on the type of labour demanded: expansions in low-skilled job opportunities (i.e. opportunities in jobs requiring little education) tend to *lower* school attainment, while expansions in high-skilled job opportunities tend to *increase* school attainment.¹⁵

Other case studies underscore the importance of knowledge and perceptions. Clearly, if parents are unaware of (or misperceive) a change in returns to education they will be unable to respond to this change or may respond in a manner that is not consistent with labour market signals. A study carried out in the Dominican Republic found that, in the face of information indicating that actual returns to education in the

¹¹ Foster, A.D. and Rosenzweig, M.R. (1996), op. cit.

¹² Shastry, G.K.: "Human Capital Response to Globalization: Education and Information Technology in India", in *Journal of Human Resources*, Vol. 47, No. 2, pp. 287-330 (2012).

¹³ In the context of the garment sector in Bangladesh, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the World Bank International Finance Corporation launched the Better Work programme in Bangladesh in November 2013 with the aim to provide assessments of factory compliance with national law and international core labour standards, publish transparent public reporting on findings, and provide advisory support for factories to make necessary improvements. The partnership between government, employers, unions, buyers, and other industry stakeholders will focus on promoting sustainable change in the sector by helping factories address working conditions, and to build factory-level capacity for labour administration and worker-management relations. The programme will also provide training and advisory services to factories to improve working conditions and competitiveness.

¹⁴ Heath, R. and Mobarak, A.M.: *Does Demand or Supply Constrain Investments in Education? Evidence from Garment Sector Jobs in Bangladesh*, Working Paper (2012).

¹⁵ Atkin, D.: *Endogenous Skill Acquisition and Export Manufacturing in Mexico*, Working Paper (2012).

labour market were higher than initially thought, children stayed in school longer and delayed their entry into the labour market.¹⁶ In a similar vein, individuals' perceptions of the returns to education were investigated in Madagascar.¹⁷ It was found that the provision of information helps students and parents to more accurately assess average returns to education and results in increased school participation.

The cases we have discussed clearly indicate that increased demand for skill and returns to education translate into increased investment in education. The labour market prospects of young persons, and particularly returns to education in the labour market, have a strong influence on household decisions concerning the division of children's time between work and school earlier in the lifecycle. These findings represent another important argument for addressing youth employment and child labour issues hand-in-hand – not only does child labour affect youth employment prospects but youth employment prospects plainly affect child labour. Expanding decent work opportunities for youth, and particularly for vulnerable youth, it follows, constitutes an important strategy for addressing child labour. Interventions aimed at illustrating the benefits of education are also relevant.

Child labour among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years

Hazardous work among youth who are above the general minimum working age but not yet adults (i.e. those in the 15–17 years age group)¹⁸ constitutes a worst form of child labour and a violation of international labour standards. The ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999) calls on countries to take immediate and effective measures to eliminate this and other worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency.¹⁹

The latest ILO global estimates for the year 2012 indicate that both the share and absolute numbers of adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work is considerable:²⁰

- adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work total 47.5 million;
- adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work account for 40 per cent of all those employed in the 15–17 years age group, a clear indicator of the decent work deficit facing this age group; and
- adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work account for over one-quarter (28 per cent) of the overall group of children in child labour.

¹⁶ Jensen, R.: “The (Perceived) Returns to Education and the Demand for Schooling”, in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 125, No. 2, pp. 515-548 (2010).

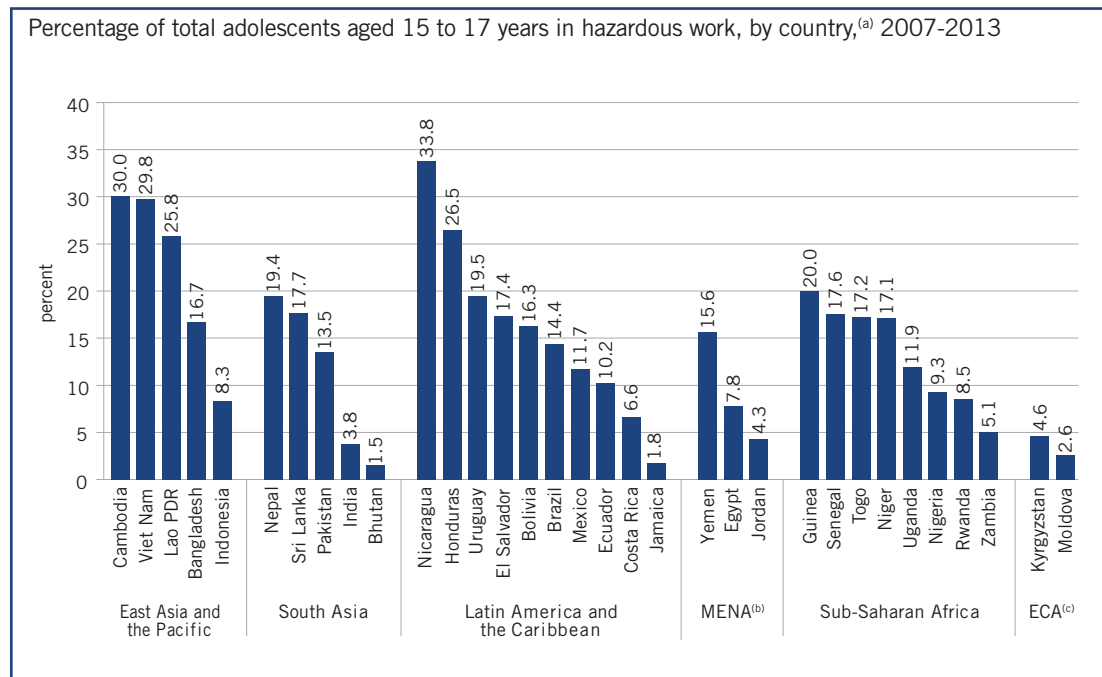
¹⁷ Nguyen, T.: *Information, Role Models and Perceived Returns to Education: Experimental Evidence from Madagascar*, Working Paper (2008).

¹⁸ In countries where the general minimum working age is 14 years, the lower age boundary should also technically be 14 years. However, for comparability, in this section we apply the minimum age boundary of 15 years in all countries.

¹⁹ ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999) concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour. (Entry into force: 19 November 2000).

²⁰ IPEC: *Global child labour trends 2008 to 2012* (Geneva, ILO, 2013).

Figure 5. A high share of adolescents in many countries hold jobs that are hazardous and therefore that constitute child labour



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (c) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region.

Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

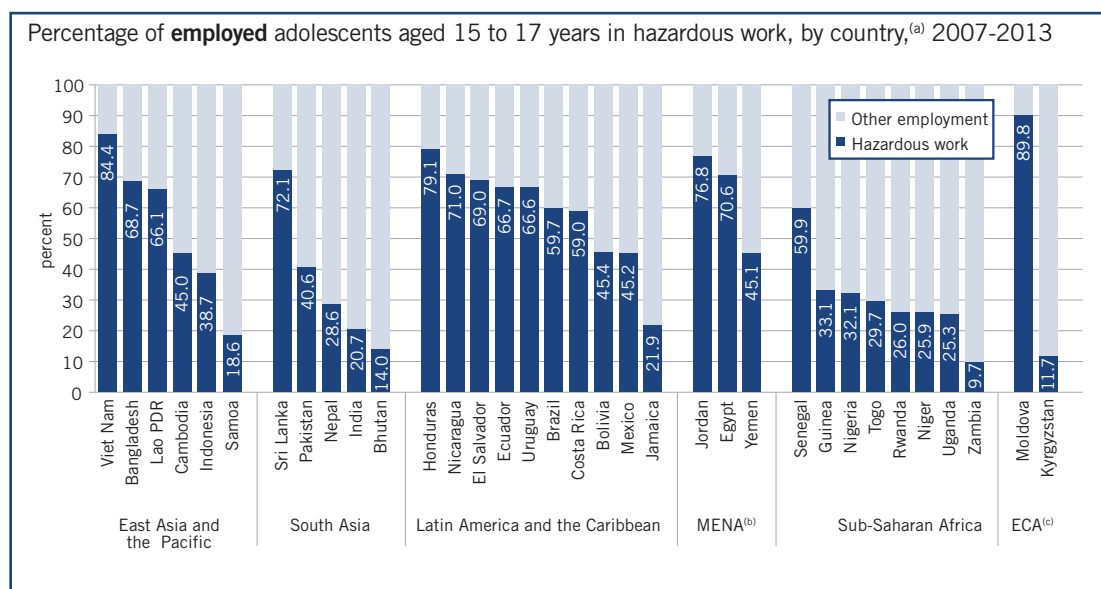
These stark numbers underscore the importance of distinguishing between decent work and forms of work constituting child labour in programmes promoting youth employment. The policy implications are equally clear: national policies should be directed towards removing youth from hazardous jobs or towards removing the hazardous conditions encountered by youth in the workplace. While the ultimate policy goal should be decent work, these figures make clear that a critical first priority in achieving this goal needs to be the removal of youth from hazardous forms of employment.

Country-specific numbers and shares of adolescents in hazardous work are reported in Figure 5. The list of countries is limited by data availability and is therefore unfortunately far from complete, underscoring the general need to improve statistics on hazardous work (the country-specific data sources are listed in Appendix 1, Table A3). The estimates indicate that there are substantial shares of adolescents in hazardous work in most countries where data are available, although there is a large variation across countries and regions.²¹

Another way of viewing the issue of hazardous employment is its importance *relative to overall* employment for the 15–17 years age group. In other words, the share

²¹ As survey instruments and survey reference data differ across countries, national comparisons are indicative only.

Figure 6. Adolescents in hazardous work in fact constitute the majority of employed adolescents in this age group in many countries



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (c) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region.

Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

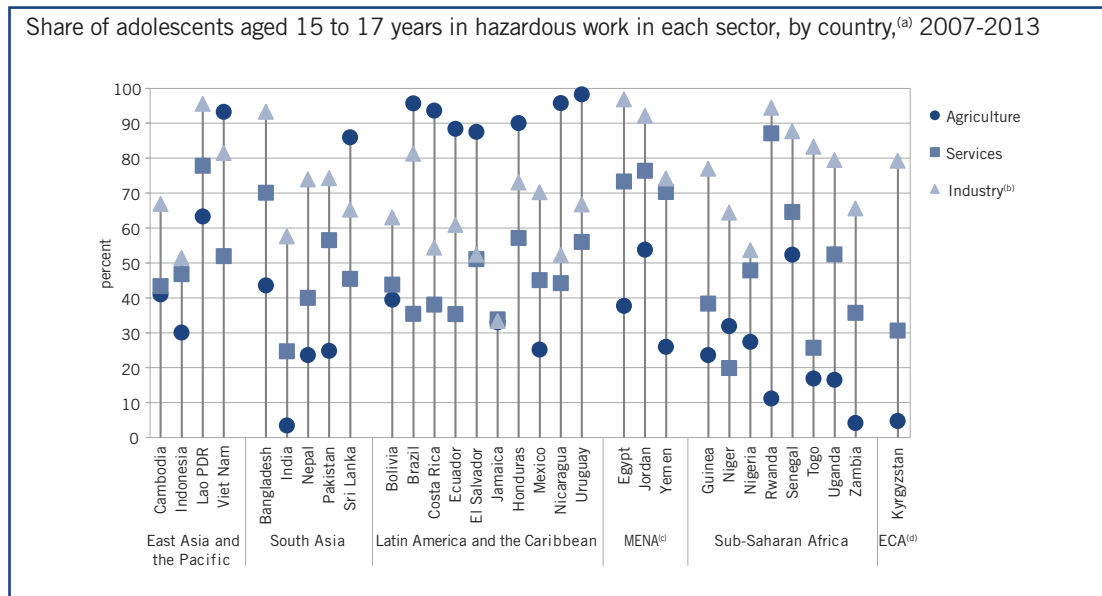
of *employed* youth in this age group that are in hazardous work. We saw earlier that globally those in hazardous work accounted for 40 per cent of those employed in the 15–17 years age group. Country-level estimates, reported in Figure 6, also suggest that a very high share of employed adolescents aged 15 to 17 years are in hazardous work across most countries.

Calculating the share of employed adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work in each sector offers further detail in terms of where in the economy the risk of hazardous work is the highest. Youth working in industry, which includes manufacturing, electricity, gas, water, mining and construction, face the higher risk of hazards in all regions except Latin America and the Caribbean (Figure 7). In this region, the agriculture sector, which comprises fishing, forestry, livestock herding and aquaculture, in addition to subsistence and commercial farming, is where employed youth are most likely to find themselves in hazardous jobs.

The way forward: A coherent policy approach for tackling child labour and the youth decent work deficit

We have demonstrated above the close link between child labour and youth employment outcomes. Here we discuss the logical policy conclusion emerging from this link – *the need for a coherent policy approach that tackles child labour and the youth decent work deficit in an integrated fashion*. Looking forward, promoting decent work for all will be a critical part of the Post-2015 Development Agenda. Such a coherent

Figure 7. Hazardous work appears especially common among adolescents employed in industry and agriculture



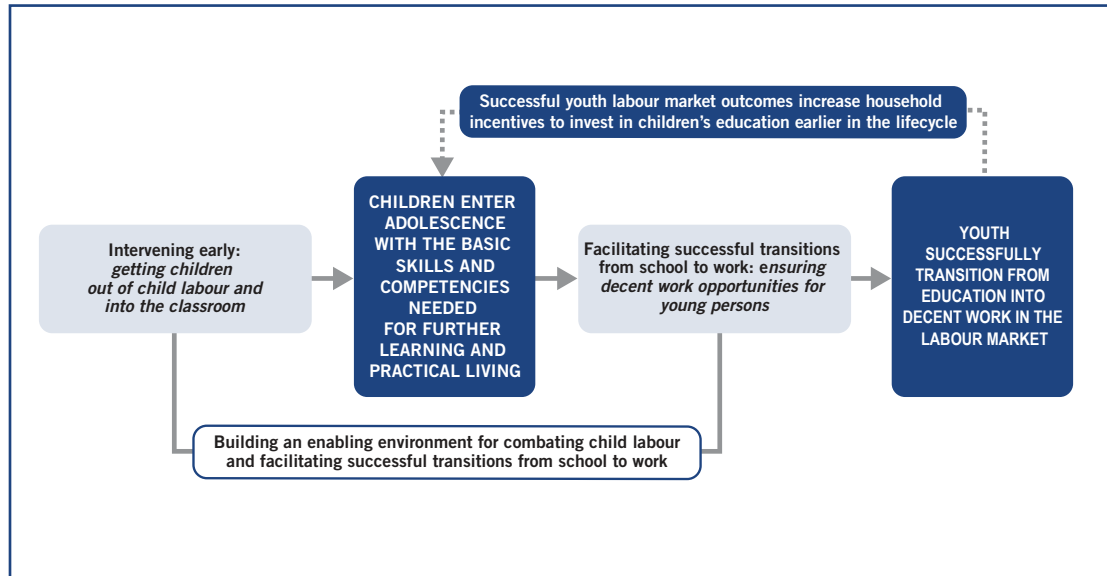
Notes: (a) Countries are selected on the basis of data availability. (b) Industry includes manufacturing, electricity, gas, water, mining and construction. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

policy approach to education, child labour and youth employment will be central to the achievement of this goal.

Policy coherence means policies that take into full account the close relationship between education, child labour and youth employment outcomes in the countries where child labour is a relevant issue. Figure 8 illustrates this in more concrete terms. A set of policies early in the lifecycle are needed to promote education as an alternative to child labour, and, following from this, to ensure that children enter adolescence with the basic skills and competencies needed for further learning and securing decent work. This foundation is in turn crucial to the success of policies at the next stage of the lifecycle for promoting improved youth employment outcomes, and for ensuring that youth successfully transition from education into decent work. Policy success in creating decent work opportunities for youth can also have an important positive feedback effect earlier in the lifecycle by creating incentives for parents to invest in the education of their younger children.

- **Intervening early: *Getting children out of child labour and into school.*** We have seen above how children's early school leaving and premature involvement in work can negatively influence the pathways to work taken by young persons. This underscores the critical importance of intervening early in the lifecycle against child labour and educational marginalization as part of a broader strategy to improve youth employment outcomes. Removing children from child labour and getting them into school are not only key goals in and of themselves but also critical to ensuring that children enter adolescence with the basic knowledge and

Figure 8. A coherent policy response to child labour and the lack of decent work opportunities for youth



skills for further learning and successfully transitioning to working life. Early intervention also obviates the need for more costly remedial measures later in the lifecycle. The goal of child labour elimination, in other words, is a necessary starting point for realizing the global Decent Work Agenda for all, including among youth.

Fortunately we do not have to reinvent the wheel in terms of how to intervene against child labour. We can build on the wide body of evidence concerning the causes of child labour and extensive programming experience addressing child labour that has accumulated over the last two decades.²²

The evidence and experience accumulated to date points to two policy pillars that are especially important for combating child labour – education and social protection. Ensuring free, compulsory and quality education through to the minimum age of employment, provides families with the opportunity to invest in their children’s education as an alternative to child labour and makes it worthwhile for them to do so. Expanding social protection helps prevent child labour from being used as a household survival strategy in the face of economic shocks and social vulnerability.

- **Facilitating the transition from school to work: *Promoting decent work opportunities for youth.*** We have also seen how increased demand for skills and greater returns to education can translate into increased investment in education.

²² The *Roadmap for Achieving the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour* adopted at The Hague Global Child Labour Conference (2010); and *The Brasilia Declaration on Child Labour* emerging from the III Global Child Labour Conference (2013), together offer a key framework for policy efforts.

The labour market prospects of young persons, in other words, and in particular returns to education in the labour market, can have a strong influence on household decisions concerning the division of children's time between work and school earlier in the lifecycle. Expanding decent work opportunities for youth, and particularly for vulnerable youth, it follows, is not only critical for addressing the youth employment crisis but is also a necessary element in a strategy that addresses child labour.

Again it is not necessary to reinvent the wheel in terms of how to promote and facilitate transition to decent work. While there is no one-size-fits all approach to tackling the youth employment crisis the extensive existing body of evidence and policy experience points to a set of core policy areas that need to be considered in relation to national and local circumstances.²³ Besides pro-employment macroeconomic policies, specific types of interventions considered particularly relevant include enhancing young people's employability through investing in education and training; strengthening labour market institutions; and encouraging youth entrepreneurship.

- **Addressing adolescents in hazardous work: *Eliminating child labour among those aged 15 to 17 years.*** Both the share and absolute numbers of adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work is considerable. A total of 47.5 million of them are in hazardous work, accounting for 40 per cent of all employed adolescents aged 15 to 17 years and over one-quarter of all child labourers. These stark numbers underscore the importance of according special attention to the critical 15–17 years age group in efforts to combat child labour *and* in efforts to promote decent work for youth.

In instances in which adolescents aged 15 to 17 years are working in sectors or occupations that are designated as hazardous²⁴ or where there is no scope for improving working conditions, the policy requirement is clear: they must be removed from the hazardous job. In these instances it is imperative that there is a strategy in place for providing withdrawn youth with adequate support services and second chances for securing decent work. Risk mitigation is a strategic option in instances where youth are exposed to hazards in sectors or occupations that are

²³ The ILO provides comprehensive guidance based on past evidence and experience in the “Call for Action on the Youth Employment Crisis” agreed by governments, workers and employers at the June 2012 International Labour Conference. ILO: *The youth employment crisis: A call for action*. Resolution and conclusions of the 101st Session of the International Labour Conference (Geneva, 2012).

²⁴ It is important to reiterate that ILO Conventions No. 138 and No. 182 state that the specific types of employment or work constituting hazardous work are determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority. When countries ratify ILO Conventions No. 182 and No. 138, they commit themselves to determining work to be prohibited to persons under 18 years of age. Article 4 of Convention No. 182 in this context specifies: The types of work referred to under Article 3(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] shall be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, taking into consideration relevant international standards, in particular Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the ILO Recommendation No. 190 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999).

not designated as hazardous in national hazardous work lists and where scope for change in work conditions exists. Such a strategy involves measures to remove the hazard, to separate the adolescent sufficiently from the hazard so as not to be exposed, or minimize the risk associated with that hazard.

- **Mainstreaming gender: *Accounting for the special vulnerabilities of female children and youth.*** Adequately accounting for gender concerns is critical to the success of early interventions against child labour and of later interventions promoting successful transition to decent work. Female children face special difficulties in entering and remaining in school owing to factors such as early marriage and the demands of domestic responsibilities within their own home. Girls are also particularly vulnerable to worst forms of child labour such as commercial sexual exploitation and to hidden forms of child labour such as domestic work in third-party households. This situation highlights the overarching need for inclusive education strategies, including girl-friendly schools, which are adaptive to and supportive of the unique schooling challenges faced by female children. It also calls for targeted interventions addressing the variety of cultural, social and economic factors that leave female children especially vulnerable to certain types of child labour.

Female youth in many regions suffer from fewer opportunities in the labour market and greater difficulties in transiting to decent work. They are also often confined to a narrower range of occupational opportunities than their male counterparts. Young women's career trajectories can be severely limited as a result of societal and familial expectations that they quit their work after marriage or after the birth of the first child. The disadvantaged position of female youth in the labour market underscores the need for continued efforts ensuring equal opportunities and treatment of young women and men in education and in work.

- **Ensuring informed policy development: *Filling knowledge gaps relating to child labour and youth employment.*** Despite significant progress in building the evidence base in the child labour and youth employment fields, this Report has shown that important knowledge gaps persist, constituting an important constraint to policy formulation. Key gaps include: (a) the specific impact of child labour on future labour market outcomes, and on how this impact may vary depending on different types of child labour and depending on whether child labour is combined with school attendance; (b) the specific types of hazardous work performed by youth, and the factors that underlie their involvement in hazardous work. Developing adequate measurement criteria for hazardous work is an important related priority; (c) the role of youth labour market conditions and returns to education – and of *expectations* in these areas – on household decisions concerning children's school and work earlier in the lifecycle; and (d) the impact of policies and interventions relating to child labour and youth employment. There is a need for more evidence, *inter alia*, on the impact of policies targeting

hazardous work among youth, the impact of youth employment policies on child labour, and on the impact of child labour policies on youth employment.

- **Ensuring the necessary conditions for progress: *Building an enabling environment*.** Progress in getting children out of child labour and into school and in providing decent work opportunities for youth will not be possible in the absence of an enabling economic and legal environment. Sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, a critical component of the Post-2015 Development Agenda, will be essential to expand decent work opportunities for youth and to ultimately erase the youth decent work deficit. Such macroeconomic and growth policies can support youth employment by encouraging economic diversification and the development of sectors that are conducive to the creation of jobs for youth. Expanded decent work opportunities has the added effect of increasing returns to education, and, following from this, creating incentives for children to remain in school rather than enter work prematurely.

Achieving sustainable progress against child labour and promoting decent work for youth requires a supportive legislative environment which is in line with international standards and effectively mainstreamed into national development policies, plans and programmes. This has the important effect of signalling national intent and of providing a framework for action. Within the child labour realm, ratification of ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999) and ILO Convention No. 138 on the Minimum Age (1973) has now occurred in most countries of the world. The critical next step on the legislative front is to ensure that these Conventions are effectively domesticated into national legislation and effectively enforced. This process should include the elaboration of national lists of hazardous work that is prohibited for all persons below the age of 18 years.

In the context of youth employment, it is critical to ensure young persons' rights at work in order that they receive equal treatment and are protected from abuse and exposure to hazards.²⁵ The International Labour Conference's 2012 resolution identifies a number of key areas that can guide governments and their social partners in developing youth employment policies that are consistent with the provisions of international labour standards. In particular, the enforcement of labour laws and collective agreements should be strengthened, and the participation of young people in employers' and workers' organizations and in social dialogue should be enhanced.

²⁵ A recent learning package to support trade unions, employment services, education and training institutions, as well as youth organizations, in their initiatives aimed at raising adolescents' awareness of their rights at work, see ILO: *Rights@Work 4 Youth: Decent work for young people: Facilitators' guide and toolkit* (Geneva, 2014).

PART I

Introduction

Objectives, scope and structure of the report

This World Report focuses on the twin challenges of the elimination of child labour and ensuring decent work for youth. This focus is driven by the obstacle that child labour and the youth decent work deficit pose to implementing the Post-2015 Development Agenda and by the close connection between the two. As this World Report will make clear, achieving decent work for all, one of the core Sustainable Development Goals for the post-2015 period, will not be possible without eliminating child labour and erasing the decent work deficit faced by youth.

The most recent ILO global child labour estimates for the year 2012 show that despite important progress there are still 168 million children worldwide trapped in child labour, accounting for almost 11 per cent of the overall child population. Children in hazardous work that directly harms their health, safety or moral development make up more than half of all child labourers, numbering 85 million in absolute terms.

At the same time, a lack of decent work opportunities is proving to be a stubborn reality for millions of young people. Again according to the ILO, the youth unemployment rate worldwide in 2014 was almost three times that of adults.²⁶ In many countries, this grim youth unemployment picture is further aggravated by the large number of youth who have dropped out of the labour force or who are trapped in poor quality jobs offering few prospects for escaping poverty. Some 200 million youth in 2012 were working but earning under US\$2 per day.²⁷ Youth labour mobility, both internal and across national boundaries, is growing rapidly, driven in important part by difficulties in securing decent work, bringing its own set of policy challenges. Addressing the “decent work deficit” faced by youth is also made more difficult by demographic trends resulting in a growing youth population in many low-income countries.

More difficult to quantify but equally alarming are the consequences of child labour and the youth decent work deficit. A wealth of evidence has been accumulated showing how child labour can seriously endanger children’s immediate and long-term health and safety, as well as their ability to enrol in and benefit from schooling.²⁸ The consequences of employment difficulties during youth can also be very serious. Young people who are unable to secure decent work frequently find themselves at the margins of society and more vulnerable to risky and violent behaviour. Unemployment can

²⁶ ILO: *World employment and social outlook: Trends 2015* (Geneva, 2015).

²⁷ ILO (2012), op. cit.

²⁸ For a review, see: ILO (2010), op. cit.

Box 1. The concept of decent work

Decent work sums up the aspirations of people in their working lives. It involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income, security in the workplace and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration, freedom for people to express their concerns, organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives and equality of opportunity and treatment for all women and men.

The decent work concept was formulated by the ILO's constituents – governments and employers and workers – as a means to identify the Organization's major priorities. It is based on the understanding that work is a source of personal dignity, family stability, peace in the community, democracies that deliver for people, and economic growth that expands opportunities for productive jobs and enterprise development.

Source: ILO, visit: www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/decent-work-agenda/lang--en/index.htm.

permanently impair their productive potential and thus influence lifetime patterns of employment, pay and job tenure.

As will be demonstrated in this Report, the issues of child labour and youth employment can be seen as two sides of the same coin, pointing to the need for common policy approaches and policy coherency to address them. Employment outcomes are typically worst for former child labourers and other early school-leavers, both groups with least opportunity to accumulate the education needed for decent work. Indeed, today's jobless youth or working poor youth are often yesterday's child labourers (see Part III). The link between child labour and labour market outcomes can also operate in the other direction: poor future labour market prospects can reduce the today's incentive of households to invest in children's education (see Part IV). Finally, many working youth falling in the 15–17 years age group, and therefore still children in legal terms, can themselves be vulnerable to child labour (see Part V).

Both child labour and the youth decent work deficit are symptomatic of the general lack of sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth in the global economy, and in developing economies in particular. Slow and jobless growth, a shift to informal modes of production and increasing reliance on part-time and temporary workers are all trends that have affected young workers in particular. These trends have also made it increasingly difficult for working-age members of households to generate subsistence, in turn leading to increased reliance on children's labour in many contexts.

Both child labour and the youth decent work deficit also have an important gender dimension that needs to be addressed in policy responses. Girl children face special difficulties in entering and remaining in school owing to factors such as early marriage and the demands of domestic responsibilities within their own home. Girls are also particularly vulnerable to worst forms of child labour such as commercial sexual exploitation and to hidden forms of child labour in domestic work in third-party households. Female youth in many regions suffer from fewer opportunities in the labour market and greater difficulties in transiting to decent work. They are also often confined to a narrower range of occupational opportunities than their male counterparts.

Growing budgetary pressures in key government spending areas such as education and social security, have served to exacerbate other factors underlying child labour and

the youth decent work deficit. Limited access to quality education has made it more likely that youth lack the basic skills and competencies needed for work and life, and has made schooling a less viable alternative to child labour earlier in the lifecycle. At the same time, limited social protection has forced many vulnerable households to resort to child labour as a coping strategy, and pushed many vulnerable youth into serious poverty as they navigate the transition from school to working life.

There have been a number of recent global publications addressing the youth in developing countries. The biennial ILO Global Employment Trends for Youth reports (since 2004) offer a quantitative picture at the global and regional level of how youth labour market status and employment challenges are changing over time. These reports all identify the need to address vulnerable youth as a matter of urgency.

The United Nations World Youth Report since 2003 focuses on specific development themes of relevance to youth, such as migration in the 2013 report. The World Bank World Development Report of 2007²⁹ provides an overview of the social and economic challenges young persons face and makes a case for investment in their education, healthcare and job training. The UNICEF State of the World's Children Report of 2011³⁰ catalogues the array of dangers faced by adolescents aged 10 to 19 years, including early pregnancy and childbirth, educational and economic marginalization, as well as workplace abuse and exploitation, and argues for policies aimed at turning this vulnerable age into an age of opportunity. The UNESCO Education For All Global Monitoring Report of 2012³¹ emphasizes the central importance of education in preparing young persons for life and in giving them opportunities for decent work. The ILO report for The Hague Global Child Labour Conference of 2010³² stresses the importance of addressing youth employment alongside other issues such as education, social protection and poverty in an integrated policy response to child labour.

This World Report underscores the extent to which intervening early in the lifecycle against child labour is relevant to improving employment outcomes during youth. The Report adds to the policy debate on child labour and youth employment in two specific ways. First, it addresses the *intersection* between child labour and youth employment, i.e., how the former affects the latter, and vice versa, and the extent to which the child labour and employed youth populations overlap. An understanding of this intersection, in turn, is critical for informed policy responses to both child labour and youth employment in countries where these two challenges are prevalent. Second, and following from this, the Report is unique in tracing youth employment outcomes back to experiences earlier in childhood following a lifecycle approach. Drawing on the retrospective information from the new ILO School-to-work Transition Survey (SWTS) and other data sources, the Report will illustrate how the paths of transition to work are affected by the young persons' prior involvement in child labour, their school

²⁹ World Bank: *Development and the Next Generation. World Development Report 2007* (Washington, D.C., 2006).

³⁰ UNICEF: *Adolescence: An Age of Opportunity - The State of the World's Children 2011* (New York, 2011).

³¹ UNESCO: *Youth and Skills: Putting education to work - Education For All Global Monitoring Report of 2012* (Paris, 2012).

³² ILO (2010), op. cit.

leaving ages and other factors from earlier in their lives, and will address implications for policy.

The remainder of the World Report is structured as follows. Part II presents the international standards, concepts and policy frameworks underlying global action in the areas of child labour and youth employment. Part III looks at linkages between child labour, youth vulnerability and the transition to working life. Part IV looks at how youth employment difficulties and low returns to education can impact, earlier in the lifecycle, on household decisions concerning child labour. Part V of the Report addresses the issue of child labour among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years, the age group that overlaps with the standard age group utilized in the analysis of youth employment (i.e. 15-24 years). Part VI concludes with a set of recommendations for aligning and improving the coherence of policies and programmes addressing child labour and the youth decent work deficit.

PART II

Child labour and youth employment

Theory, standards, concepts and policy frameworks

This section makes the theoretical case for policies addressing child labour and youth employment challenges in a coherent and aligned fashion in countries where both prevail. As a backdrop to the remaining sections, it also reviews the international standards, concepts and policy frameworks underlying global action in the areas of child labour and youth employment.

Understanding the child labour-youth employment link: A lifecycle perspective

The importance of quality education and of an environment that promotes normal physical, mental and emotional development as a starting point for decent work over the lifecycle is well established. Children benefiting from good education and from a healthy developmental environment are more likely to be equipped with the necessary competencies and life skills to make a successful transition to working life during adolescence and early adulthood. A successful transition is vital to securing decent

Figure 9. Decent work over the lifecycle

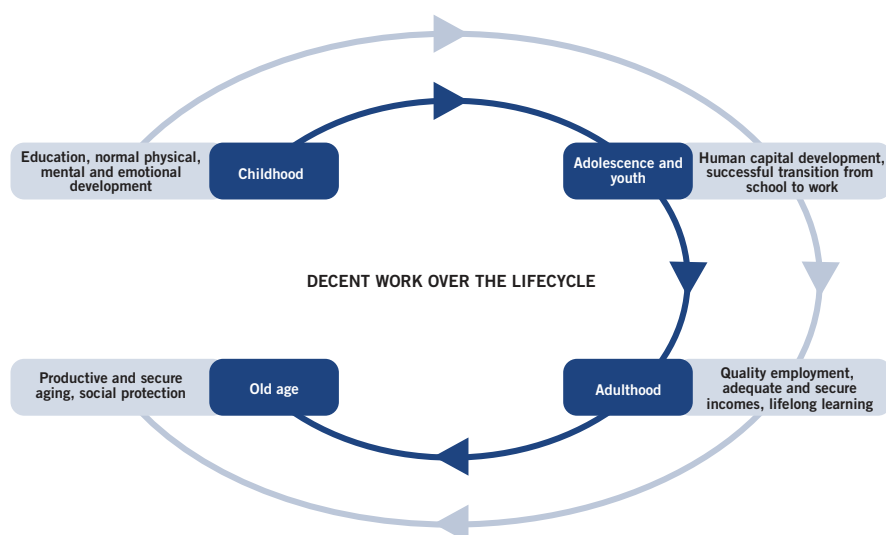
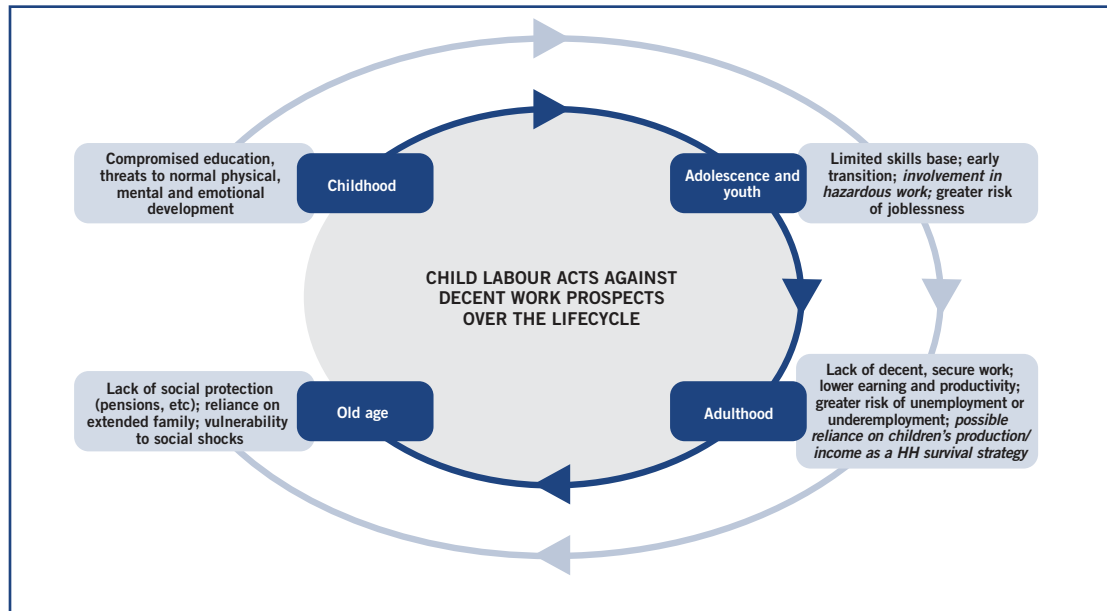


Figure 10. Child labour and decent work over the lifecycle



work with an adequate and secure income during adulthood, which is in turn a key ingredient to ensuring formal social protection and security during old age (Figure 9).

Early exposure to work in the form of child labour can break this chain, countering decent work prospects over the lifecycle. Children whose education is denied or impeded by child labour enter adolescence much less likely to have the competencies and skills needed for securing decent work, and much more likely to be vulnerable to joblessness or to low paid, or insecure work in hazardous conditions. Their vulnerability is frequently exacerbated by related factors such as health problems stemming from their premature involvement in work. The poor job prospects of former child labourers can continue into adulthood, making it more likely that their work experience as adults will be characterized by low earnings, insecurity and unemployment spells.

More susceptible to poverty, these adults are also more likely to have to depend on their children's labour or productivity as a household (HH) survival strategy, thus perpetuating the child labour-poverty cycle (Figure 10).³³

The link between child labour and youth employment outcomes from this simple lifecycle framework is therefore clear: child labour (and resulting low educational levels) leads to increased youth vulnerability and difficulties in accessing decent work. This causality can also work in the opposite direction: poor employment prospects in

³³ The link between poverty and child labour is well-established. For a discussion of this point, see, for example, ILO (2013b), op. cit. The research literature also makes clear, however, that poverty is by no means the only determinant of child labour. A wide range of other factors, including ethnicity, orphanhood, migration, gender, health status, school access and quality, social security coverage, access to credit, and parental education, can also play important roles.

youth or adulthood can serve as a disincentive for investment in children's education. Parents, seeing little return to putting their children in school, involve them in work at an early age instead. From a policy perspective, therefore, it makes sense to look at the issues of child labour and youth employment side by side.

This simple lifecycle framework does not provide the whole story, of course. For in the absence of a broader development strategy focused on, *inter alia*, generating sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, without significant government investment in areas such as education and social security, and ignoring underlying socio-cultural factors including gender, youth can still face significant transition difficulties even without having been exposed to child labour. The creation of a broader enabling environment for tackling child labour and youth employment is discussed briefly in Part VI of this Report and taken up in greater depth in the biennial ILO Global Employment Trends for Youth reports.

In Part III and Part IV of this report, we explore the two-way linkages between child labour and youth employment in more detail. As a background for this discussion, however, we first review international standards, concepts and policy frameworks relating to child labour and youth employment.

Child labour standards

Child labour has long been recognized as a significant violation of children's rights, fundamental rights at work and other human rights as well as an important barrier to national development. Child labour, by definition, negatively impacts upon human resource development and thus magnifies the risks of turning a country's most prized assets into its biggest liabilities. In recent decades, the international community has established important standards on how it should be defined and prioritized. Three principal international conventions – ILO Convention No. 138, ILO Convention No. 182 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) – together set the legal boundaries for child labour, and provide the legal basis for national and international actions against it.

ILO Convention No. 138 on the Minimum Age, adopted in 1973 and ratified by most countries of the world, represents the most comprehensive and authoritative international norm concerning minimum age for admission to work or employment. The Convention calls on Member States to pursue a national policy to ensure the effective abolition of child labour. Within this framework, it calls on Member States to set a general minimum age for admission to work or employment of at least 15 years of age (Art. 2.3), and a higher minimum age of not less than 18 years for employment

or work which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to jeopardize the health, safety or morals of children, i.e., hazardous work (Art. 3.1).³⁴

ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, adopted in 1999, supplements ILO Convention No. 138 by emphasizing the subset of *worst forms* of child labour requiring priority action. This Convention calls on Member States to take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency. For the purposes of the Convention, worst forms of child labour comprise all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, child involvement in commercial sexual exploitation, child involvement in illicit activities and other 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 (Art. 3).³⁵ The ratification of Convention No. 182 has been the fastest in the history of the ILO.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is the third key international legal standard concerning child labour. Adopted in 1989 and also ratified by nearly all countries, the Convention recognizes the child's right to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development (Art. 32.1). In order to achieve this goal, the CRC calls on States Parties to set minimum ages for admission to employment, having regard to other international instruments (Art. 32.2).³⁶

Action against child labour

The ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), established in 1992, has played a key role in promoting international and national action to eliminate child labour. IPEC has supported more than 250 child labour surveys, 60 of which were national in scope, and since 2000 has published regular global and regional child labour reports and analytical studies. Through policy-focused work at the national level in more than 100 countries, IPEC has also encouraged the development

³⁴ The Convention states that national laws or regulations may permit the employment or work of persons 13 to 15 years of age on light work which is (a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received (Art. 7). ILO Convention No. 138 contains a number of flexibility clauses left to the discretion of the competent national authority in consultation (where relevant) with worker and employer organizations. Principal among these is the clause relating to minimum age. The Convention states that Members whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed may specify a lower general minimum age of 14 years (Art. 2.4) and lower age group for light work of 12 to 14 years (Art 7.4).

³⁵ The full Convention text on the types of worst forms is as follows: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, as well as forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procurement or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in relevant international treaties; and (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (Art. 3).

³⁶ Two out of three optional protocols to the CRC deal with the sale of children, child commercial sexual exploitation and child pornography, and the involvement of children in armed conflict.

of appropriate legal and policy frameworks in line with international standards on child labour. At the same time, IPEC-supported projects at the community level have provided models of good practice for removing children from child labour by equipping them with education and skills.

In 2006, six years after ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour came into force, the ILO constituency set the goal of eliminating all the worst forms of child labour by 2016. A global action plan was subsequently agreed by the ILO constituents to provide a strategic framework and action plan for the ILO, and in particular IPEC, in the period up to 2016. By endorsing the plan and the 2016 target, the ILO Governing Body reconfirmed its commitment to the elimination of child labour as one of the Organization's highest priorities. This commitment was reinforced in 2012 when the ILO Governing Body approved a new plan of action on the fundamental principles and rights at work.³⁷ The plan of action emphasizes the universal nature of these rights, their interrelated and mutually reinforcing qualities and their significance as enabling rights for the achievement of all the ILO strategic objectives related to fundamental principles and rights at work, employment, social protection and social dialogue.

Other international organizations are also taking action to eliminate child labour. Given that nearly 60 per cent of child labour takes place in agriculture, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) supports agricultural stakeholders through policy support and programmes to prevent and reduce child labour in agriculture and rural areas. FAO also works with partners to address the root causes of child labour, in particular with the ILO, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the International Union of Food workers (IUF), the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and CGIAR,³⁸ through the International Partnership for Cooperation on Child Labour in Agriculture that was established in 2007.

A Roadmap for Achieving the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour by 2016 was adopted at The Hague Global Child Labour Conference of 2010 and subsequently endorsed by the ILO's Governing Body in recognition of the need for a "new momentum" if the world is to attain the ambitious 2016 target. In the Roadmap, Conference participants – representatives from governments, employers' and workers' organizations, non-governmental and other civil society organizations, regional and international organizations – highlight the urgent need to upscale and accelerate country-level actions against child labour in the lead-up to 2016. The 2012 action plan adopted by the ILO Governing Body specifically calls for support to member States in implementing the Roadmap.

Policy priorities identified in the Roadmap include: national legislation and enforcement, education and training, social protection and, of particular relevance for the current Report, labour markets. In the area of labour markets, the Roadmap identifies, inter alia, the following as key priorities:

³⁷ The ILO's Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work Action Plan address child labour, freedom of association and collective bargaining, forced labour and discrimination.

³⁸ CGIAR is a global partnership that unites organizations engaged in research for a food secure future.

- taking action to foster a well-functioning labour market, as well as access to vocational training for adults and young people of working age that corresponds with the current and future needs of the labour market so as to facilitate the school to work transition;
- supporting employment creation and promoting decent and productive work for adults and young people of working age, that is consistent with the fundamental principles and rights at work;³⁹ and
- working towards regulating and formalizing the informal economy where most instances of the worst forms of child labour occur, including through the strengthening of state labour inspection and enforcement systems and capacities.

In 2013, the Brazilian Government, following on from the conference in The Hague, hosted the Global Conference on Child Labour.⁴⁰ The conference provided an opportunity for governments, social partners and civil society to reflect on the progress made since the previous global conference was held in The Hague in 2010, and to discuss ways to step up global efforts against child labour – especially its worst forms. In the Conference outcome document,⁴¹ participants reiterate their commitment to fully implement The Hague Roadmap, and acknowledge the need for reinforced national and international action in this regard.

Youth employment: Addressing the crisis

In June 2012, the International Labour Conference of the ILO resolved to take urgent action to tackle the unprecedented youth employment crisis through a multi-pronged approach geared towards pro-employment growth and decent job creation. The resolution “The youth employment crisis: A call for action” contains a set of conclusions that constitute a blueprint for shaping national strategies for youth employment.⁴²

The Call for Action calls on governments and the social partners:

- To foster pro-employment growth and decent job creation through macroeconomic policies, employability, labour market policies, youth entrepreneurship and promote rights to tackle the social consequences of the crisis, while ensuring financial and fiscal sustainability.
- To promote macroeconomic policies and fiscal incentives that support employment and stronger aggregate demand, improve access to finance and increase productive investment – taking account of different economic situations in countries.

³⁹ See the ILO Declaration on the Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (1998).

⁴⁰ III Global Child Labour Conference “Towards a child labour-free world”, Brasilia, 8-10 October 2013.

⁴¹ *The Brasilia Declaration on Child Labour* emerging from the III Global Child Labour Conference (2013).

⁴² ILO (2012), op. cit.

- To adopt fiscally sustainable and targeted measures, such as countercyclical policies and demand-side interventions, public employment programmes, employment guarantee schemes, labour-intensive infrastructure programmes, wage and training subsidies and other specific youth employment interventions.
- To adopt a rights-based approach to promoting youth employment, and to ensure that young people receive equal treatment and are afforded rights at work, within the framework provided by the relevant international labour standards.

The ILO Call for Action fits within broader ILO efforts towards promoting “decent work” that provides, *inter alia*, a fair income, security in the workplace, social protection for families, and better prospects for personal development and social integration (see Box 2).

Box 2. ILO and decent work

Promoting decent work for all

The ILO has developed a Decent Work Agenda for the community of work. It provides support through integrated Decent Work Country Programmes (DWCPs) developed in coordination with its constituents. Putting the Decent Work Agenda into practice is achieved through the implementation of the ILO’s four strategic objectives, with gender equality as a crosscutting objective:

Creating jobs – an economy that generates opportunities for investment, entrepreneurship, skills development, job creation and sustainable livelihoods.

Guaranteeing rights at work – to obtain recognition and respect for the rights of workers. All workers, and in particular disadvantaged or poor workers, need representation, participation, and laws that work for their interests.

Extending social protection – to promote both inclusion and productivity by ensuring that women and men enjoy working conditions that are safe, allow adequate free time and rest, take into account family and social values, provide for adequate compensation in case of lost or reduced income and permit access to adequate healthcare.

Promoting social dialogue – Involving strong and independent workers’ and employers’ organizations is central to increasing productivity, avoiding disputes at work, and building cohesive societies.

Making decent work a global goal and a national reality

The overall goal of decent work is to effect positive change in people’s lives at the national and local levels. The ILO provides support through integrated DWCPs developed in coordination with ILO constituents. They define the priorities and the targets within national development frameworks and aim to tackle major decent work deficits through efficient programmes that embrace each of the strategic objectives.

The ILO operates with other partners within and beyond the UN family to provide in-depth expertise and key policy instruments for the design and implementation of these programmes. It also provides support for building the institutions needed to carry them forward and for measuring progress. The balance within these programmes differs from country to country, reflecting their needs, resources and priorities.

Progress also requires action at the global level. The Decent Work Agenda offers a basis for a more just and sustainable framework for global development. The ILO works to develop “decent work”-oriented approaches to economic and social policy in partnership with the principal institutions and actors of the multilateral system and the global economy.

Source: ILO, visit: www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/decent-work-agenda/lang--en/index.htm.

The ILO Youth Employment Programme (YEP) conducts a range of interventions in order to support the Call for Action on youth employment. Work in this area includes:⁴³

- **Research:** The YEP carries out data collection and analyses on the nature and dimensions of youth employment, un- and under-employment. The research focuses on understanding “what works” in youth employment programming and policy.
- **Policy advice:** The YEP assists countries in formulating, implementing and evaluating national youth employment policies and programmes.
- **Capacity development:** The YEP provides training opportunities on youth employment policy development in collaboration with the International Training Centre in Turin. Evaluation Clinics are the flagship product to develop capacity of policymakers and practitioners in monitoring and impact evaluation.
- **Advocacy:** The YEP advocates and raises awareness on decent work for youth with a focus on employability, youth participation, and workers’ rights.
- **Partnership development:** The YEP leads and supports global efforts on youth employment through strategic partnerships with cross-country and global peer networks, inter-agency cooperation across United Nations and other international agencies, and collaboration between the private and public sectors at the international, regional and national levels.

In parallel to these ILO-led efforts, the UN Secretary-General has highlighted youth as one of the five generational imperatives to be addressed through the mobilization of all the human, financial and political resources available to the United Nations. As part of this agenda, the United Nations has developed a System-wide Action Plan on Youth, with youth employment as one of the main priorities, to strengthen youth programmes across the UN system.

⁴³ For more information, visit: www.ilo.org/yep.

PART III

School to work transitions

Child labour and the ability of young persons to secure decent work

This section looks at how children's early school leaving and child labour can influence the pathways to work taken by youth. Evidence from the ILO School-to-Work Survey (SWTS) programme indicates that between 20 and 30 per cent of adolescents and young adults in the low-income countries included in the survey programme complete their labour market transition by the age of 15 years, i.e. as child labourers.⁴⁴ The same survey source indicates that even more youth in these countries leave school prior to this age (see Figure 17), driven, *inter alia*, by poverty, social vulnerability, problems of education access and quality and gender-related social pressures.⁴⁵ We review evidence from a range of developing countries in order to clarify the specific ways in which child labour affects future labour market outcomes. Particular emphasis is placed on investigating how the timing, length and characteristics of children's transition to working life are conditioned by their premature school departure and involvement in child labour.

Employment outcomes of former child labourers

Do the employment outcomes of former child labourers differ from those of young persons from households that were able to avoid having to rely on their children's labour during childhood? Addressing this question is not straightforward, as it requires retrospective information about the past experience of youth, which is rarely collected in common household surveys, or alternatively longitudinal information about an individual over an extended period of time, again which is rarely available. An important exception, however, is the survey programme supported by the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC), the statistical arm of IPEC.

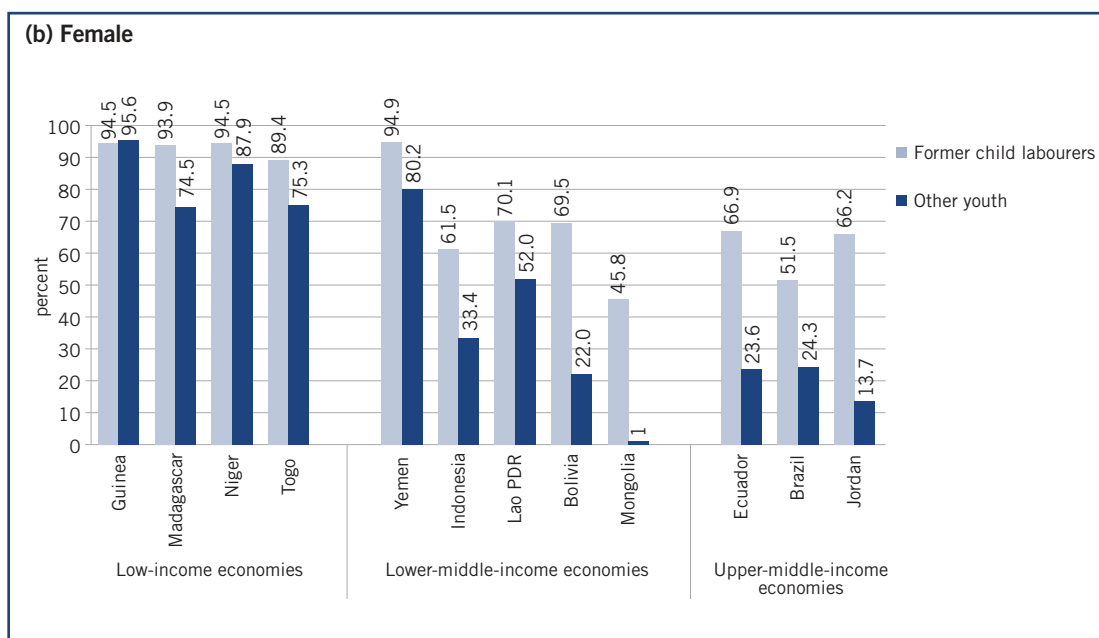
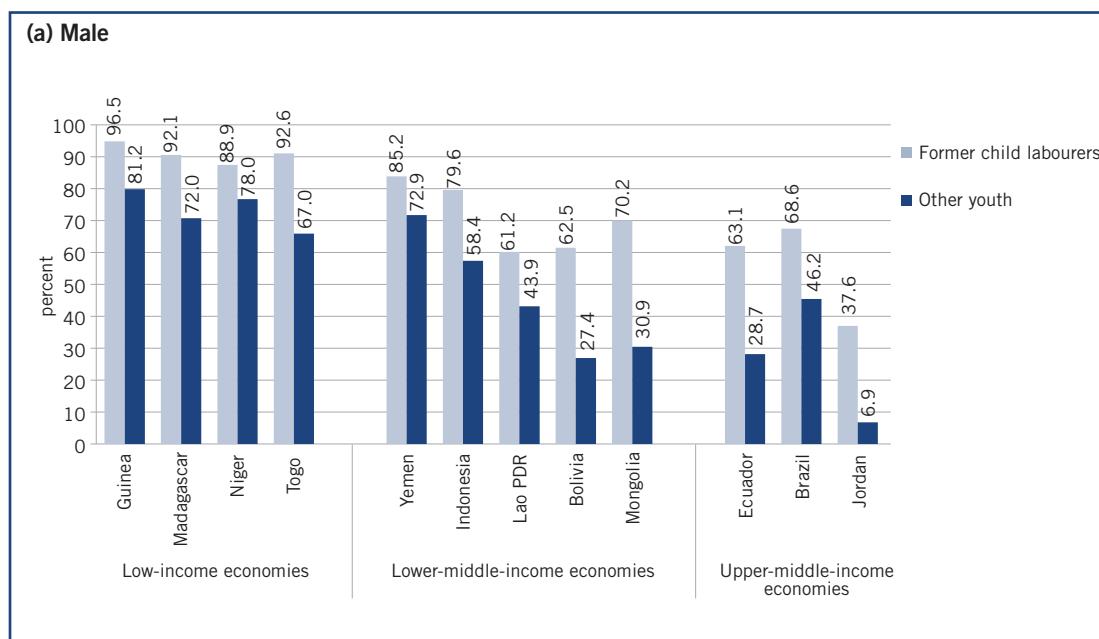
Recent SIMPOC surveys in 12 countries (see Appendix 1, Table A1) contain information on the age at which individuals begin working, allowing for simple comparisons of the employment and schooling outcomes of those that were already working by the age of 15 years with those that began work after this age. The results

⁴⁴ ILO (2013a), op. cit.

⁴⁵ For a more detailed discussion of this point, see, for example, ILO (2013b), op. cit.; and ILO (2010), op. cit.

Figure 11. Young persons who worked as children have much lower levels of educational attainment

Percentage of young persons aged 15 to 24 years no longer in education **with primary education or less**, by prior involvement in child labour, selected countries classified by income level^(a)



Note: (a) World Bank country income classifications by GNI per capita as of 1 July 2012: Low-income: US\$1,025 or less; Lower-middle-income: US\$1,026 to US\$4,035; Upper-middle-income: US\$4,036 to US\$12,475; and High-income: US\$12,476 or more.

Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A1).

of this comparison are consistent across the 12 countries where data are available, and for male and female children within each of these countries, i.e. prior involvement in child labour is associated with lower educational attainment and with jobs that fail to meet basic decent work criteria. Child labour, in other words, not only poses well-known immediate health, safety and development risks, but is also associated with compromised earning prospects and chances of securing decent work in the longer term.

Former child labourers are firstly consistently disadvantaged in terms of educational attainment. As shown in Figure 11, former child labourers, boys and girls alike, are much more likely to have only primary education or less, in keeping with a wide body of other global evidence on the incompatibility of schooling and child labour.⁴⁶ The demands of child labour both in terms of time and energy can make it more likely that children drop out of school prematurely or never enter school in the first place.

Child labour appears to be negatively associated with education outcomes most strongly in the relatively better-off middle-income countries. In Jordan, for instance, the share of former child labourers with primary or less education is five times that of other youth. In Bolivia and Ecuador, former child labourers are more than twice as likely to be poorly educated. Differences in educational attainment are smaller in the low-income countries included in our sample. In these countries low educational attainment is also very common among youth that do *not* work as children, underscoring that child labour is far from the only factor driving it.⁴⁷

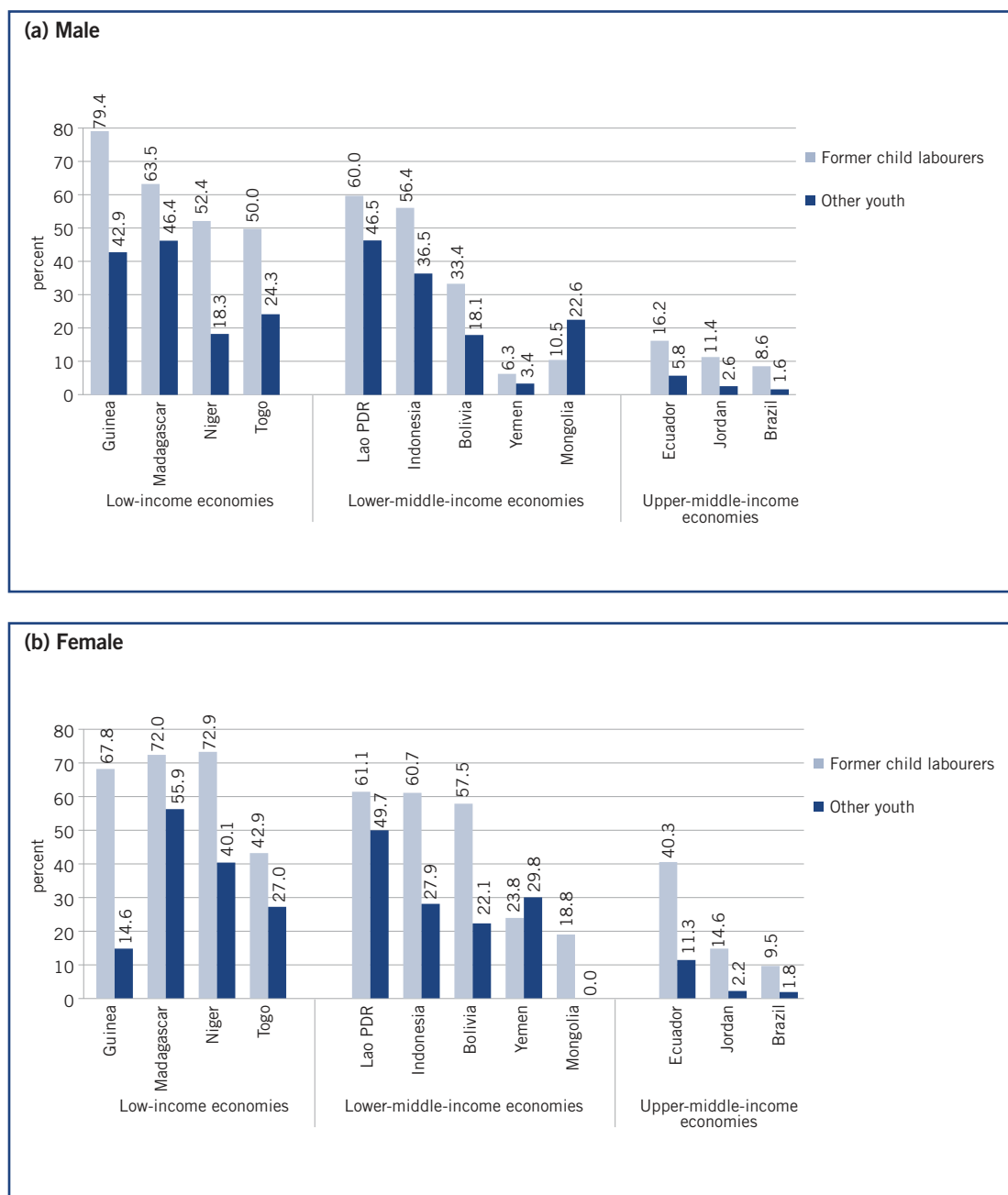
Young persons who were burdened by work as children are consistently *more* likely to have to settle for unpaid family work and *less* likely to enjoy paid employment jobs (Figure 12). Paid employment, in turn, is more associated with decent work attributes such as written contracts, a fair income, security in the workplace and social protection for families, although paid employment is by no means a guarantee of decent work (see Box 2). The differences between former child labourers and other youth in this regard is particularly pronounced for females in many countries (e.g. Cambodia, Bolivia) suggesting that prior involvement in child labour can reinforce pre-existing disadvantages faced by female youth in obtaining decent work.

⁴⁶ See, for example, ILO (2010), *op. cit.*

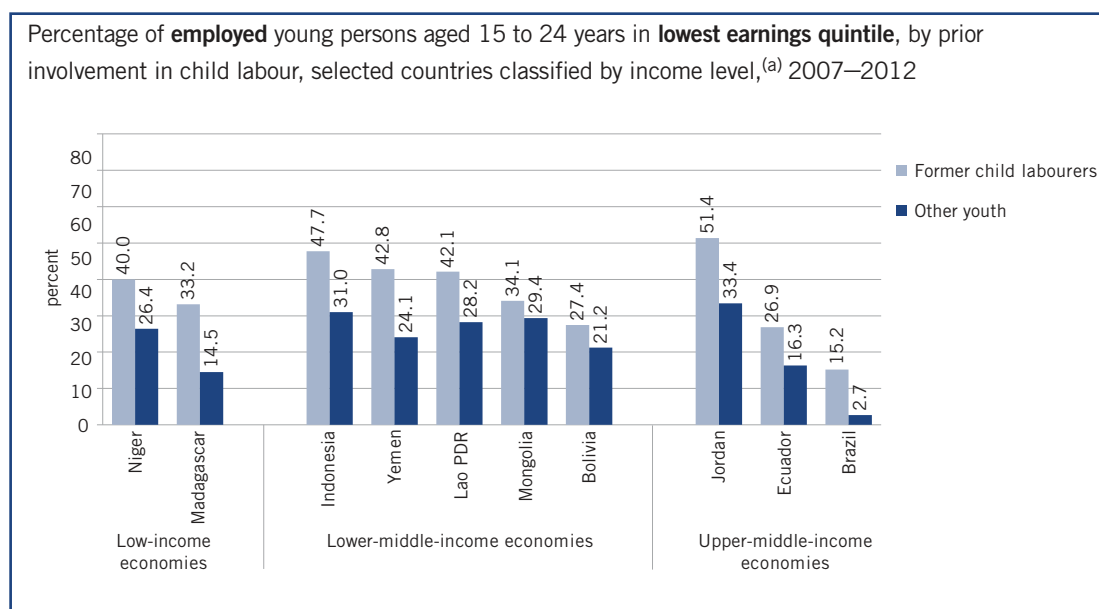
⁴⁷ For a more detailed discussion of this point, see, for example: Sparreboom, T. and Staneva, A.: *Is education the solution to decent work for youth in developing economies? Identifying qualifications mismatch from 28 School-to-Work Transition Surveys*, Work4Youth Publication No. 23 (Geneva, ILO, 2014).

Figure 12. Young persons who worked as children are more likely to be unpaid family workers

Percentage of **employed** young persons aged 15 to 24 years in **unpaid family work**, by prior involvement in child labour and sex, selected countries classified by income level,^(a) 2007–2012



Note: (a) World Bank country income classifications by GNI per capita as of 1 July 2012: Low-income: US\$1,025 or less; Lower-middle-income: US\$1,026 to US\$4,035; Upper-middle-income: US\$4,036 to US\$12,475; and High-income: US\$12,476 or more.
Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A1).

Figure 13. Young persons who worked as children are also more likely to be in low-paying jobs

Note: (a) World Bank country income classifications by GNI per capita as of 1 July 2012: Low-income: US\$1,025 or less; Lower-middle-income: US\$1,026 to US\$4,035; Upper-middle-income: US\$4,036 to US\$12,475; and High-income: US\$12,476 or more.
Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A1).

Young persons who were former child labourers are also more likely to be in low paying jobs, in turn suggestive of the long-term impact of child labour on earning potential. As reported in Figure 13, a higher share of former child labourers than of other youth hold jobs in the lowest earnings quintile in all 12 countries.

This information from the SIMPOC surveys in 12 countries, however, is limited essentially to persons' activity status at two distinct stages of the lifecycle: specifically, work status during childhood (i.e. up to the age of 15 years) and job status (at a particular point) during youth (i.e. the 15–24 years age group). The results presented thus far do *not* tell us anything about how the first status affects the transition trajectory leading to the second one, information that is critical to understanding *why* premature work involvement influences employment outcomes during youth. In the remaining sections of this section we take up the issue of transition to work and how early school leaving can influence the transition path.

Transition from school to work

The move from education into the world of work is a crucial phase in the lives of young persons, with long-term implications for both their individual well-being and that of society as a whole. Measuring, analysing and assessing the various trajectories⁴⁸ followed by youth to enter the world of work therefore are critical in policy terms, especially at a time when youth unemployment and limited decent work opportunities for youth are seen as principal challenges facing governments both in developing and developed economies.

There is a growing body of research on the transition process,⁴⁹ but unfortunately this research has been limited largely to developed economies. Owing in large part to data constraints, transitions in low- and lower-middle income economies (or the role of child labour in influencing them) have received much less research attention to date.⁵⁰

Another important ILO initiative – the ILO Work4Youth Project – is aimed at helping to address this information gap (see Box 3). The Project includes an unprecedented data collection effort on youth labour markets through the implementation of the ILO School-to-Work Transition Survey (SWTS) programme in a total of 28 low- and middle-income countries around the world. The SWTS contain detailed questions on current and past labour market experiences for nationally representative samples of individuals aged 15 to 29 years (see Appendix 1, Table A2).

⁴⁸ Transitions are not always as linear as starting with formal education and moving to work. Over their lifetime, a child may also be engaged in work early on (including child labour) and then join education/training opportunities later in life, or they may be balancing work and school at the same time.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Ryan, P.: “The School-to-Work Transition: A Cross-National Perspective”, in *Journal of Economic Literature*, 39(1): 34-92 (2001); and Ryan, P.: “The School-to-Work Transition: Problems and Indicators”, in *Anne-Nelly Perret-Clermont et al. (eds.) Joining Society*, pp. 286-299 (2003).

⁵⁰ Important exceptions include, Cunningham, W. and Salvagno, J.B.: *Youth Employment Transitions in Latin America*. (Washington, World Bank, 2011); and UCW (2014), op. cit.

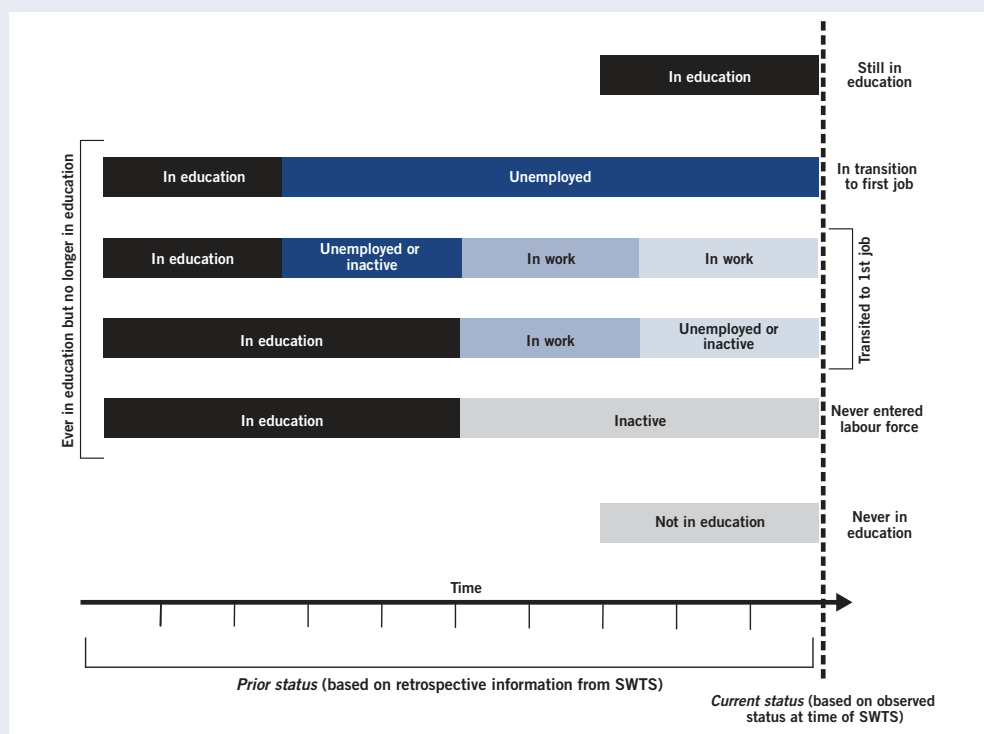
Box 3. ILO Work4Youth project and the School-to-Work Transition Survey (SWTS)

The Work4Youth partnership of The MasterCard Foundation and the Youth Employment Programme of the ILO has recently embarked on an unprecedented data collection effort on youths' labour market transitions in a sample of 28 low- and middle-income countries around the world, including Latin-America, Eastern Europe and Central Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and North Africa, South Asia and the Pacific region (see Appendix 1, Table A2 for the full list of participating countries).

The collection instrument is a household survey with very detailed questions on current and past labour market experiences for a nationally representative sample of individuals aged 15–29 years. In addition to individual and household level characteristics, such as age, sex, highest education level completed, age left education, area of residence, relationship to the household head, marital status, existence of children, financial circumstances, health status, parents' highest educational attainment, the survey collects a wide set of data on current labour market status and labour market experiences since the time the individuals left school (or since the first labour market experience for those who never attended school).

Information on the labour market status **at the time of the survey** includes data on the current job, such as occupation and industry, hours of work, wages and benefits (for employees), net profits (for self-employed), as well as job aspirations. For those currently unemployed information is collected on job search activities or attempts to start a new business while for those reporting to be inactive, the data provide information on aspirations and plans.

Retrospective labour market information covers all past spells of employment, inactivity (allowing to separately identify household chores), unemployment, or apprenticeship/training of at least three months duration since the time the individual left school. For each spell the data report the start and end month and year. Note that the surveys only collect information on past employment spells among individuals currently not in education. Information on work during education is limited to a variable indicating whether an individual worked while attending school. A second round of the surveys conducted in 2014–2015 will capture the experience of working students as well.



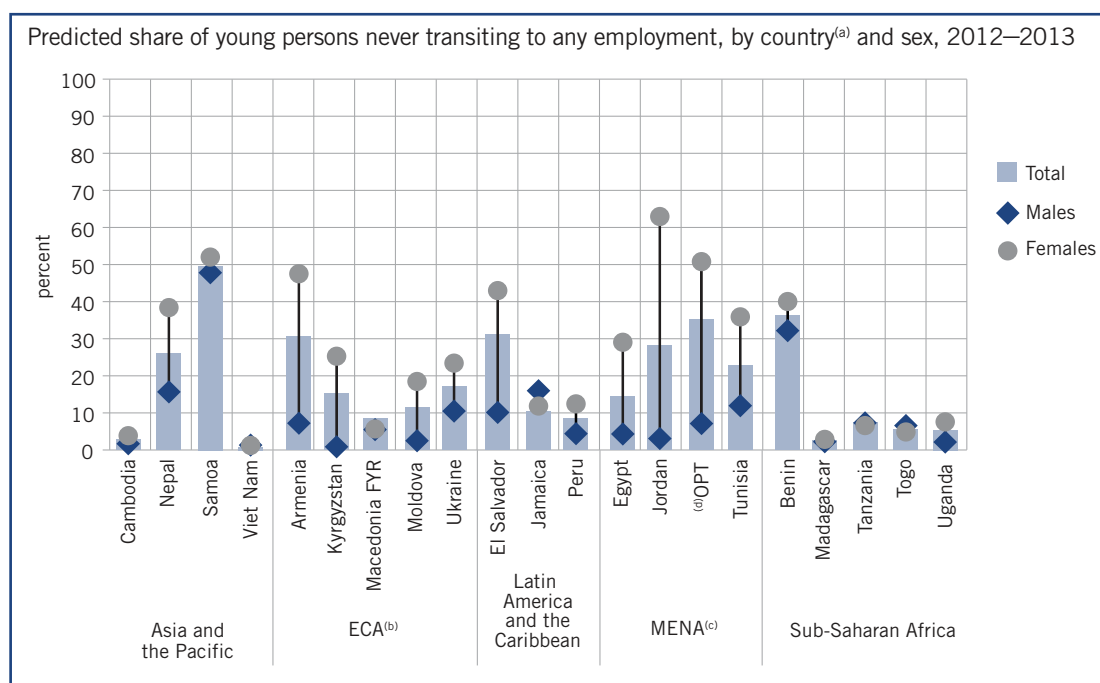
The diagram above helps to visualize the structure of the data: at the time of the survey, individuals might be still in education (or may have never entered education) or, having left education, they might have transitioned to a first job, be in transition to a first job or have never entered the labour force (i.e. never looked for a job or attended any form of training). ILO SWTS data are therefore “right censored” as individuals who have not completed a transition to a first job – whether in transition or continuously inactive since the time of leaving school – might still enter employment at a later stage.

The data from the SWTS allow us first of all to characterize the share of youth expected to never transit to work and the duration of the transition to work for the group of youth that is expected to eventually transit to a job. Econometric techniques are used in order to account for the fact that not all youth who eventually transit to employment have already done so at the time of the SWTS in each country.⁵¹

The results show that, on average, across all of the countries where SWTS were implemented, around 19 per cent of youth are expected to never transit to any job, and therefore to remain outside the world of work altogether (Figure 14). The group never transiting to a job, it should be noted, includes persons who drop out of the labour force before finding work and persons never entering the labour force in the first place. This aggregate figure, however, masks substantial variation across countries and regions. The fraction of youth never expected to transit is the highest in the MENA region, at 25 per cent, a result that is attributable to the disproportionately low female labour force participation rates in the region. By contrast, and with the exception of Benin, only a very small share of youth in the Sub-Saharan African countries are expected to never hold a job.

The shares of youth never transiting to employment varies significantly between male and female youth in a number of countries, one reflection of the important gender dimension of the youth decent work deficit. Female youth in the MENA region, in particular, appear to be particularly disadvantaged; in Jordan, for instance, 63 per cent of female youth are expected to never transit to a job, against only three per cent of male youth. Female disadvantage, however, is by no means limited to the MENA region: among the SWTS countries, differences between male and female youth in terms of transition prospects are also pronounced in Nepal, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova Ukraine and El Salvador. The disadvantaged position of female youth in terms of transition prospects underscores the need for continued efforts towards ensuring equal opportunities for female youth in the labour market.

⁵¹ Only a fraction of the young persons who eventually transit to employment have already actually transited at the time of the SWTS in each country. This is particularly true for those who, at the time of the survey, had only recently left education and for youth who were at the lower end of the 15-29 years age group. The data yielded by the SWTS are therefore, in technical terms, “right-censored”. For our purposes this is an important constraint, as it is not possible to derive reliable estimates of the transition based only on those who have already transited into work at the time of the survey. For a complete picture, we need to consider all youth who will eventually transit. With this consideration in mind, the results presented in the remainder of this Section are derived using an econometric technique that allows us to identify the share of youth never expected to transit to a job, and, for those expected to transit, the expected duration of the transition phase. For further details, see UCW (2014), *op. cit.*

Figure 14. A substantial fraction of young persons is expected never to transit to any employment

Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) OPT - Occupied Palestinian Territory.

Source: Calculations based on ILO School-to-Work Transition Surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A2).

Perhaps even more important than the share of youth eventually securing *any* work is the share of youth eventually securing *decent* work, as the latter is the desired endpoint of the transition pathway. The multifaceted nature of the decent work concept means that its measurement is a complex task (see Box 4). We use here and in the remainder of this section *stable employment*, defined as paid employment with a contract of at least 12 months duration, as a partial indicator of decent work. It should be stressed, however, that stable employment is a necessary *but not sufficient* condition for decent work. It is possible, in other words, to hold a job in stable employment that falls short of the other conditions needed for decent work.

We see that the share of youth never succeeding in securing *stable* employment is much higher than the share never securing *any* employment in the SWTS countries. Many of the youth that succeed in transitioning to a job, in other words, must settle for insecure jobs that fall short of even minimal decent work criteria (Figure 15). Again the disaggregation by sex, highlights the relative disadvantage faced by female youth and the consequent need to address gender concerns as part of the broader policy response to the decent work deficit faced by youth.

The median time required to secure a first job after leaving school is slightly below two years across SWTS countries, except Jamaica (26 months) and Tanzania (24.5 months) (Figure 16). This number, however, masks substantial variation across regions and countries. The transition is fastest in the Asia and the Pacific region and in the Eastern Europe and Central Asia region (with median transition durations across

Box 4. Measuring decent work

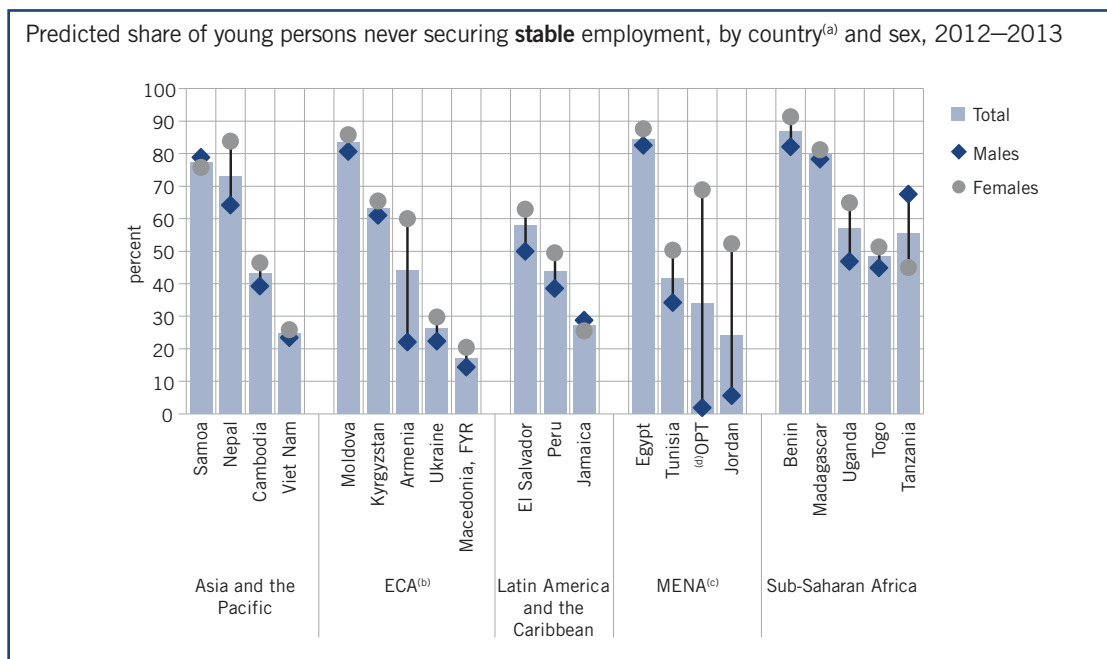
Effectively measuring decent work is a critical starting point for developing, targeting, monitoring and evaluating programmes addressing the decent work deficit. Yet, the multifaceted nature of the decent work concept that combines access to full and productive employment with rights at work, social protection and the promotion of social dialogue means that measurement is a complex task.

This is especially the case for the current Report, because the data we utilize only contain detailed information for the current job, while retrospective information is much more scant. Accordingly, and in line with the approach also followed by the OECD and by Eurostat, we use a simple (and very partial) indicator of decent work based on *stable employment*, which we in turn defined as paid work with an indefinite contract or with a contract of at least 12 months duration.

This indicator should be considered with care in our case for three important reasons. First, while a paid contract job makes it more likely that a worker enjoys a fair income, security in the workplace, social protection and other attributes of decent work, this type of job is by no means a guarantee of decent work. Second, in low- and middle-income countries the share of paid employment tends to be much lower than in high-income countries (for which the concept of stable employment has been developed). As has been demonstrated in the national reports summarizing the SWTS results, a majority of young people in low-income countries complete the transition to self-employment rather than a stable job. Third, the countries included in the SWTS have very different levels of development and economic structures, in turn impacting the prevalence of stable employment among youth.

all countries in our sample of between 10 and 11 months). By contrast, the transition to work is particularly slow in the MENA region, averaging 37 months. A more in-depth analysis of the SWTS data indicates that transitions take place at two speeds: one group

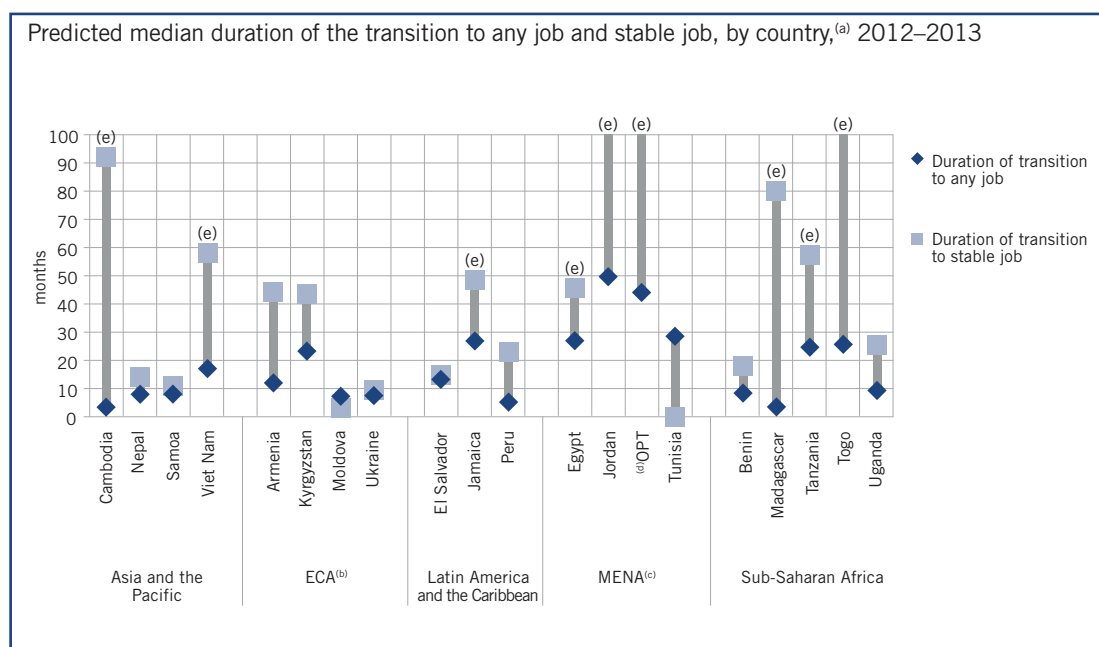
Figure 15. An even larger share of young persons is expected never to secure *stable employment*



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) OPT - Occupied Palestinian Territory.

Source: Calculations based on ILO School-to-Work Transition Surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A2).

Figure 16. Among those who eventually secure a job, median transition durations can be as long as 2 years, although there is substantial variation across countries



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) OPT - Occupied Palestinian Territory. (e) Transition exceeds 100 months.

Source: Calculations based on ILO School-to-Work Transition Surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A2).

succeeds in securing work very soon after leaving school but a second group that does not find a job right away typically faces very long transitions.⁵² Again, securing *stable* employment appears much more difficult. As also shown in Figure 16, the time required to find stable jobs (for the minority of youth managing to do so) is much longer than the time required to find a first job in almost all of the SWTS countries.

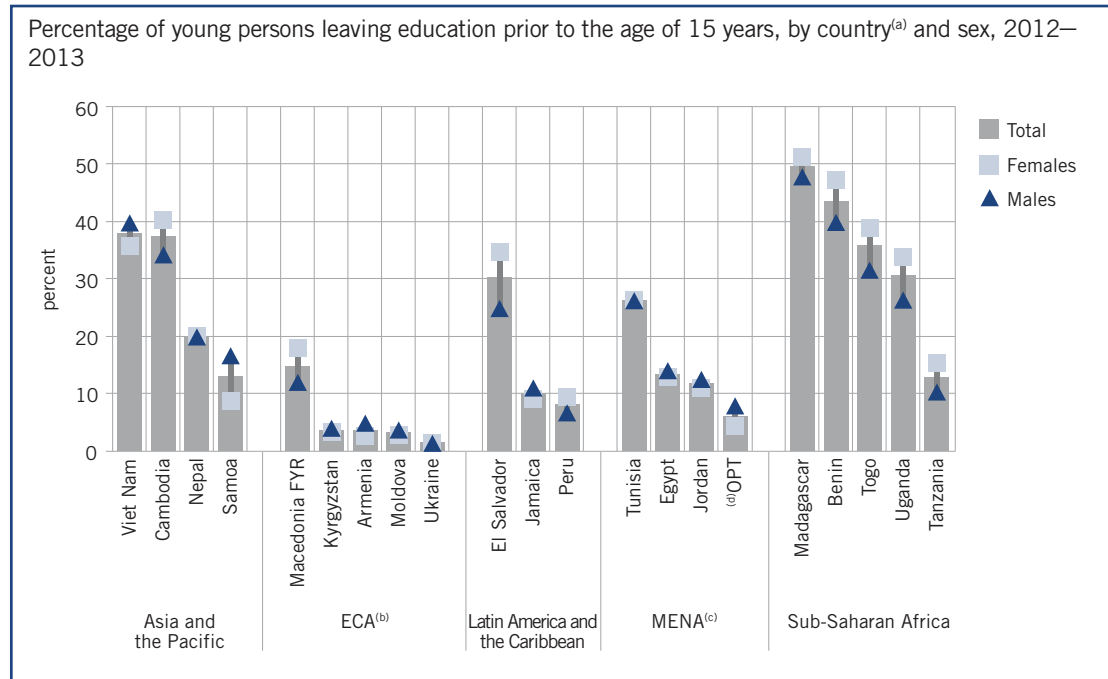
Early school leaving and the transition from school to work

With this general picture of transitions as background, we now take a more detailed look at how leaving school and beginning the transition to work at an early age affects the transition paths and outcomes of young persons. As reported in Figure 17, large shares of youth leave school at or below the general minimum working age of 15 years set forth in ILO Convention No. 138.⁵³ In many instances, in other words, children

⁵² See UCW (2014), op. cit.

⁵³ As noted earlier, ILO Convention No. 138 allows a Member whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed to initially specify a minimum age of 14 years. National laws or regulations may permit the employment or work of children aged 13 to 15 years on light work which is (a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received. A Member whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed may substitute the ages 13 and 15 for the ages 12 and 14 for light work.

Figure 17. A substantial share of children in many countries leave school prior to the age of 15 years



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) OPT - Occupied Palestinian Territory.

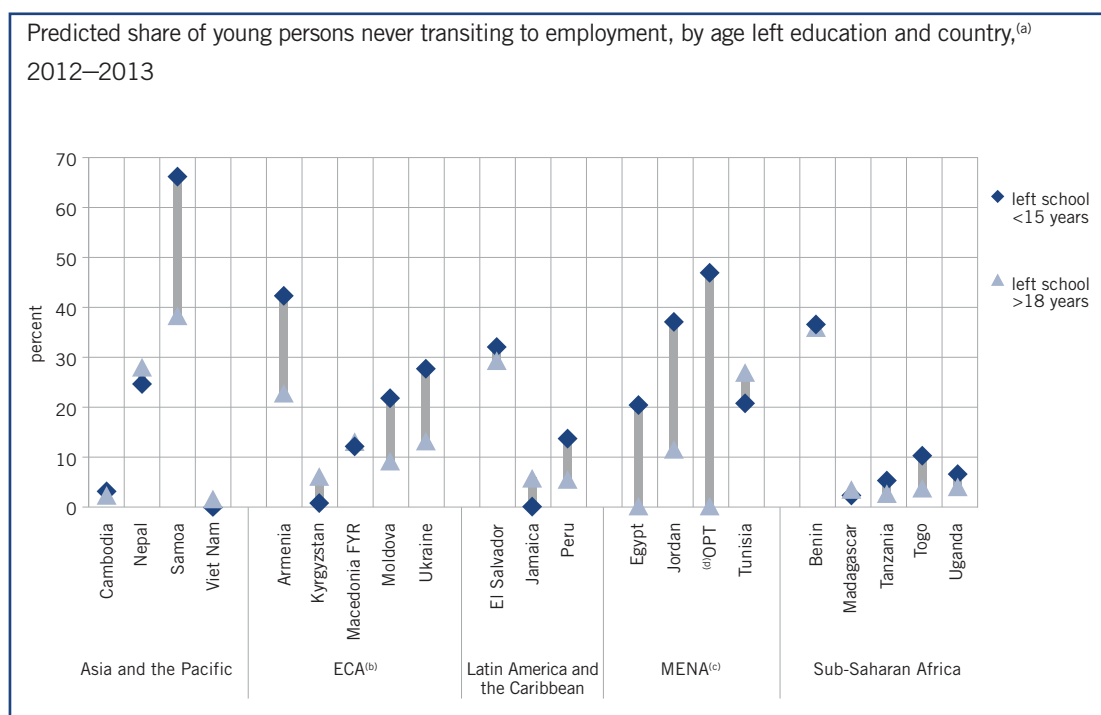
Source: Calculations based on ILO School-to-Work Transition Surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A2).

start looking for work below the age when they are legally entitled to work. This is particularly the case in low-income countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia regions. In countries where the difference in early school leaving differs significantly by sex, female youth are generally the ones who are most disadvantaged (Viet Nam and Samoa are exceptions).

Those leaving school prior to the age of 15 years are at greater risk of remaining outside the world of work altogether, i.e. of never transiting to a job.⁵⁴ With only a few exceptions (where differences between early school leavers and other youth are small), early school leavers are more likely to *never* obtain employment (Figure 18). This result is driven primarily by female youth. Girls who leave school early do so disproportionately to undertake responsibility for chores within their own homes, while boys are more likely to leave school prematurely in order to join the labour force. These gender differences are less pronounced among youth who leave school later. For young people of both sexes, more education increases their likelihood of eventually entering work.

⁵⁴ For further details regarding the methodology, see UCW (2014), op. cit.

Figure 18. Early school leavers are generally at greater risk of remaining outside the world of work altogether



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) OPT - Occupied Palestinian Territory.

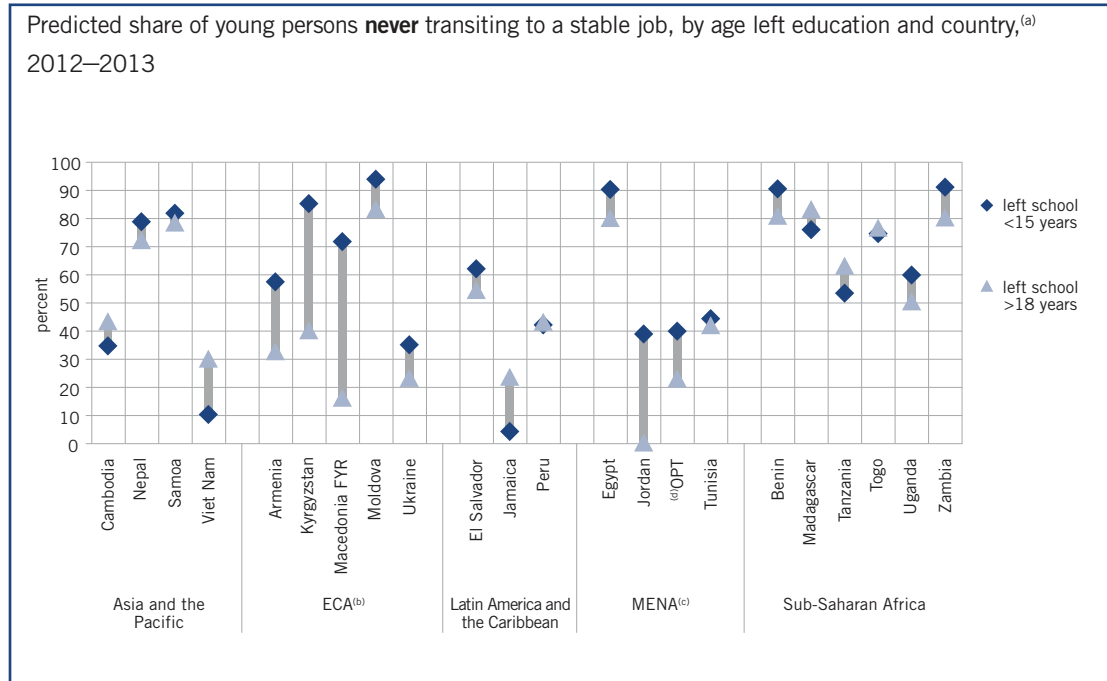
Source: Calculations based on ILO School-to-Work Transition Surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A2).

Early school leaving also appears to influence the ability of youth to ever secure *stable* jobs in many (but not all) of the SWTS countries. Again, we define stable jobs as paid work with a contract of 12 months or more.⁵⁵ Job stability, in turn, is critical to security in the workplace and ultimately to decent work, the desired outcome of the transition to work (see Box 4). As reported in Figure 19, early school leavers are less likely to ever secure stable jobs in 13 of the SWTS countries, while the opposite pattern prevails in only five countries.⁵⁶ The differences between early school leavers and more-educated youth in terms of ever obtaining stable jobs are in some cases very large. In Macedonia FYR, for example, about 72 per cent of those leaving school prior to the age of 15 years never transit to a stable job compared to 16 per cent of youth who leave the education at a later age. The labour market experience of these early school leavers is therefore more likely to be characterized by a series of unstable short-term

⁵⁵ Following the model used for the analysis of the SWTS. See Elder, S. (2009), *op. cit.* This indicator should be considered with care in our case for two reasons. In low- and middle-income countries the share of paid employment jobs tends to be much lower than in high-income countries (for which the concept of stable employment has been developed). Moreover, in our sample we have countries with very different level of development and economic structures: this reflects of course on the prevalence of stable employment among youth. As has been demonstrated in the national reports summarizing the SWTS results, a majority of young people in low-income countries complete the transition to self-employment rather than a stable job.

⁵⁶ In the remaining four countries, there is little difference between early school leavers and other youth in this regard.

Figure 19. Early school leavers are generally less likely than their more-educated counterparts to secure *stable jobs*



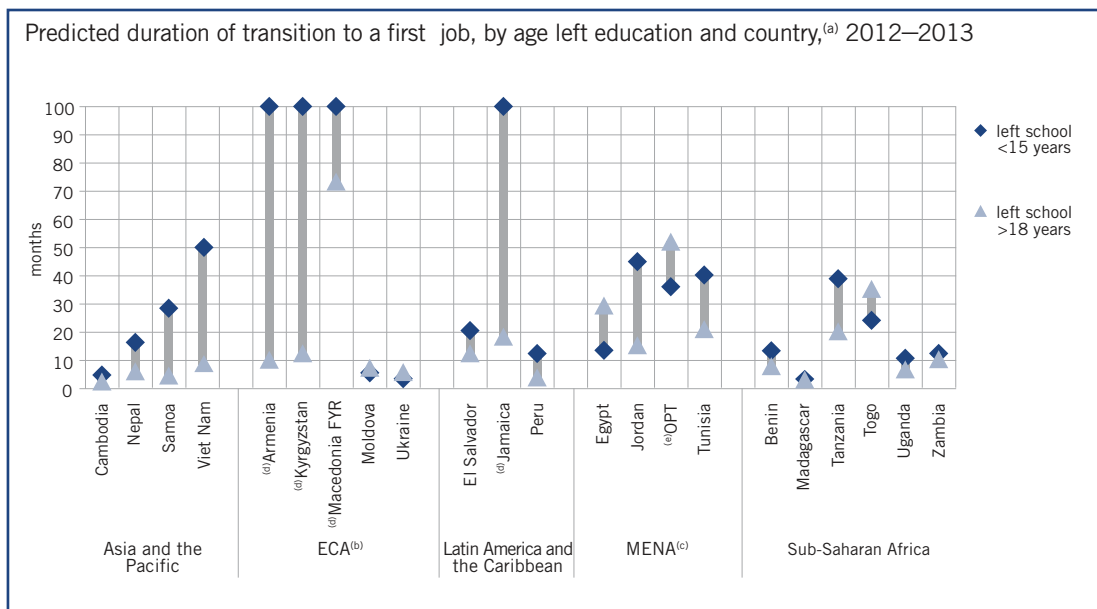
Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) OPT - Occupied Palestinian Territory.

Source: Calculations based on ILO School-to-Work Transition Surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A2).

jobs, often interspersed with periods of unemployment and absences from the labour force.

The time necessary to secure a job is another factor that appears to be influenced by early school leaving. In addressing transition duration we again look at two points on the transition path, first job and first *stable* job. We saw above that early school leavers are less likely to ever reach these transition points; the results concerning transition duration indicate that those early school leavers that *do* manage to reach these transition points take longer to do so than other youth in many of the SWTS countries. As reported in Figure 20, transitions are longer for early school leavers in 12 of the SWTS countries, while the opposite pattern holds in only three.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ In the remaining seven countries, there is little difference between early school leavers and other youth in this regard.

Figure 20. Early school leavers generally take longer to find first jobs

Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia FYR and Jamaica have been top coded at 100. (e) OPT - Occupied Palestinian Territory. Source: Calculations based on ILO School-to-Work Transition Surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A2).

Figure 20, which reports results for the duration of transition to a first job, indicates that the difference in duration times between early school leavers and other youth is often very large. In Viet Nam, for example, early school leavers take more than six times longer to find a first job than those who left school after the age of 18 years (50 months versus 8 months). These results run counter to the common perception that better-educated school leavers with more specialized skill sets have relatively greater difficulty in gaining an initial foothold in the labour market. Early school leavers securing *stable* jobs also take more time to do so than better-educated youth in the SWTS countries (not shown).

Our results therefore indicate that children forced by their household circumstances or other factors to leave school prior to their fifteenth birthday are doubly disadvantaged with regard to stable jobs as youth: they are less likely to ever find such jobs and the ones who do find stable jobs (typically in the upper middle-income countries) take much longer to do so.

Taken together, these results reinforce a central message of this Report, namely that in many national contexts policy interventions addressing premature school leaving and child labour are critical to broader efforts towards ensuring decent work for young persons. Addressing child labour, in turn, means investing above all in ensuring free, compulsory and quality education, in order that families have the opportunity to invest in their children's education as an alternative to child labour, and that the returns to schooling make it worthwhile for them to do so. It also means investing in social protection to help prevent child labour from being used as a household survival strategy in the face of economic and social vulnerability. These policy measures are discussed further in the final section of this Report.

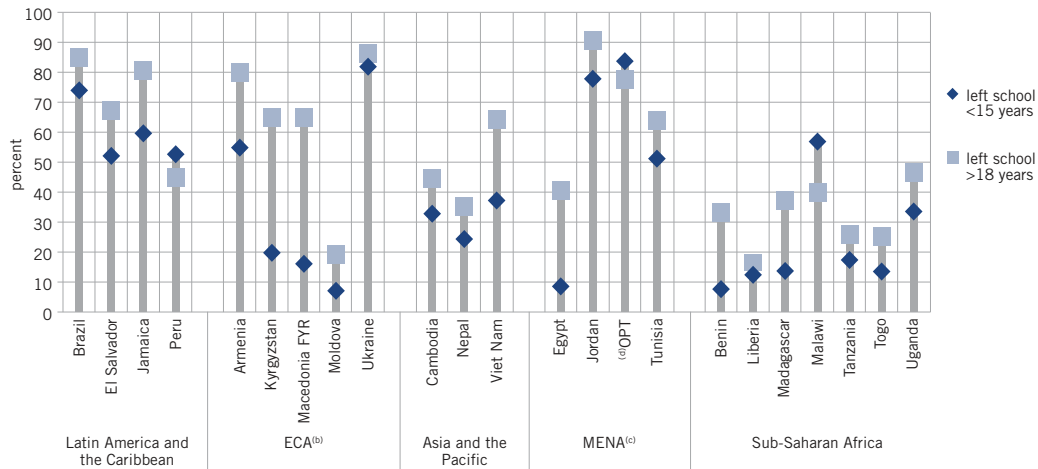
Box 5. Early school leaving and upward mobility

Although not looked at as part of the econometric analysis, simple descriptive statistics point to a strong negative correlation between early school leaving and upward mobility.

As reported in Figure A (1), more early school leavers than educated youth start out in unstable jobs, but the shares of even educated youth whose first jobs are unstable are far from negligible in most of the SWTS countries. This raises the important question of upward mobility, i.e. the extent to which youth are able to move up to better-quality stable employment after starting out in unstable jobs, and how this might be affected by school leaving age. Figure A (2) reports the share of youth starting out in unstable jobs subsequently moving into stable ones, one indicator of upward mobility. It demonstrates that the youth who leave school later are more upwardly mobile in almost all of the SWTS countries. Early school leavers, therefore, are not only more likely to start out in unstable work, but are also more likely to remain trapped there. More educated youth, on the other hand, are more likely to use unstable first jobs as stepping stones to eventual stable ones.

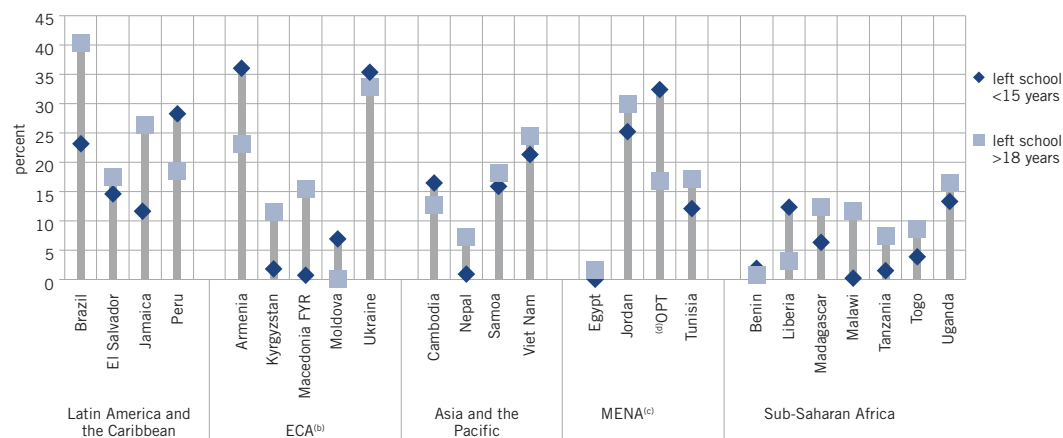
Figure A. The quality of first jobs as measured by job stability is consistently poorer for early school leavers and they are less likely to subsequently move into better ones

(1) Percentage of first jobs that are stable, by school leaving age and country,^(a) 2012–2013



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) OPT - Occupied Palestinian Territory.
 Source: Calculations based on ILO School-to-Work Transition Surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A2).

(2) Percentage of young persons in poor quality first jobs that are able to move into subsequent jobs that are stable, by school leaving age and country,^(a) 2012–2013



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) OPT - Occupied Palestinian Territory.

Source: Calculations based on ILO School-to-Work Transition Surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A2).

PART IV

Youth job prospects and child labour

Why the employment situation of youth matters for child labour

In this section we look at evidence of the influence of youth employment prospects on involvement in child labour.

How are the labour market conditions faced by young people relevant to child labour? In theoretical terms, the answer is clear. Poor youth employment prospects can serve as a disincentive to investment in children's education earlier in the lifecycle. In other words, in countries where there are few opportunities for decent work requiring advanced skills, and where returns to education are therefore limited, parents have less reason to delay their children's entry into work and to incur the costs associated with their children's schooling. By the same reasoning, in countries where the demand for skilled labour is high, and returns to education are therefore significant, families have a strong incentive to postpone their children's transition to work and to instead invest in their education.

While this linkage is intuitive, it is more difficult to prove on the basis of available data. Because the child labour-youth employment relationship can work in both directions (i.e. child labour can affect youth employment prospects and at the same time youth employment prospects can affect child labour), in order to disentangle the relationship we need information about *household knowledge* of returns to education and labour market prospects.

In this section we therefore draw on case studies where we have this information, ensuring that returns to education and the availability of skilled jobs are the factors that are driving the decisions of households with regard to their children's schooling and work. We first look at evidence of how job opportunities in fields requiring greater skills can affect child labour and schooling decisions. We then look at the same issue from a slightly different angle by reviewing evidence of how *perceived* returns to education, which may or may not be same as actual returns, can influence work and educational choices during childhood.

As indicated by the limited evidence discussed in this section, this is an area where a substantial knowledge gap persists.

Demand for skilled workers

If work activities that require highly skilled and highly educated workers expand, parents have an incentive to let their children spend more time in school and to postpone their school to work transition. Appropriate educational opportunities must also of course exist to permit parents to delay their children's school to work transition. The opposite occurs in cases where an expansion occurs in industries that demand low-skilled labour. Jobs requiring greater skills, in turn, do not necessarily meet criteria for decent work, but they are much more likely to do so than low-skilled jobs in the informal economy. They are much more likely, in other words, to deliver a fair income, security in the workplace, social protection for families and other basic conditions associated with decent work.

In this section we look at the role of changes in the demand for skilled workers in real world contexts through a brief review of actual cases of technological changes and industrial expansions. These cases include the introduction of high-yield seeds in India, the expansion of the information technology (IT) services⁵⁸ sector in India, the expansion of the garment sector in Bangladesh, and the expansion of the export manufacturing industry in Mexico. Broadly, the cases that we cite indicate that, in keeping with theory, increased demand for skilled workers is accompanied by increased school participation and reduced child labour.

The first case focuses on the impact of access to high-yield seeds by farmers in a set of villages in India in the late 1960s.⁵⁹ Adoption of these new seeds was not straightforward and required considerable experimentation and learning. Farmers with more education were arguably more equipped to go through this process of experimentation and learning and thus to profitably take-up the new seeds. The introduction of these seeds, in other words, *increased* the returns to education.⁶⁰ This case, therefore, presents an interesting real-world opportunity to investigate what happens to involvement in schooling and child labour when the returns to education in a local labour market change.

The study of this case shows that in the areas where the new seeds were most profitable due to advantageous soil and climate conditions, and where the increase in returns to education were therefore greatest, households responded by increasing their children's school enrolment.⁶¹

Not all children, however, benefited equally from these developments. As reported in Figure 21, the increase in enrolment was much higher among children from landed households able to take advantage of this new technology than for children from households without land. A follow-up study by the same authors (2004) indicates that

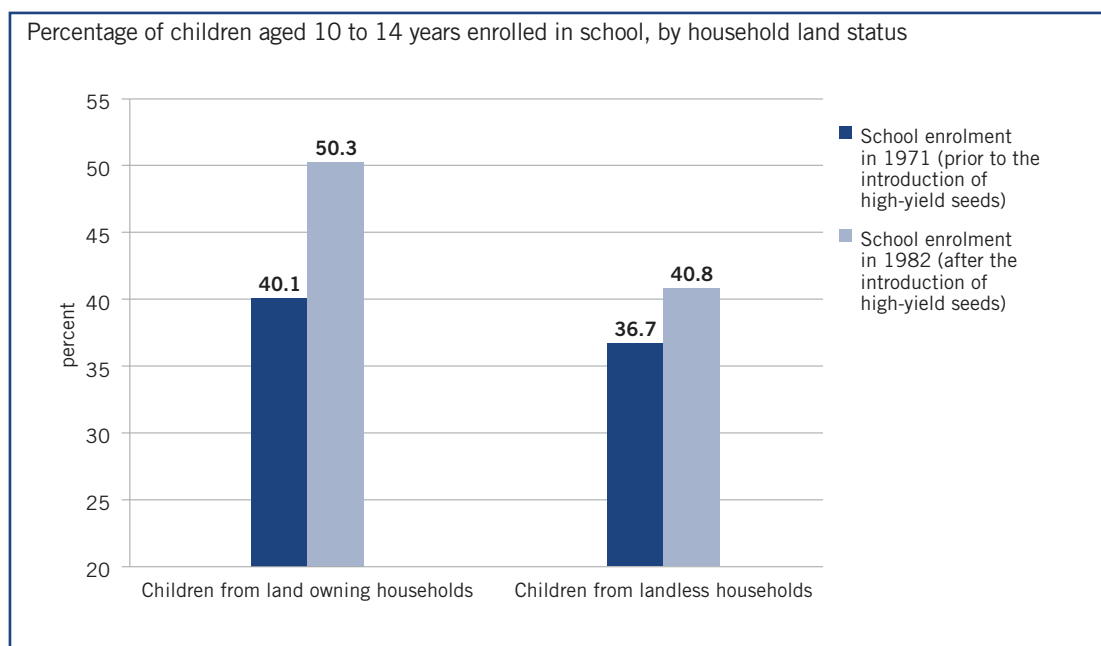
⁵⁸ Information technology enabled services include, for instance, call centers and software developers.

⁵⁹ Foster, A.D. and Rosenzweig, M.R. (1995), *op. cit.*; and Rosenzweig, M.R. (1995), *op. cit.*

⁶⁰ Large landowners, who had better access to production inputs such as tractors, tubewells, fertilizers and pesticides, also enjoyed a considerable advantage in this context.

⁶¹ Foster, A.D. and Rosenzweig, M.R. (1996), *op. cit.*

Figure 21. The introduction of high-yield seeds (and the consequent increase in returns to primary education) led to a substantial increase in primary school enrolment among children from *landed* households able to take advantage of this new technology



Source: Adapted from Foster, A.D. and Rosenzweig, M.R. (1996), op. cit.

there was also an important redistributive effect on child labour: children from landless households were used to replace the labour of children from landed households who were now relatively more likely to be in school.⁶² These results suggest that improved returns to education need to be coupled with reinforcing measures such as expanded social protection to ensure that *all* children are able to benefit.

The study also shows that the benefits of the introduction of the high-yield seeds in terms of school attendance depended on the availability of schools in the areas in question.⁶³ Consistent with experience in other countries, access to services (in this case schools) was a necessary condition for the potential increase in returns to education to become effective.

Another interesting experience in India involves the rapid growth of the information technology (IT) industry (including, for instance, call centres and software development) beginning in the 1990s, which also strongly affected returns to education in the Indian labour market. The growth of this industry resulted in a strong increase in the demand for high-skilled workers, and in particular those with a good command of the English language. A study of this case shows that, during the period from 1995 to 2003, the districts that experienced the greatest influx of businesses and jobs in the IT services industry (districts with a “linguistic predisposition” towards English rather than Hindi) also saw a higher increase in school enrolment. The study also shows that

⁶² Foster, A.D. and Rosenzweig, M.R. (2004), op. cit.

⁶³ Foster, A.D. and Rosenzweig, M.R. (1996), op. cit.

the increase in school enrolment was particularly marked in schools where English was the language of instruction.⁶⁴

It appears that the effects of the growth of the IT services industry on enrolment were localized. They were especially strong in the areas where the industry developed, while the effects on enrolment elsewhere were limited. Another study, for instance, demonstrates that the establishment of businesses that provide IT services increased school enrolment rates only in the areas surrounding the newly established business. Specifically, the study is able to show that when a new business is founded, schools that use English as the language of instruction in the vicinity of the business experience a rapid increase in enrolment. Schools further from the newly founded business (more than five kilometres away) are not affected.⁶⁵

Why do only schools located close to the new business experience an increase in enrolment? One possible explanation would be that individuals are generally unwilling or unable to migrate and hence do not respond to high-skilled job opportunities beyond commuting distance. This explanation, however, overlooks the fact that migration is a common phenomenon in India.

Another explanation appears more plausible: localized knowledge. Those living nearby to the newly established industries have a better understanding of the new opportunities in the IT services industry and therefore are more likely to respond accordingly. This argument is corroborated by survey data showing that households living in the vicinity of an IT services business have a better understanding of the qualifications required to successfully apply for a job in the industry than households living further away.⁶⁶ These results highlight the importance of *awareness* of labour market opportunities, and of efforts aimed at increasing this awareness.

Further evidence in this regard is provided by a separate study in India published in 2012.⁶⁷ This study finds that providing women with information about job opportunities in the IT services industry, as well as recruitment support, has substantial effects. Three years after the provision of the information and the recruitment support, young women (aged 15 to 21 years at the start of the intervention) were more likely to be employed in the IT services industry, more likely to be employed in work for pay, and more likely to be enrolled in training. And younger girls (aged 3 to 14 years at the start of the intervention) were more likely to be enrolled in school. In the accompanying discussion, it is noted that although the IT services industry has substantively increased employment opportunities for women in India, these opportunities are concentrated in a few big cities. Women living in rural areas, even the rural areas close to the big cities that experienced a boom in the IT services industry, are often not aware of the

⁶⁴ Shastri, G.K. (2012), op. cit.

⁶⁵ Oster, E. and Millett Steinberg, B.: "Do IT Services Promote School Enrollment? Evidence from India", in *Journal of Development Economics*, Vol. 104, pp. 123-135 (2013).

⁶⁶ Idem.

⁶⁷ Jensen, R.: "Do Labor Market Opportunities Affect Young Women's Work and Family Decisions? Experimental Evidence from India", in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 127, No. 2, pp. 753-792 (2012).

opportunities in this industry or, if they are, do not know how to apply for jobs in this industry.

Two cases from outside India offer further insight into how children's school participation can be affected by changes in returns to education in a local labour market. The first case involves the recent rapid growth of the garment sector in Bangladesh.⁶⁸ This growth primarily benefited women, both because this sector primarily employs females and because education was associated with better work conditions relative to the available alternatives. A study of the impact of the garment sector expansion shows that the school participation of younger girls (aged 5 to 10 years) *increased* in direct proportion to the rate of expansion of the garment sector. At the same time, the enrolment effects on older girls were weaker and perhaps even negative,⁶⁹ indicating that some of the older girls may have been dropping out of school to take up a job in the garment sector. The increase in school participation by (young) girls was at least partly the result of greater demand for high skills, although increased household income (for instance, due to work of other family members) also appeared to play a role in lessening household dependence on girls' labour.⁷⁰

The second case involves the rapid expansion of Mexico's export manufacturing industry in the late 1980s and 1990s. In contrast with the cases looked at thus far, the new jobs added in Mexico's manufacturing industry were primarily *low-skilled*. A study of this case finds that children stayed in school for less time during periods when local demand for low-skilled labour increased due to factory openings. Importantly, however, the study finds that the effects of factory openings depend on the type of labour demanded. Expansions in low-skilled job opportunities (i.e. opportunities in jobs requiring little education) tend to *lower* school attainment, while expansions in high-skilled job opportunities tend to *increase* school attainment.⁷¹

Perceptions of labour market conditions

Accurate information and knowledge concerning labour market conditions and returns to education are necessary for a household to make informed decisions about children's schooling and work. Clearly, if parents are unaware of (or misperceive) a change in returns to education they will be unable to respond to this change or may respond in a manner that is not consistent with labour market signals. Household perceptions,

⁶⁸ In the context of the garment sector in Bangladesh, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the World Bank International Finance Corporation launched the Better Work programme in Bangladesh in November 2013 with the aim to provide assessments of factory compliance with national law and international core labour standards, publish transparent public reporting on findings, and provide advisory support for factories to make necessary improvements. The partnership between government, employers, unions, buyers, and other industry stakeholders will focus on promoting sustainable change in the sector by helping factories address working conditions, and to build factory-level capacity for labour administration and worker-management relations. The programme will also provide training and advisory services to factories to improve working conditions and competitiveness.

⁶⁹ Results for this age group were not, however, statistically significant.

⁷⁰ Heath, R. and Mobarak, A.M. (2012), op. cit.

⁷¹ Atkin, D. (2012), op. cit.

in other words, are critical. This assertion is underlined by the fact that, as described earlier, the effects of increased demand for skilled workers tend to be localized in geographical areas where the *knowledge* of this change in demand is concentrated.

In this section we show that parents' perceptions of the returns to education do indeed influence households' decisions regarding children's participation in work and school, but that parents' perceived returns may differ markedly from actual returns to education. As a result, changes in demand for low-skilled and high-skilled labour, such as those discussed above, may not be correctly or adequately incorporated in household decisions concerning children's schooling and work.

In a survey carried out in 2001 in the Dominican Republic, primary school-aged boys were asked what they themselves expected to earn after completing primary school, secondary school, and university and what they believed men currently aged 30 to 40 years who completed primary, secondary, and tertiary education were earning.⁷² It was found that the actual earnings of men aged 30 to 40 years who had completed secondary education markedly exceeded both what the boys themselves expected to earn at this level of education and what they believed men currently aged 30 to 40 years were earning (by about 14 per cent and 16 per cent, respectively). The results for tertiary education were even more pronounced: actual wages were almost twice as high as the wages perceived by the boys.⁷³

Why do these boys' perceptions of earnings differ from actual earnings? One possible explanation, of course, is that at this relatively young age children's perceptions with regard to earnings are generally inaccurate. However, it appears likely that limited reliable information on the returns to education also plays a role. Accurate, nationally representative earnings statistics were not available for the Dominican Republic at the time of the survey. As a result, information regarding earnings needs to be inferred from family members and acquaintances, a small and typically biased sample.

How does this inaccurate information on returns to education impact on decisions concerning involvement in education? Boys in the final year of primary school in randomly selected schools received information about the estimated *actual* returns to secondary school and university education. Follow-up surveys in 2005 indicate that perceived returns to education increased strongly among those who received the information and that this group was about 12 per cent more likely to be in secondary school in the year following the intervention compared to other pupils who had not received the information. In other words, faced with information indicating that actual returns to education in the labour market were higher than they initially thought, children stayed in school longer and delayed their entry into the labour market.⁷⁴

In a similar vein, individuals' perceptions of the returns to education were investigated in Madagascar.⁷⁵ However, unlike in the Dominican Republic, the focus

⁷² Jensen, R. (2010), op. cit.

⁷³ Although the study author notes that estimates of actual tertiary wages were based on a small number of observations.

⁷⁴ Jensen, R. (2010), op. cit.

⁷⁵ Nguyen, T. (2008), op. cit.

was on parents' rather than children's perceptions. As part of a survey administered to the parents of children in grade four, parents were asked to estimate the average monthly earnings of young persons aged 25 years with different levels of educational attainment and to estimate their own child's monthly earnings at the age of 25 at different attainment levels. Roughly a third of the interviewed parents indicated that they were not able to answer this type of question – a clear indication that they were not able to accurately incorporate labour market conditions in their decisions regarding education investment. Among parents who were able to answer, the variation in perceived returns to education at each level markedly exceeded the actual variation.

In the case of Madagascar, information on actual returns to education was provided both to children and their parents. It is found that the provision of information helps students and parents to more accurately assess average returns to education which then results in increased school participation. Pupils who received the information on returns to education were about 4 to 8 percentage points more likely to attend school and at the same time their performance on mathematics and language tests improved. Also of interest, an investigation was carried out as to whether it is more effective to inform parents about the returns to school by means of an information session and the provision of statistics, or by letting successful "role models" share their life stories with parents and pupils. It was found that there is a stronger impact when communication takes place through role models.

The cases discussed above clearly indicate that increased demand for skill and returns to education translate into increased investment in education. The labour market prospects of young persons, and particularly returns to education in the labour market, have a strong influence on household decisions earlier in the lifecycle concerning the division of children's time between work and school. These findings represent another important argument for addressing youth employment and child labour issues hand-in-hand: not only does child labour affect youth employment prospects but youth employment prospects plainly affect child labour. Expanding decent work opportunities for youth, and particularly for vulnerable youth, constitutes an important strategy for addressing child labour. Interventions aimed at illustrating the benefits of education are also relevant.

However, the lack of decent work opportunities for youth is by no means the only factor which influences decisions concerning children's involvement in schooling and child labour earlier in the lifecycle. Poverty and household vulnerability, in particular, may prevent families from sending their children to school rather than to work, even in contexts where returns to education are significant and well-known. This underscores the need for accompanying measures aimed at strengthening the social protection floor for vulnerable families as part of a broader strategy to eliminate child labour.

PART V

Adolescents in hazardous jobs

*Child labour among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years*⁷⁶

Introduction

Hazardous work among adolescents who are above the general minimum working age but not yet adults (i.e. those in the 15–17 years age group)⁷⁷ constitutes a worst form of child labour and a violation of international labour standards. The ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999) calls on countries to take immediate and effective measures to eliminate this and other worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency.⁷⁸

It is in the 15–17 years age group that the goals eliminating child labour and addressing the youth decent work deficit intersect most explicitly. In simple terms, it will not be possible to achieve overall child labour elimination without addressing child labour among older children. Similarly, adolescents aged 15 to 17 years trapped in hazardous work stand as a major obstacle to achieving decent work for all youth. Yet, while adolescents aged 15 to 17 years are clearly of common interest to both child labour and youth employment, this overlapping group is rarely accorded priority attention in efforts in either of these fields. This section contributes to filling the knowledge gap on hazardous work among adolescents in the 15–17 years age group.

The latest ILO global estimates for the year 2012 indicate that both the share and absolute numbers of adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work is considerable:⁷⁹

- adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work total 47.5 million;
- adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work account for 40 per cent of all those employed in the 15–17 years age group, a clear indicator of the decent work deficit facing this age group; and

⁷⁶ This section makes use of materials reproduced from: IPEC: *Children in hazardous work: What we know, what we need to know* (Geneva, ILO, 2011).

⁷⁷ In countries where the general minimum working age is 14 years, the lower age boundary should also technically be 14 years. However, for comparability, in this section we apply the minimum age boundary of 15 years in all countries.

⁷⁸ ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999), concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour. (Entry into force: 19 November 2000).

⁷⁹ IPEC (2013), op. cit.

- adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work account for over one-quarter (28 per cent) of the overall group of children in child labour.

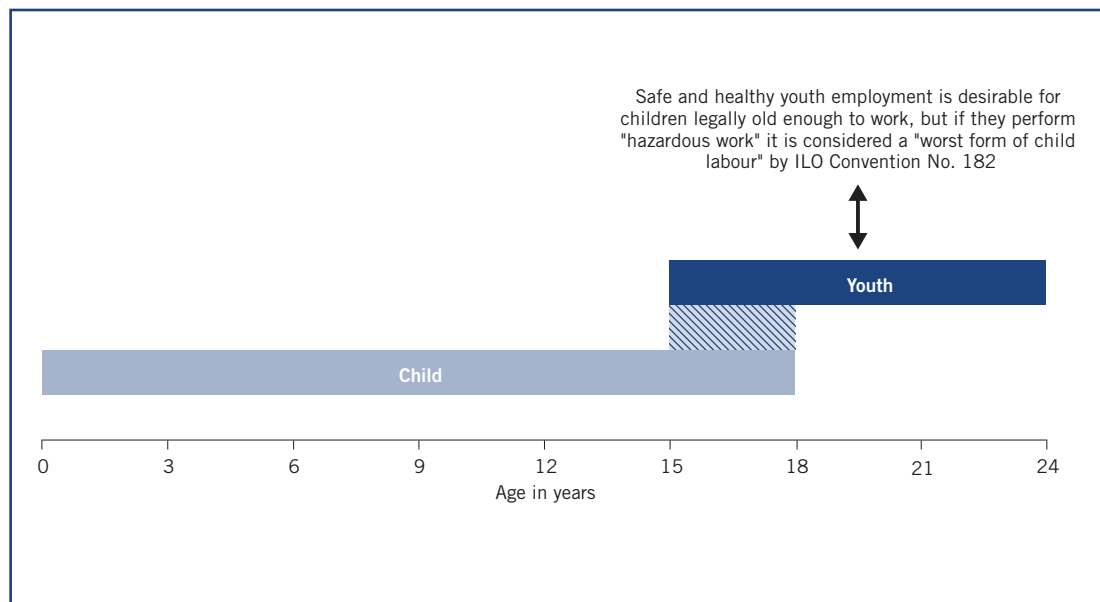
These stark numbers underscore the importance of distinguishing between decent work and forms of work constituting child labour in programmes promoting youth employment. Accounting for hazardous work in youth employment programmes is critical, as hazardous work in adolescence can create huge barriers – educational, physical, psychological, social – that impede a young person from competing successfully for good jobs in the future. The policy implications are equally clear: national policies should be directed towards removing youth from hazardous jobs or towards removing the hazardous conditions encountered by youth in the workplace. Alongside these efforts, removed youth and other educationally-disadvantaged youth should be afforded second chance learning opportunities to improve their future prospects of securing jobs meeting basic decent work criteria.

Making use of surveys from the ILO Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC), national labour force surveys, ILO School-to-Work Transition Survey (SWTS) and other data sources from a set of developing countries, this section assesses the degree to which adolescents are exposed to hazardous conditions in the workplace, the nature of the hazards they face, and the sectors and occupations in which hazardous conditions are most common. But before discussing the incidence and nature of hazardous work among adolescents we need some additional background regarding how this term is defined, why we are interested in it and how we can measure it.

What is hazardous work by children?

The concept of hazardous work derives from three principal international conventions – the ILO Convention No. 138 on the Minimum Age (1973), the ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999) and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) – and refers to work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm or jeopardize the health, safety or morals of children. The use of the term “likely” in the conventions means that it is not necessary to prove through research or other means that the work will *definitely* result in illness or injury or some other negative consequence but, instead, that there is a substantial threat of such an occurrence.

It is helpful to think of hazardous work of children in terms of two distinct age groups: the younger children who are under the minimum age for work and should be in school, and the older children who are of legal working age. Generally speaking, if the very young are in hazardous work, they are the priority for action. If what they do is likely to put their health or development at risk, the only option in the case of younger children is to remove them from the work, while for older children, the focus of the current section, there is a choice: either they may be removed from the hazardous

Figure 22. Hazardous child labour and youth employment

Source: IPEC (2011), op. cit.

situation, or the risks may be reduced through improvement in working conditions such that the work is no longer likely to put their health at risk.⁸⁰

In order to permit international comparisons, in this section we rely on the hazardous list and estimation methodology utilized by the ILO in producing its global child labour estimates (see Box 6).⁸¹ The construction of the ILO list was informed by national hazardous work lists (see Appendix 2), but is not necessarily consistent with the specific list in each country. The resulting national estimates are therefore also not necessarily in line with those derived from the national lists; however, these estimates do constitute useful benchmarks for the purpose of international comparisons.

⁸⁰ In instances in which adolescents in the 15–17 years age group are working in sectors or occupations that are designated as hazardous or where there is no scope for improving working conditions, the legal requirement is that they must be removed from the hazardous job. Risk mitigation is a strategic option in instances where youth are exposed to hazards in sectors or occupations that are not designated as hazardous in national hazardous work lists and where scope for changing work conditions exists. A crucial fact to remember is that work in the presence of hazards is not necessarily hazardous work.

⁸¹ For a detailed discussion, see IPEC (2013), op. cit.

Box 6. Estimating hazardous work

It is important to reiterate that the ILO Conventions No. 138 and No. 182 state that the specific types of employment or work constituting hazardous work are determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority. From a strictly legal standpoint, in other words, there is no standard international list of hazardous jobs and occupations, but rather a series of unique national lists (see Appendix 2). What constitutes hazardous work in legal terms differs from one country to the next. Following from this, there can be no standard statistical measure of hazardous work that is valid across all countries.

Table A. List of hazardous industries and occupations designated as hazardous for the purpose of the ILO global estimates

Industry	
Mining and quarrying (ISIC Rev 3 codes 10-14)	
Construction (ISIC Rev 3 code 45)	
Occupation	
Optical and electrical equipment operators (ISCO-88-313)	Power production, related plant operators (ISCO-88-816)
Health associated professionals (ISCO-88-322)	Metal and mineral machine operators (ISCO-88-821)
Nursing midwife (ISCO-88-323)	Chemical machine operators (ISCO-88-822)
Protective services (ISCO-88-516)	Rubber machine operators (ISCO-88-823)
Forestry and related workers (ISCO-88-614)	Wood products machine operators (ISCO-88-825)
Fishery, hunters and trappers (ISCO-88-615)	Textile, fur, leather machine operator (ISCO-88-826)
Miners, shotfirers, stone cutters and carvers (ISCO-88-711)	Food machine operators (ISCO-88-827)
Building frame and related workers (ISCO-88-712)	Assemblers (ISCO-88-828)
Building finishers (ISCO-88-713)	Other machine operators (ISCO-88-829)
Metal moulders, welders and related workers (ISCO-88-721)	Motor vehicle drivers (ISCO-88-832)
Blacksmith, tool makers and related workers (ISCO-88-722)	Agriculture, other mobile plant operator (ISCO-88-833)
Machinery mechanics and fitters (ISCO-88-723)	Ships' deck crew, related workers (ISCO-88-834)
Electrical, electronic equip. mech. & fitters (ISCO-88-724)	Street vendors and related workers (ISCO-88-911)
Precision workers in metal (ISCO-88-731)	Shoe cleaning, other street services (ISCO-88-912)
Potters, glass makers and related workers (ISCO-88-732)	Messengers, porters, doorkeepers. (ISCO-88-915)
Mining, mineral processing plant operators (ISCO-88-811)	Garbage collectors, related workers (ISCO-88-916)
Metal processing plant operators (ISCO-88-812)	Agriculture fishery, related workers (ISCO-88-921)
Glass, ceramics and related plant operators (ISCO-88-813)	Mining and construction labourers (ISCO-88-931)
Wood processing and papermaking plant operators (ISCO-88-814)	Transport and freight handlers (ISCO-88-933)
Chemical processing plant operators (ISCO-88-815)	

The ILO estimation methodology can be summarized as follows. First, among employed adolescents aged 15 to 17 years, all those engaged in designated hazardous industries are identified. Designated hazardous industries are, for the purpose of ILO global estimates, listed above. Second, among the children engaged in other branches of economic activity, those employed in designated hazardous occupations are identified. Designated hazardous occupations, again for the purpose of ILO global estimates, are also listed above. Third, among the children not engaged in either hazardous industries or hazardous occupations, those who worked long hours during the reference week are then sorted out. Long hours are defined for the present purpose as 43 or more hours of work during the reference week. The 43-hour threshold corresponds to about the mid-point of normal hours of work stipulated in national legislations, mostly in the range of 40 to 44 hours. The final step involves separating among the children not engaged in hazardous industries or occupations, nor in long hours of work, those who were exposed nevertheless to some hazardous work conditions not captured by the designated hazardous industries or occupations, or by long hours of work. These hazardous work conditions include night work, exposure to physical, psychological or sexual abuse; work underground, under water, 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; and 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 their health (ILO Recommendation No. 190, paragraph 3 and Resolution concerning child labour statistics, paragraph 24).

Source: IPEC (2013), op. cit.

Prevalence of hazardous work among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years

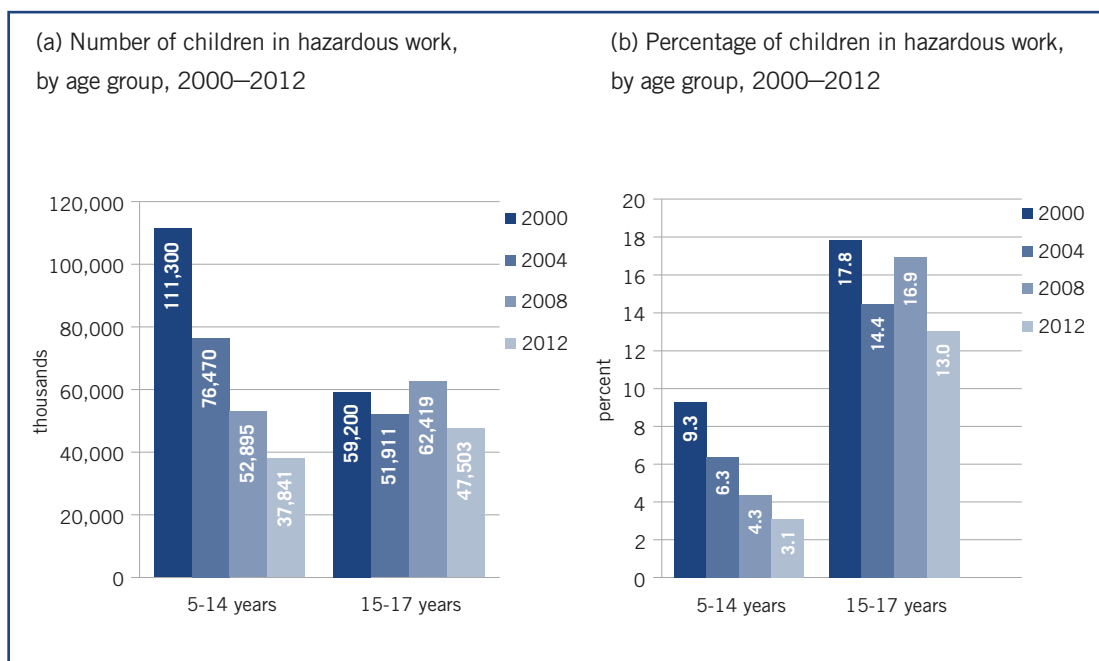
The global picture

The latest ILO global estimates for the year 2012 suggest that both the share and absolute numbers of adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work remains considerable. Out of a total of 47.5 million adolescents aged 15 to 17 years, 13 per cent were in hazardous work in 2012.⁸² Boys' involvement in hazardous work substantially exceeds that of girls' with 38.7 million 15 to 17 year-old boys in hazardous work in 2012 compared to only 8.8 million of their female peers. While the ultimate policy goal should be decent work, these figures make it clear that a critical first priority in achieving this goal needs to be the removal of adolescents from hazardous forms of employment.

The ILO global estimates also show a general decline in the incidence of hazardous work, although this decline has been much slower among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years than among those aged 5 to 14 years. While hazardous work incidence among children aged 5 to 14 years fell by two-thirds over the 2000 to 2012 period, from 9.3 per cent to 3.1 per cent, the decline among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years was much less

⁸² Idem.

Figure 23. The decline in incidence of hazardous work has been much slower among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years



Source: IPEC (2013), op. cit.

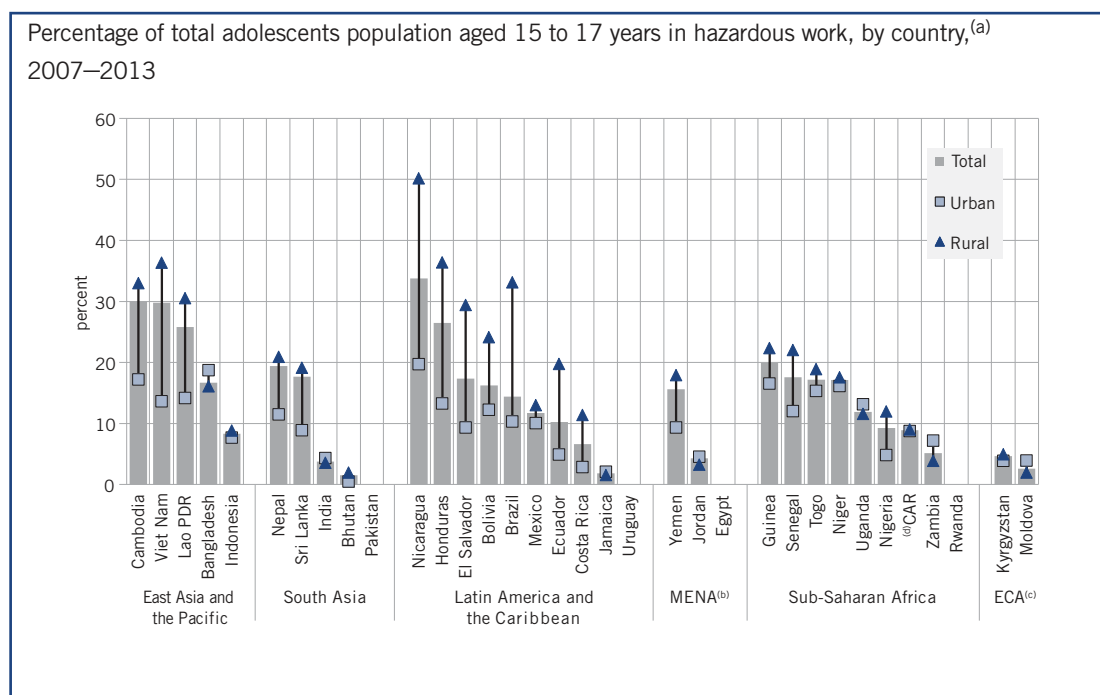
dramatic, going from 17.8 per cent in 2000 to 13 per cent in 2012. Moreover, hidden in this overall decline was an *increase* in the incidence of hazardous work in the 15–17 years age group in the period from 2004 to 2008, underscoring that progress can be tenuous. While we appear to be moving in the right direction, therefore, in terms of reducing hazardous work among adolescents, we are still moving too slowly to achieve the *elimination* of hazardous work in this age group in the foreseeable future.

The country picture

Country-specific numbers and shares of adolescents in hazardous work are reported in Figure 24. The list of countries is limited by data availability and is therefore unfortunately far from complete, underscoring the general need to improve statistics on hazardous work (the country-specific data sources are listed in Appendix 1, Table A3). The estimates indicate that there are substantial shares of young persons in hazardous work in most countries where data are available, although there is large variation across countries and regions.⁸³ The incidence of hazardous work among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years is highest in Nicaragua (34 per cent), Cambodia (30 per cent) Honduras (27 per cent) and Lao PDR (26 per cent). The *number* of adolescents in hazardous work is greatest in populous India (2.4 million), Pakistan (1.3 million) and Indonesia (1.2 million).

⁸³ As survey instruments and survey reference data differ across countries, national comparisons are indicative only.

Figure 24. A high share of adolescents in many countries hold jobs that are hazardous and therefore constitute child labour



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (c) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region.

Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

There is substantial variation in terms of the involvement in hazardous work between rural and urban areas in many countries. The countries which have the largest rural/urban differences, e.g. Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Brazil, Ecuador, Cambodia, Viet Nam and Lao PDR, where agriculture predominates in the rural areas, consistently have the highest hazardous rates. This highlights the importance of area- and sector-specific targeting of interventions which address hazardous work among adolescents. Gender factors also appear important in determining involvement in hazardous work, as discussed further below.

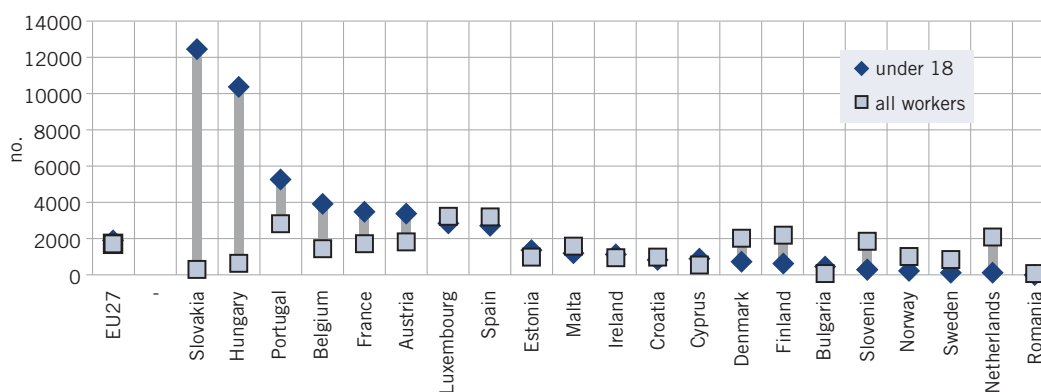
It is worth noting that while we lack data on the incidence of hazardous employment among adolescents in industrialized economies, European data on adolescents *job accident* rates, discussed in Box 7, indicate that hazardous work among adolescents is by no means limited to the developing world.

Box 7. Adolescents hazardous work in industrialized economies

Many employed adolescents in industrialized economies are also affected by hazardous work conditions. European data show that young workers have higher accident rates than adults, although the average severity of accidents concerning young workers is lower.^(a) This pattern is not, however, constant across sectors, as illustrated in the figures below. In the industry sector in 2011, the incidence rate in the 27 EU countries of non-fatal accidents at work^(b) stood at 1,518 (per 100,000 persons in employment) for those aged less than 18 years and at 1,251 (per 100,000 persons in employment) for workers generally.^(c) By contrast in the agriculture sector, the incidence rate was slightly lower for young workers (1,251 versus 1,518 per 100,000 persons in employment).

Figure A. Adolescents in industrialized economies are also affected by hazardous work conditions

(1) Incidence rate of non-fatal accidents, workers aged less than 18 years and total workers, industry sector, 2011



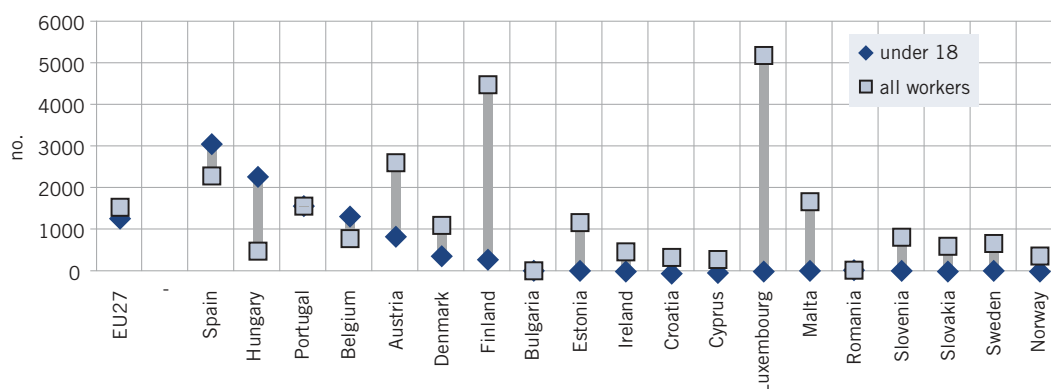
There are also large differences across countries in the risk of accidents faced by young workers relative to all workers. In the industry sector, the incidence of accidents of adolescents relative to all workers is highest in Slovakia and Hungary. In the former, for instance, the incidence rate is over 12,000 for young workers against only 311 for workers generally. In the agriculture sector, the incidence rate for younger workers is particularly high relative to all workers in Hungary and Spain.

It is worth noting that there has been important progress in the EU in terms of reducing accidents in the workplace, particularly for younger workers. The number of non-fatal accidents (with more than three days' absence) has been decreasing since the early 2000s, as a result of the growing culture of safety at the workplace in member countries. Of particular importance for the purpose of this section, accidents at work in EU15 countries declined almost as twice as fast for young workers (-65%) as for total workers (-34%) between 2001 and 2010. The largest decreases in accidents at work for young workers over the 2001–2011 period occurred in the Netherlands (-95%), Spain (-92%), Italy (-88%) and Luxembourg (-86%).^(d)

Notes: (a) European Statistics on Accidents at Work (ESAW). (b) Resulting in more than three days' absence from work. (c) Eurostat. (d) Fatal accidents at work in sectors agriculture; industry and construction (except mining); services of the business economy (NACE Rev. 2, A, C-N).

Source: Eurostat (extracted on December 2013).

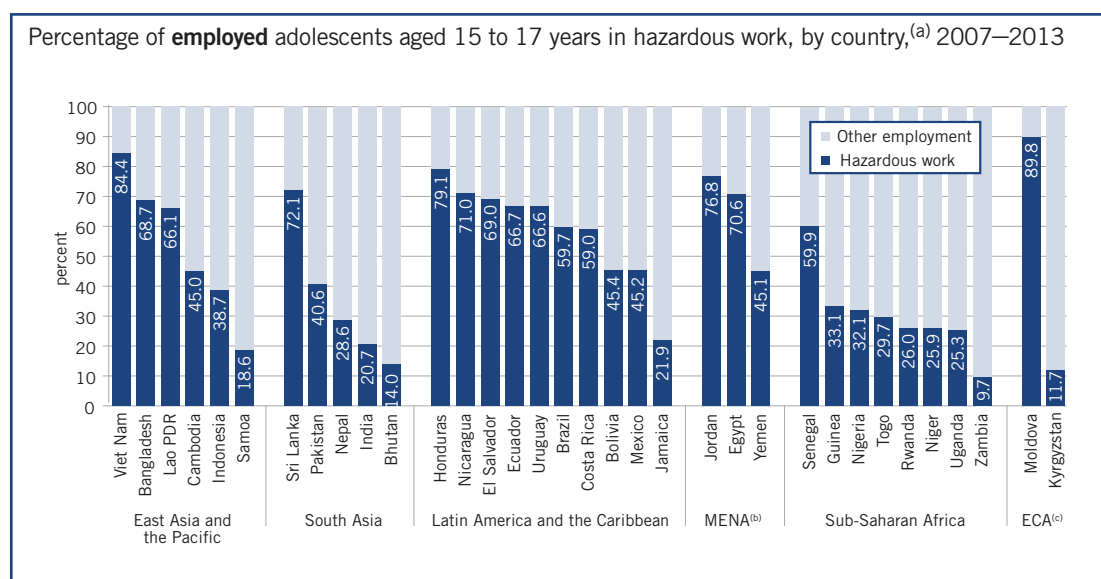
(2) Incidence rate of non-fatal accidents, workers aged less than 18 years and total workers, agriculture sector, 2011



Note: The incidence rate of serious accidents at work is the number of persons involved in accidents at work with more than 3 days' absence per 100,000 persons in employment in the covered population. For France and the Netherlands data refers to 2010.
Source: Eurostat (extracted on December 2013).

Another way of viewing the issue of hazardous employment is by considering its importance *relative to overall* employment for the 15–17 years age group: in other words, the share of *employed* adolescents in this age group that are in hazardous work. We saw earlier that globally those in hazardous work accounted for 40 per cent of those employed in the 15–17 years age group. Country-level estimates, reported in Figure 25, also suggest that a very high share of employed adolescents aged 15 to 17 years are in

Figure 25. Adolescents in hazardous work in fact constitute the majority of employed adolescents in this age group in many countries



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (c) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region.

Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

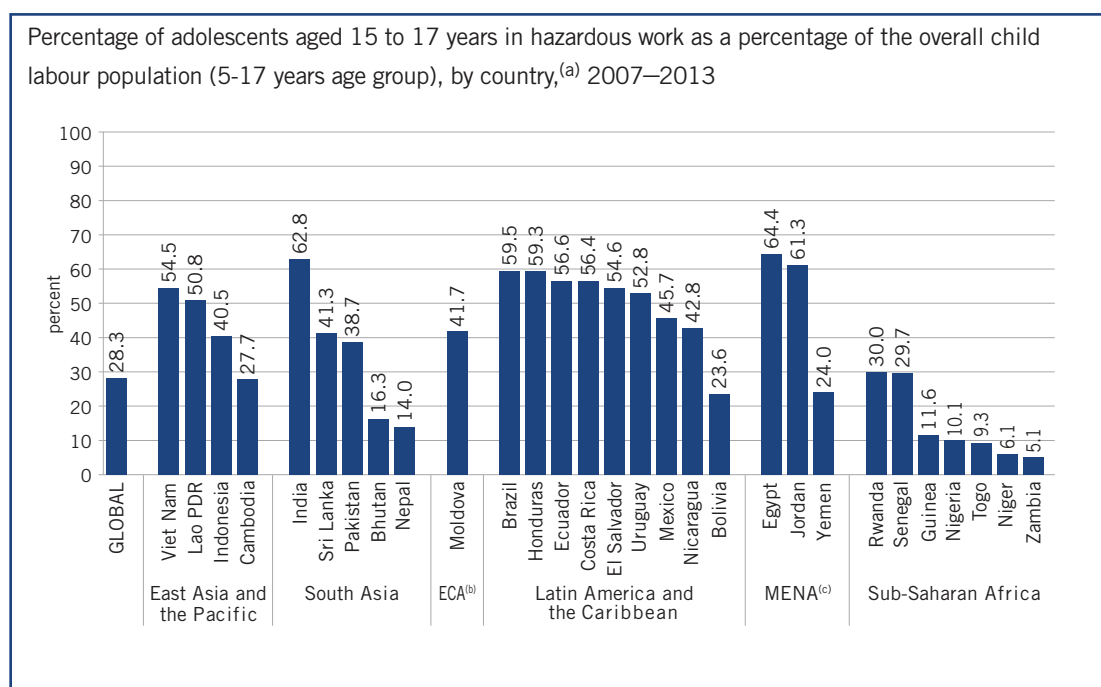
hazardous work. In Moldova, for instance, 90 per cent of employed adolescents are in hazardous work, while in Viet Nam the figure is 84 per cent. At least two-thirds of all jobs held by adolescents aged 15 to 17 years are also hazardous in nature in Bangladesh, Lao PDR, Sri Lanka, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Ecuador, Uruguay and Egypt.

These figures underscore the magnitude of the policy challenge associated with addressing the risks faced by adolescents in the workplace. More broadly, the high incidence of hazardous work is another indication of the size of the “decent work deficit” facing those in the 15–17 years age group: two out of five employed adolescents globally are in hazardous work and undoubtedly many others are in other work that falls short of basic decent work criteria.

Adolescents in hazardous work and the goal of child labour elimination

Both global- and country-level estimates indicate that adolescents in hazardous work constitute a substantial share of the overall child labour population in many contexts. As shown in Figure 26, adolescents in hazardous work make up 28 per cent of the total child labour population globally, and a considerable fraction of total child labourers in most individual countries, especially outside the Sub-Saharan Africa region. In Egypt and India, for instance, adolescents in hazardous work constitute almost two-thirds of all child labourers. They make up at least half of the child labour population also in Brazil, Honduras, Ecuador, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Uruguay, Viet Nam and Jordan.

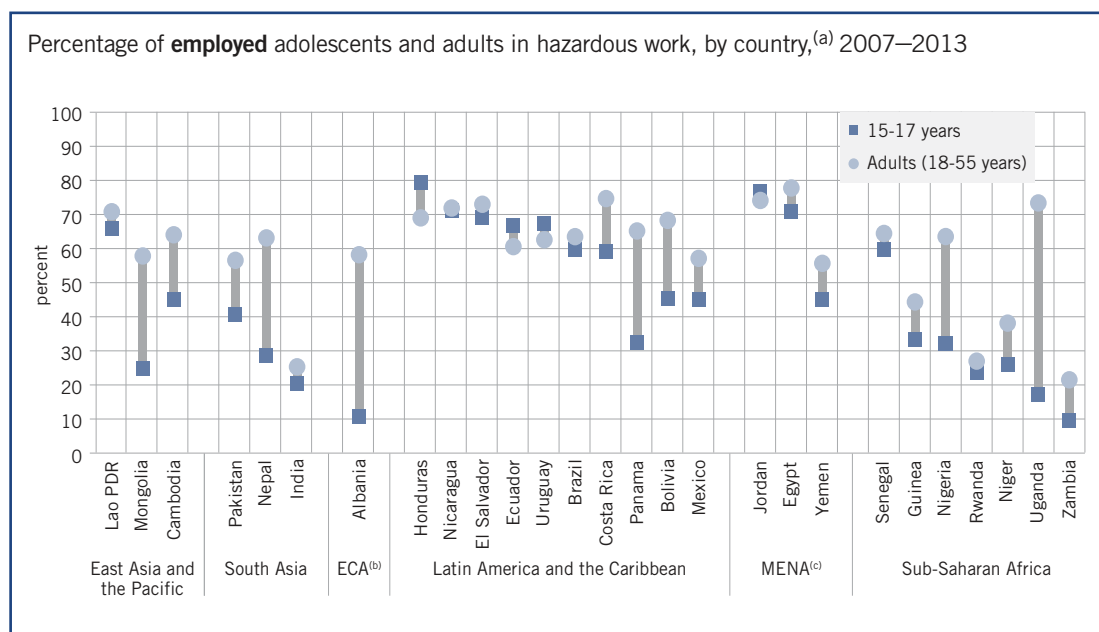
Figure 26. Adolescents in hazardous work also form a substantial share of the *total* child labour population



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region.

Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

Figure 27. There is generally a lower share of adolescent workers than adult workers in hazardous work, although differences in this regard between the groups are often not large



Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region.

Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

The relative importance of the 15–17 years age group in the overall child labour population is growing over time: this age group constituted 24 per cent of the overall child labour population in 2000 but by 2012 their share had grown to over 28 per cent. This change is driven by the fact that the decline in child labour among children aged 5 to 14 years has outpaced the fall in child labour among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years (Figure 23). Addressing child labour among adolescents is therefore becoming increasingly important over time to overall child labour elimination efforts.

Are adolescents at greater risk? Comparing hazardous work prevalence among adolescents and adult workers

Another important question is the hazardousness of adolescent employment *relative to that of their adult counterparts*. In other words, whether adolescents are at greater or less risk of hazardous work than older workers. This question is taken up in Figure 27, which compares the shares of adolescents aged 15 to 17 years and adult workers in hazardous work.

The figure indicates that in more than a third of the countries (11 of 27), adolescent workers are just as likely as adults to be in hazardous work, despite their significantly greater physical and psychological susceptibility to its effects (see Box 8). In four of these countries, i.e., Honduras, Ecuador, Uruguay and Jordan, adolescents are actually slightly *more likely* than adult workers to be in hazardous work.

However, it is important to note, that while we are focusing on children, hazardous work is not acceptable for adult workers either. The ILO Conventions on occupational safety and health (OSH)⁸⁴ and on labour inspection⁸⁵ offer protection for all workers. In fact, nearly half of all ILO instruments deal directly or indirectly with OSH issues.

The ILO Constitution itself sets forth the principle that workers should be protected from sickness, disease and injury arising from their employment. These standards promote basic principles, such as assessment of occupational risks or hazards, and promotion of a culture of prevention that includes information, consultation and training that are valid for workers of all ages.⁸⁶

It has long been recognized that action *against* child labour can also be action *for* decent work for adults. In the case of hazardous work, where economic necessity or deeply ingrained tradition blocks attempts to improve conditions for adult workers, it is sometimes the call to stop child labour that can be the entry point to change. Eliminating hazardous work of children can help improve safety and health of all workers – the ultimate goal.

Box 8. Children are not little adults

Hazardous work cannot be acceptable for children because of basic biology. Children are not simply smaller adults, they are physically and mentally different; and regardless of cultural perceptions or social construct, the transition to biological adulthood extends past puberty well into the late teen years.

This is the foundation for the argument against hazardous work of children ... the rationale for why it is classed as a “worst form of child labour [that] requires immediate and comprehensive action”.⁸⁷

- Children have thinner skin, so toxics are more easily absorbed.
- Children breathe faster and more deeply, so can inhale more airborne pathogens and dusts.
- Children dehydrate more easily due to their larger skin surface and because of their faster breathing.
- Children absorb and retain heavy metals (lead, mercury) in the brain more easily.
- Children’s endocrine system (which plays a key role in growth and development) can be disrupted by chemicals.
- Children’s enzyme systems are still developing so are less able to detoxify hazardous substances.
- Children use more energy when growing and so are at higher risk from metabolized toxins.
- Children require more sleep for proper development.
- Children’s less-developed thermoregulatory systems make them more sensitive to heat and cold.

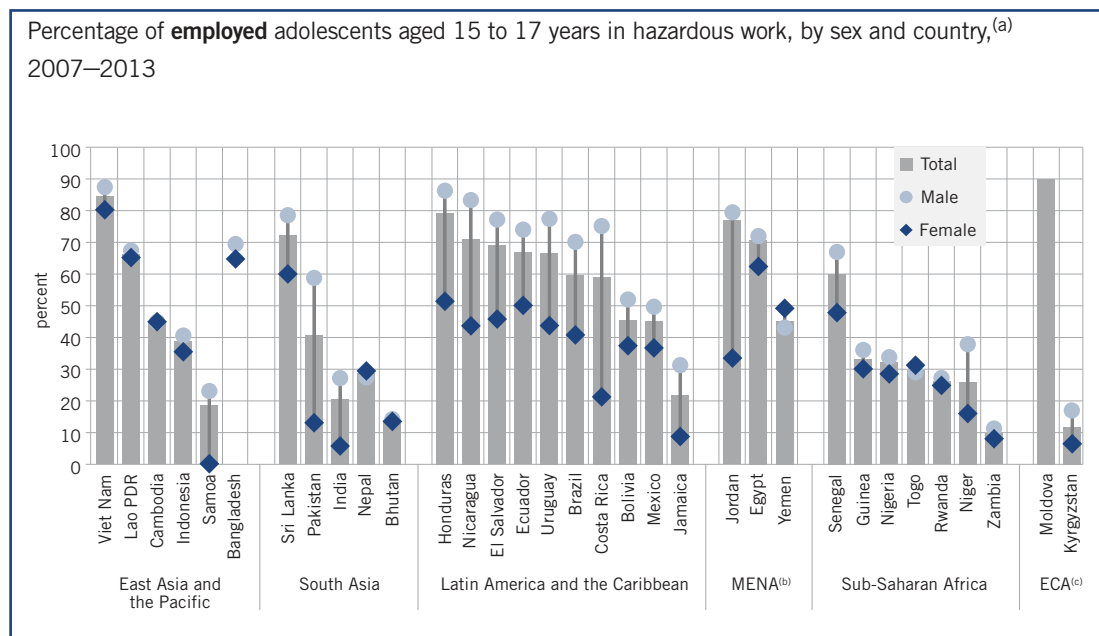
Source: IPEC (2011), op. cit.

⁸⁴ ILO Convention No. 155 on Occupational Safety and Health (1981); ILO Convention No. 187 concerning the Promotional Framework for the Occupational Safety and Health (2006).

⁸⁵ ILO Convention No. 81 on Labour Inspection (1947); or ILO Convention No. 129 on Labour Inspection (Agriculture) (1969).

⁸⁶ For example, ILO Convention No. 187.

⁸⁷ Preamble to the ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999).

Figure 28. Involvement in hazardous work appears to have an important gender dimension

Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (c) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region.

Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

Is there a gender dimension to hazardous work?

Differences by sex in the incidence of hazardous work among older children are dramatic. Globally, males constitute 81 per cent of all adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work and outnumber girls in hazardous work by 29.8 million. In terms of incidence, over 20 per cent of males in the 15–17 years age group are in hazardous work, more than four times that for same-aged females.

It is worth noting that among younger children, the gender pattern is the opposite: the number of younger girls in hazardous work is greater than that of boys, and by a considerable margin.⁸⁸ This suggests that additional differences in the nature of the work performed by boys and girls emerge in the 15–17 years age group, with males more likely, in both relative and absolute terms, to take on work that is hazardous in nature.

The broad global pattern in terms of gender-based differences in hazardous work also appears to hold at the country-level. As reported in Figure 28, a higher share of the jobs held by males in the 15–17 years age group are hazardous in nature in most countries. This is especially the case in the countries of the Latin America and the Caribbean region, as well as in Pakistan and Jordan.

⁸⁸ For children aged 5 to 11 years, girls account for 58 per cent of all children in hazardous work, outnumbering boys by 2.8 million. For children aged 12 to 14 years, girls account for 56 per cent of all children in hazardous work and outnumber boys by 2.3 million.

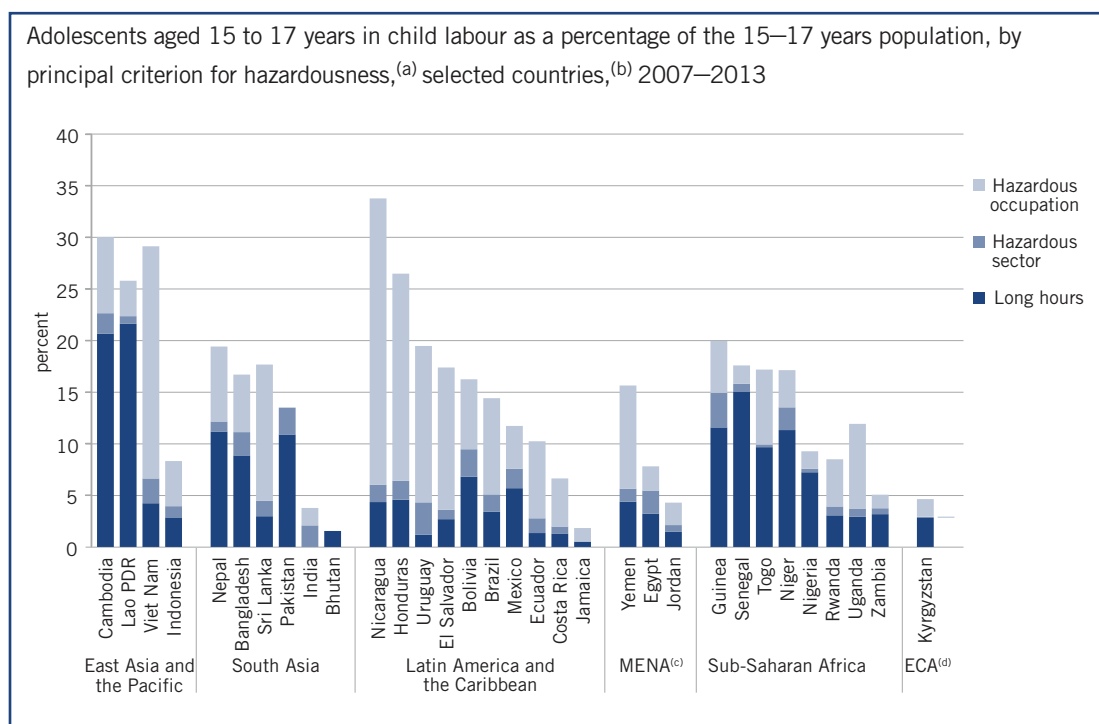
Nature of hazardous work

Hazardous categories

What is the nature of the hazards facing adolescents with hazardous jobs? Recall that we rely on the hazardous list and estimation methodology utilized by the ILO in producing its global child labour estimates (see Box 6). This involves consideration of three main groups in estimating hazardous work: those in hazardous industries, those in hazardous occupations and those working long hours.⁸⁹ Figure 29 reports how adolescents in hazardous work are divided among these three groups. It indicates that working long hours is the most important criterion in Sub-Saharan Africa while hazardous occupations play a relatively larger role in Latin America and the Caribbean.

In other regions the picture is more mixed. In the East Asia and the Pacific and South Asia regions, long hours are most important with the exceptions of Sri Lanka and Indonesia where jobs in hazardous occupations play a greater role, and in India, where both hazardous occupations and hazardous industries play important roles. In

Figure 29. Long hours is the most important criterion for child labour among adolescents



Notes: (a) Recall that groups are identified in the following sequence. First, among employed adolescents aged 15 to 17 years, all those engaged in designated hazardous industries are identified. Second, among the children engaged in other branches of economic activity, those employed in designated hazardous occupations are identified. Third, among the children not engaged in either hazardous industries or hazardous occupations, those who worked long hours during the reference week are then sorted out. Long hours are defined for the present purpose as 43 or more hours of work during the reference week. The 43-hour threshold corresponds to about the mid-point of normal hours of work stipulated in national legislations, mostly in the range of 40 to 44 hours. (b) Countries are selected on the basis of data availability. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region.

Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

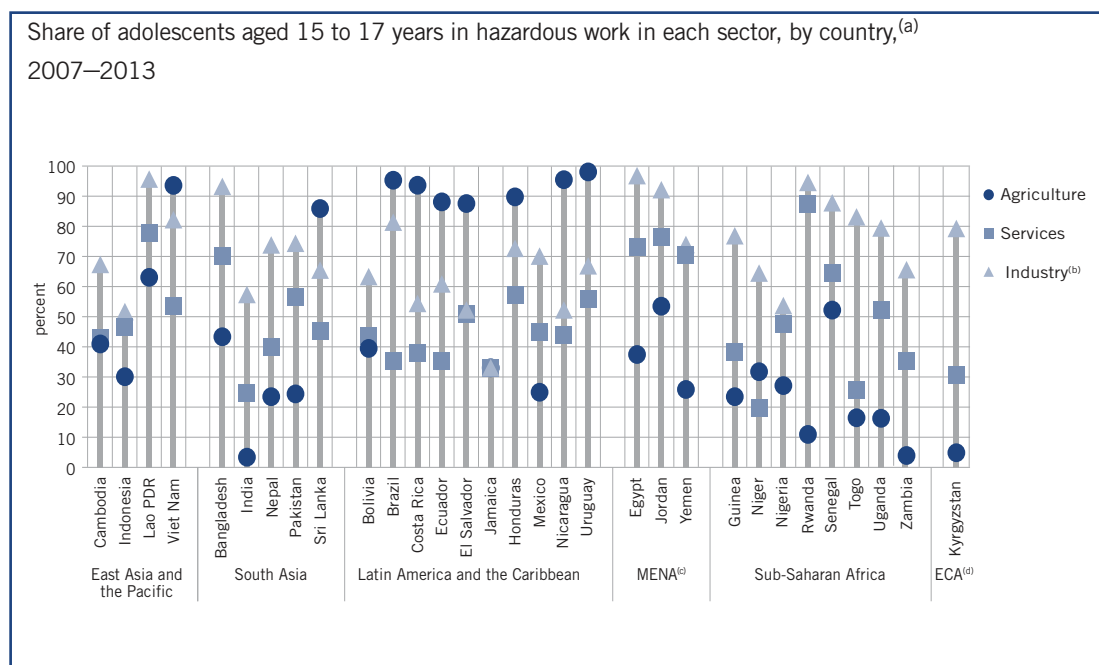
⁸⁹ Where data are available, those facing other hazardous work conditions are also considered in the estimation methodology.

the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, both long hours and hazardous occupations are important in Jordan and Yemen, and all three hazardousness criteria (hours, occupation and industry) are relevant in Egypt.⁹⁰

Where are the hazardous jobs of adolescents concentrated?

Calculating the share of employed adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work in each sector offers further detail in terms of where in the economy the risk of hazardous work is greatest. The industry sector, which includes manufacturing, electricity, gas, water, mining and construction, appears to be the most important sector in this regard although there is significant variation across countries and regions (Figure 30). Adolescents working in industry face the greatest risk of hazards in all regions except Latin America and the Caribbean. In this region, the agriculture sector, which comprises fishing, forestry, livestock herding and aquaculture, in addition to subsistence and commercial farming, is where employed adolescents are most likely to find themselves in hazardous jobs. There are only two exceptions to these regional patterns – Bolivia (where unlike other regional countries work in industry is most hazardous) and Sri Lanka (where unlike other regional countries work in agriculture is most hazardous).

Figure 30. Hazardous work appears especially common among adolescents employed in industry and agriculture

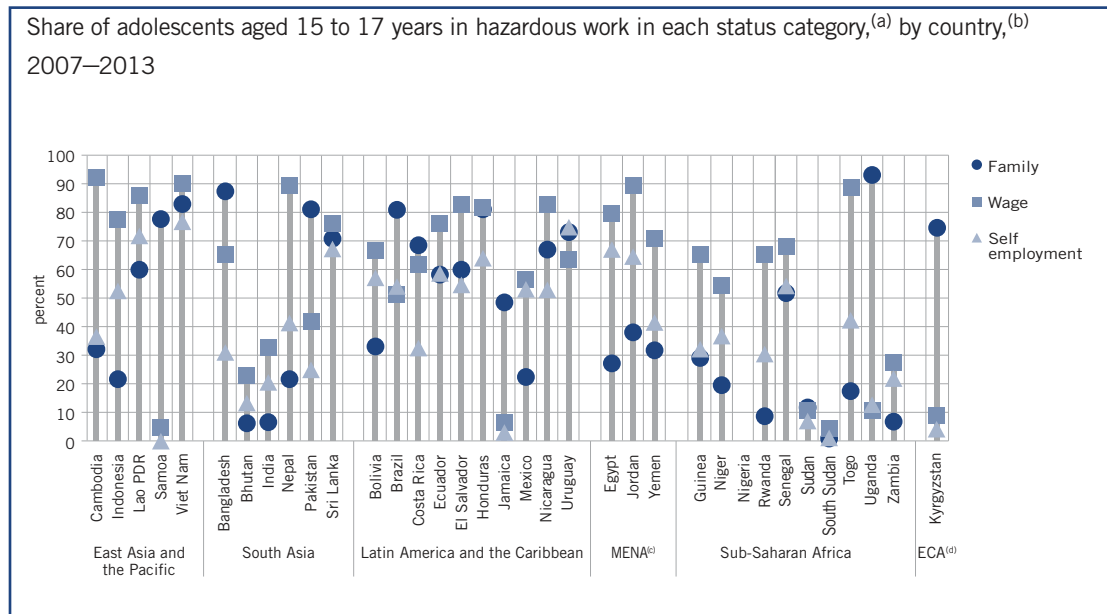


Notes: (a) Countries are selected on the basis of data availability. (b) Industry includes manufacturing, electricity, gas, water, mining and construction. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region.

Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

⁹⁰ It should be noted, however, that these results are driven in important part by the construction of our hazardous work indicator.

Figure 31. Hazardous work appears especially common among adolescents working in paid employment jobs and family work



Notes: (a) The distribution does not sum to 100 as the category other is omitted. (b) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (c) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region. (d) ECA - Eastern Europe and Central Asia region. Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

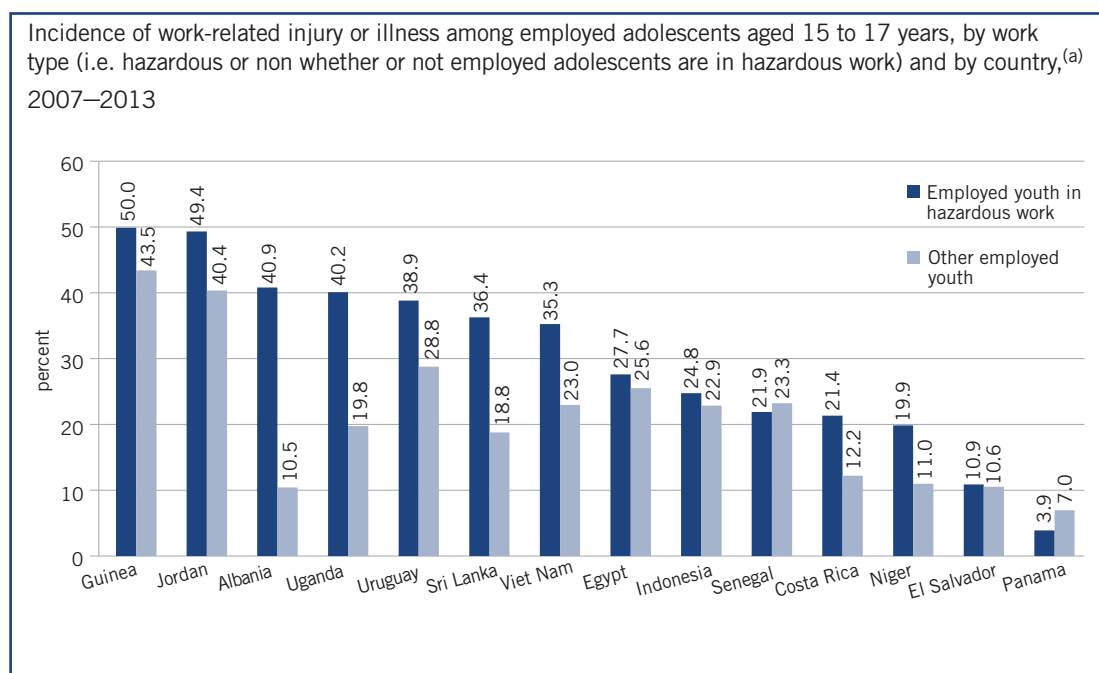
In terms of status in employment, hazardous jobs appear most common among adolescents working in paid employment jobs (Figure 31). Two observations are relevant in the context of these figures. First, the high share of paid employment jobs that are hazardous in many countries is noteworthy, as paid employment is often treated as being higher “quality” or more desirable than other forms of employment. Paid employment jobs are clearly not a guarantee of non-hazardous work and are even less a guarantee, therefore, when it comes to the more restrictive concept of decent work. Second, while the figures suggest that the family constitutes a safer workplace for adolescents in most countries (Pakistan, Brazil and Costa Rica are exceptions), family work is far from hazard free in any of the countries where data are available.

Impact of hazardous work

Work-related illness and injury

Hazardous work translates into greater incidence of work-related illness and injury in most countries. This correlation is illustrated in Figure 32, which reports the share of employed adolescents in hazardous and non-hazardous work who suffer adverse health effects resulting from their work. Again, the list of countries is limited by data availability and therefore is far from complete. In some, e.g., Albania and Sri Lanka, the apparent link between hazardousness and ill health is especially strong.

Figure 32. Adolescents in hazardous work are more likely to suffer adverse health effects resulting from their work



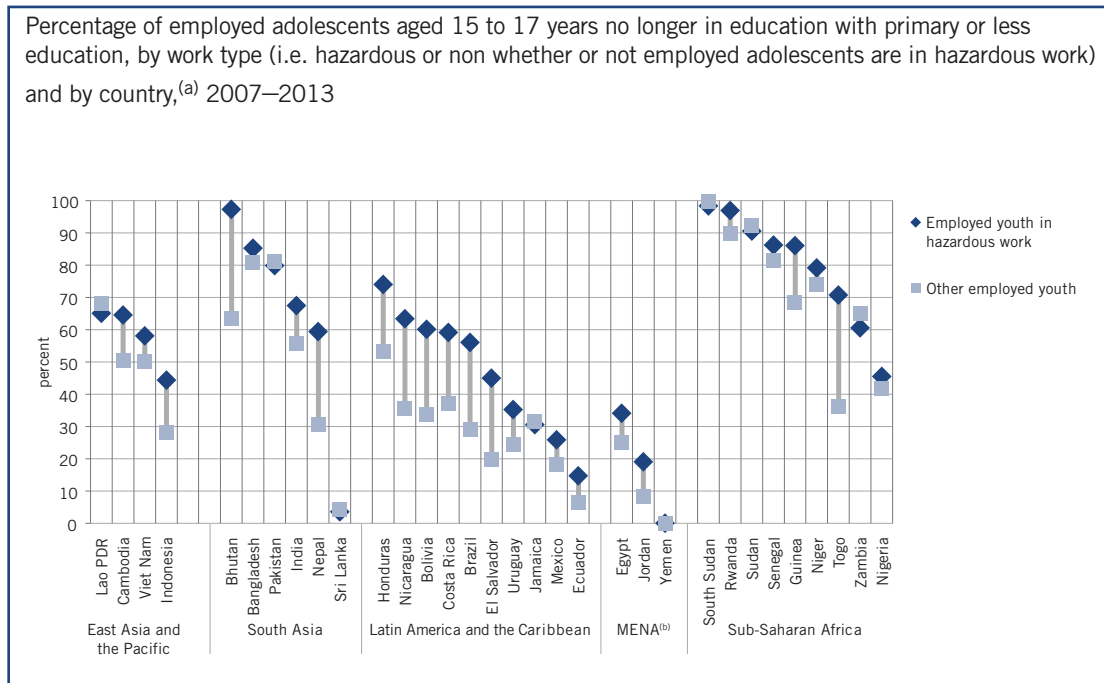
Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability.

Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

But these results are from a very general set of survey questions relating to self-reported injuries and episodes of illness. They are reliant on recall and self-perceptions which differ across groups and do not provide a sense of severity or the degree of health risk for a given unit of work time. As such, the estimates of work-related ill-health presented in Figure 32 are at best an imperfect indicator of how hazardous work affects the health of young workers. The lack of detailed information on the health effects of hazardous work is a problem in most of the developing world, where there is virtually no systematic reporting on occupational injuries and illnesses for children. Even for the industrialized countries, work-related injuries and illnesses are systematically under-reported.

Education

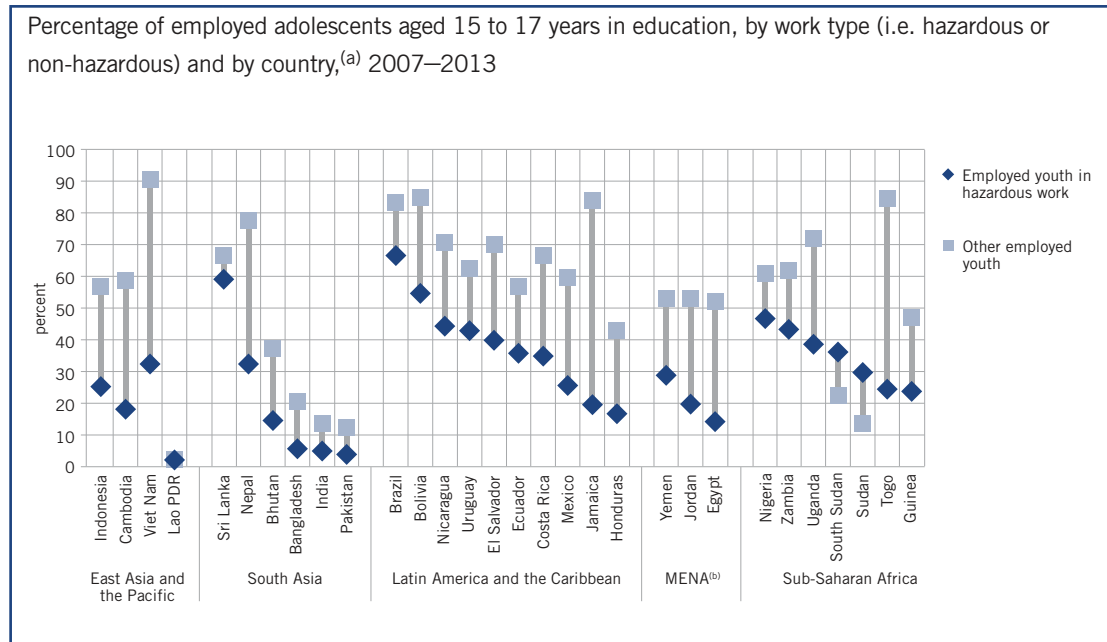
Adolescents in hazardous work appear disadvantaged educationally, in turn affecting their prospects for upward mobility and for securing decent work in the future. As reported in Figure 33, among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years no longer in school, those in hazardous work generally have much lower levels of educational attainment than those in other forms of employment. In other words, those in hazardous work tend to begin transition from school to work at an earlier age. This reinforces the results presented in Part IV indicating that employment outcomes are poorer for early school leavers.

Figure 33. Adolescents in hazardous work are more likely to have left school early

Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region.
Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

Of course, work and education are not necessarily mutually exclusive activities. Many adolescents take an initial job while continuing to invest in their education and to advance their labour market prospects. Adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work, however, appear generally less able to do this than similarly aged adolescents in other employment. As reported in Figure 34, the differences in this regard are often dramatic. In Viet Nam, for example, only 34 per cent of adolescents in hazardous work are able to continue with their education against over 90 per cent of adolescents in other jobs. Similarly in Jamaica, there is a 65 percentage point difference in the education participation between adolescents in hazardous work and adolescents in other employment. In Togo, the difference in education participation between the two groups is 60 percentage points.

Clearly, the conditions of hazardous work restrict the likelihood of continued education. Hazardous work therefore not only poses serious immediate risk to health and safety, it also appears to constrain the ability of adolescents to acquire the education necessary to eventually escape from hazardous work.

Figure 34. Adolescents in hazardous work are much less likely to be continuing with their education

Notes: (a) Countries selected on the basis of data availability. (b) MENA - Middle East and North Africa region.

Source: Calculations based on national household surveys (see Appendix 1, Table A3).

PART VI

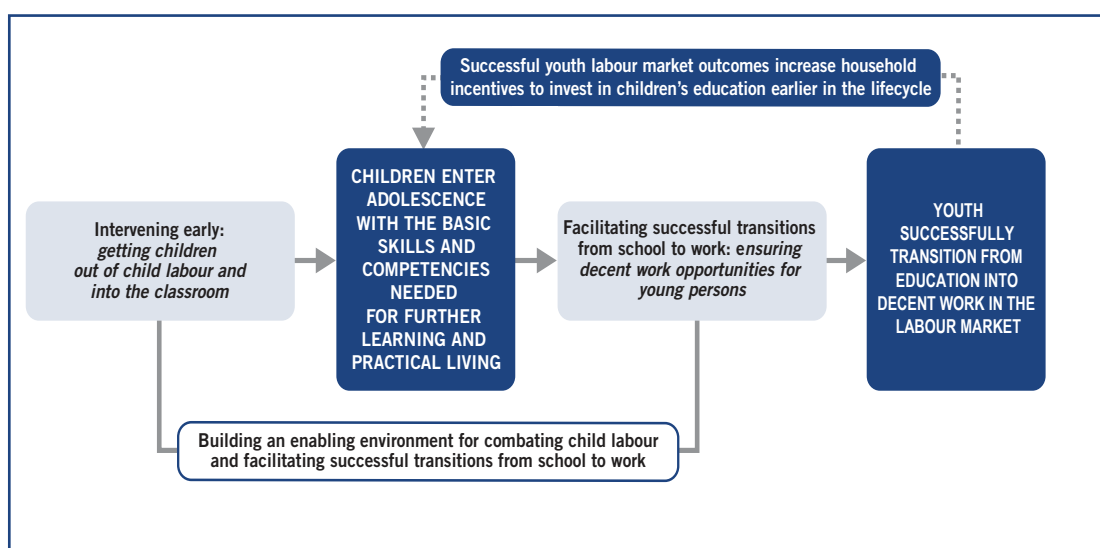
The way forward

A coherent policy approach for tackling child labour and the youth decent work deficit

The case for accelerated global action targeting child labour and the lack of decent work opportunities for youth is very clear. Some 168 million children remain trapped in child labour, while at the same time there are 75 million young persons aged 15 to 24 years of age who are unemployed and many more who must settle for jobs that fail to offer a fair income, security in the workplace, social protection or other basic decent work attributes.

The previous sections of this Report have demonstrated the close link between child labour and youth employment outcomes. In Part VI we discuss the logical policy conclusion emerging from this link – *the need for a coherent policy approach that tackles child labour and the youth decent work deficit in an integrated fashion*. Looking forward, promoting decent work for all will be a critical part of the Post-2015 Development Agenda and one of the core Sustainable Development Goals for the post-

Figure 35. A coherent policy response to child labour and the lack of decent work opportunities for youth



2015 period. Such a coherent policy approach to child labour and youth employment will be central to the achievement of this goal.

Policy coherence means ensuring that policies take into full account the close relationship between child labour and youth employment outcomes in the countries where child labour is a relevant issue. Figure 35 illustrates this in more concrete terms. A set of evidence-based policies early in the lifecycle is needed to promote schooling as an alternative to child labour, and, following from this, to ensure that children enter adolescence with the basic skills and competencies needed for further learning and securing decent work. This foundation is in turn crucial to the success of policies at the next stage of the lifecycle for promoting improved youth employment outcomes, and for ensuring that youth successfully transition from education into decent work. Policy success in creating decent work opportunities for youth can also have an important positive feedback effect earlier in the lifecycle by creating incentives for parents to invest in the education of their younger children.

To ensure policies translate into coherent action, strengthening collaboration amongst relevant stakeholders is also needed. Child labour and the youth decent work deficit are a labour, economic, human rights, cultural and social issue. Different stakeholders have a key role to play. For instance, agricultural stakeholders can address the hazards of the work: improve/change agricultural technology and practices as well as the structure of agricultural production, in turn, contributing to the elimination of child labour and promotion of youth employment in their sector.

In the following sections of this section we look at some of the specific components of a coherent policy response to child labour and the youth decent work deficit. But before entering this discussion, it is important to emphasize the broader need for “enabling” the economic and legal environment as a foundation and prerequisite for progress in the fields of child labour and youth employment.

Creating the conditions for change: *An enabling economic and legal environment*

First and foremost, sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, a critical component of the Post-2015 Development Agenda, will be essential in enabling decent work opportunities for youth and ultimately in erasing the youth decent work deficit. It will also be critical in enabling vulnerable families to reduce their reliance on their children’s labour. Policies encouraging such growth can support youth employment by encouraging economic diversification and the development of sectors that are conducive to the creation of decent work for youth. Expanded decent work opportunities have the added effect of increasing returns to education, and, consequently, encouraging children to remain in school rather than enter work prematurely.

A strong government commitment to investment in the key sectors of education and social security will also be critical in the progress in eliminating child labour and erasing the decent work deficit. While national resource ceilings of course matter, decisions concerning resource *allocations* can have a significant impact within a given resource

ceiling. Indeed, there are many examples of countries that achieve more with fewer resources due to a commitment to allocate these resources to areas that matter the most to children and youth. It is also imperative that international cooperation, partnerships and assistance continue in supporting national efforts related to child labour and youth employment. Social partners have important roles to play in this context.

Achieving sustainable progress in combating child labour and promoting decent work for youth also requires a supportive legislative environment which is in line with international standards and which is effectively mainstreamed into national development plans and programmes. This has the important effect of signalling national intent and of providing a framework for action. Within the child labour context, the ratification of ILO Convention No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour and ILO Convention No. 138 on the Minimum Age has now occurred in most countries of the world. The critical next step on the legislative front is to ensure that these Conventions are effectively domesticated into national legislation and effectively enforced. This process should include the elaboration of national lists of hazardous work that is prohibited for all persons below the age of 18 years.

In the context of youth employment, it is critical to ensure young persons' rights at work in order that they receive equal treatment and are protected from abuse and exposure to hazards.⁹¹ The ILC's 2012 resolution identifies a number of key areas that can guide governments and their social partners in developing youth employment policies that are consistent with the provisions of international labour standards. In particular, the enforcement of labour laws and collective agreements should be strengthened, and the participation of young people in employers' and workers' organizations and in social dialogue should be enhanced.

Intervening early: Getting children out of child labour and into school

Part III of this Report illustrates how children's early school leaving and premature involvement in work can negatively influence the pathways to work taken by young persons. This evidence underscores the critical importance of intervening early in the lifecycle to combat child labour and educational marginalization as part of a broader strategy to improve youth employment outcomes. Removing children from work and getting them into school are not only key goals in and of themselves but also critical to ensuring that children enter adolescence with the basic knowledge and skills for further learning and successfully transitioning to working life. Early intervention also obviates the need for more costly remedial measures later in the lifecycle. The goal of child labour elimination, in other words, is a necessary starting point for the realization of the global Decent Work Agenda for all, including among youth.

⁹¹ A recent learning package to support trade unions, employment services, education and training institutions, as well as youth organizations, in their initiatives aimed at raising young people's awareness of their rights at work, see ILO (2014), *op. cit.*

Fortunately we do not have to reinvent the wheel in terms of how to intervene to combat child labour. We can build on the wide body of evidence concerning the causes of child labour and extensive programming experience addressing child labour that has accumulated over the last two decades. The *Roadmap for Achieving the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour*, adopted at The Hague Global Child Labour Conference (2010) and the *Brasilia Declaration on Child Labour* emerging from the III Global Child Labour Conference (2013) together offer a key framework for policy efforts.

The evidence and experience accumulated to date points to two policy pillars which are especially important in combating child labour: education and social protection. Ensuring free, compulsory and quality education through to the minimum age of employment, provides families with the opportunity to invest in their children's education as an alternative to child labour and makes it worthwhile for them to do so. Expanding social protection helps prevent child labour from being used as a household survival strategy in the face of economic shocks and social vulnerability. Specific policy options relating to education and social protection are listed in Table 1 below.

Facilitating the transition from school to work: *Promoting decent work opportunities for youth*

Part IV above presented evidence on how increased demand for skills and greater returns to education can translate into increased investment in education. The labour market prospects of young persons, in other words, and in particular, returns to education in the labour market, can have a strong influence on household decisions concerning the division of children's time between work and school earlier in the lifecycle. These findings represent another important argument for addressing youth employment and child labour issues hand-in-hand: not only does child labour affect youth employment prospects but youth employment prospects plainly affect child labour. Expanding decent work opportunities for youth, and particularly for vulnerable youth, it follows, is not only critical for addressing the youth employment crisis but is also a necessary element of a strategy that addresses child labour.

Again, it is not necessary to reinvent the wheel in terms of how to promote and facilitate the transition to decent work. While there is no one-size-fits all approach to tackling the youth employment crisis the extensive existing body of evidence and policy experience points to a set of core policy areas that need to be considered in relation to national and local circumstances. The ILO provides comprehensive guidance based on past evidence and experience in *the Call for Action on the Youth Employment Crisis* agreed by governments, workers and employers at the June, 2012 International Labour Conference.⁹² Besides pro-employment macroeconomic policies, specific types of interventions considered particularly relevant include enhancing young people's

⁹² ILO (2012), op. cit.

employability through investing in education and training; strengthening labour market institutions; and encouraging youth entrepreneurship.⁹³ Specific policy options for promoting decent work opportunities for youth are listed in Table 1.

Addressing adolescents in hazardous work: *Eliminating child labour among those aged 15 to 17 years*

Hazardous work among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years constitutes a worst form of child labour and a violation of international labour standards. It also constitutes a major obstacle to achieving decent work for all, including among youth. Part V presented information indicating that both the share and absolute numbers of adolescents aged 15 to 17 years in hazardous work is considerable. A total of 47.5 million adolescents of this age group are in hazardous work, accounting for 40 per cent of all employed adolescents aged 15 to 17 years and over one-quarter of all child labourers. These stark numbers underscore the importance of according special attention to the critical 15–17 years age group in efforts to combat child labour *and* in efforts to promote decent work for youth.

It is important to note that while we are focusing here on children, hazardous work is not acceptable for adult workers either. The ILO Conventions on occupational safety and health (OSH)⁹⁴ and on labour inspection⁹⁵ offer protection for all workers. Eliminating hazardous work of children can help improve safety and health of all workers – the ultimate goal.

In instances where adolescents in the 15–17 years age group are working in sectors or occupations that are designated as hazardous⁹⁶ or where there is no scope for improving working conditions, the policy requirement is clear – they must be removed from the hazardous job. In these instances it is imperative that there is a strategy in place for providing withdrawn youth with adequate support services and second chances for securing decent work. Risk mitigation is a strategic option in instances where youth are exposed to hazards in sectors or occupations that are *not designated as hazardous in national hazardous work lists* and where scope for change

⁹³ Much of the following text is derived from ILO (2013a), op. cit., Chapter 6 on policies for youth employment. Direct quotes are marked in italics.

⁹⁴ ILO Convention No. 155 on Occupational Safety and Health (1981); ILO Convention No. 187 concerning the Promotional Framework for the Occupational Safety and Health (2006).

⁹⁵ ILO Convention No. 81 on Labour Inspection (1947); or ILO Convention No. 129 on Labour Inspection (Agriculture) (1969).

⁹⁶ It is important to reiterate that ILO Conventions No. 138 and No. 182 state that the specific types of employment or work constituting hazardous work are determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority. When countries ratify ILO Conventions No. 182 and No. 138, they commit themselves to determining work to be prohibited to persons under 18 years of age. Article 4 of ILO Convention No. 182 in this context specifies: The types of work referred to under Article 3(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] shall be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, taking into consideration relevant international standards, in particular Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation, 1999.

in work conditions exists. Such a strategy involves measures to remove the hazard, to separate the child sufficiently from the hazard so as not to be exposed, or minimize the risk associated with that hazard. Promoting the integration of occupational safety and health criteria and hazardous child labour into the organizing and bargaining agendas of trade unions should be another key element of a strategy to combat hazardous work among youth. Specific policy options for addressing adolescents in hazardous work are listed in Table 1.

Mainstreaming gender: Accounting for the special vulnerabilities of female children and youth

Adequately accounting for gender concerns is critical to the success of early interventions to combat child labour and of later interventions promoting successful transition to decent work. As noted at various points in this Report, girl children face special barriers in terms of exercising their rights to education and protection from child labour, owing to factors such as early marriage, the demands of domestic responsibilities within their own home and traditional roles. This highlights the overarching need for inclusive education strategies, including girl-friendly schools, which are adaptive to and supportive of the unique schooling challenges faced by girl children. It also calls for targeted interventions addressing the variety of cultural, social and economic factors that leave girl children especially vulnerable to certain types of child labour, including commercial sexual exploitation and domestic work.

Female youth in many regions suffer from fewer opportunities in the labour market and greater difficulties in transiting to decent work. They are also often confined to a narrower range of occupational opportunities than their male counterparts. Young women's career trajectories can be severely limited as a result of societal and familial expectations that they quit their work after marriage or after the birth of their first child. The disadvantaged position of female youth in the labour market underscores the need for continued efforts towards ensuring equal opportunities and treatment of young women and men in education and in work. Specific policy options for mainstreaming gender are listed in Table 1.

Ensuring informed policy development: Filling knowledge gaps relating to child labour and youth employment

Despite significant progress in building the evidence base in the fields of child labour and youth employment, this Report has shown that important knowledge gaps persist, constituting an important constraint to policy formulation. Key gaps include:

- the specific impact of child labour on future labour market outcomes, and on how this impact may vary depending on different types of child labour and depending on whether child labour is combined with school attendance;

- the specific types of hazardous work performed by youth, and the factors that underlie their involvement in hazardous work. Developing adequate measurement criteria for hazardous work is an important related priority;
- the role of youth labour market conditions and returns to education – and of *expectations* in these areas – on household decisions concerning children’s school and work earlier in the lifecycle;
- the impact of policies and interventions relating to child labour and youth employment. There is a need for more evidence, *inter alia*, on the impact of policies targeting hazardous work among youth, the impact of youth employment policies on child labour, and on the impact of child labour policies on youth employment.

Table 1. Policies to combat child labour and promote decent work for youth

Policy	Goal	Possible measures	Design considerations
Intervening early: getting children out of child labour and into school	Ensuring free, compulsory and quality education through to the minimum age of employment	• School and classroom expansion	Needs-based criteria to ensure that the most disadvantaged and under-served groups are reached. Requires significant additional resources (increase in education spending as a share of GDP).
		• School fees abolition	Needs to be counterbalanced by supplementary measures, including school grants, to ensure adequate resources for delivery of education services.
		• Conditional cash transfers	Safeguards should be put in place to ensure the additional income does not create additional household demand for children's labour.
		• Introduction of inclusive education strategies	Should be adaptive to and supportive of the differing learning needs of children.
		• Curriculum reform	Should be aimed at increasing relevance and at providing an appropriate foundation for higher level learning and skills acquisition. There is a need to ensure that the curriculum is adapted to the different needs of rural and urban contexts.
		• Increase training to develop better-qualified teaching force	There is a shortage of educators in terms of skills, professionalism and motivation, especially in rural areas.
	Expanding social protection to help prevent child labour from being used as a household survival strategy in the face of economic and social vulnerability	• Establishing adequate social protection floors (SPFs)	Intervention mix must be tailored to local conditions; potential interventions include conditional and unconditional cash transfers, school feeding programmes, public employment schemes, schemes, family allowances, social health insurance.
	Awareness raising , in order to build a broad-based consensus for change	• Communication campaigns on dangers of child labour and benefits of school	Efforts should address both the social norms and economic considerations underlying child labour. Communication should exploit both traditional and non-traditional channels for as broad an outreach as possible.
	Strengthening legislative and policy frameworks , as a foundation and guide for action against child labour	• Strengthening national legislation	National legislation should be consistent with international legal standards regarding child labour. Minimum working age should be consistent with minimum school leaving age.

Policy	Goal	Possible measures	Design considerations
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthening monitoring and enforcement 	<p>Should include provisions for inspections and for the removal of child labourers to safe places. Attention is needed in hard-to-reach remote areas and in the informal economy.</p> <p>Community based child labour monitoring systems (CLMS) can be effective in bolstering formal inspection systems.</p>
Facilitating the transition from school to work: promoting decent work opportunities for youth	Pursuing strong and sustainable economic growth and development that stresses job creation and social inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developing integrated strategies for growth and job creation that make youth employment priorities explicit 	<p>Policies that offer fiscal incentives, support the development of infrastructure and develop enabling regulations for enterprises operating in competitive sectors with a high youth employment potential can offer a wide range of work opportunities. Creating sector-specific responses is critical in this context.</p> <p>Similarly, incentives that encourage enterprises to provide work experience to young people can have a significant impact on youth employment outcomes.</p>
	Investing in education and training in order to enhance the employability of young workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthening technical vocational education and training (TVET) programmes Development of skills councils to link enterprises with education facilities 	<p>Programmes must be closely aligned with articulated labour market needs ideally through regular surveys to identify skills needs.</p> <p>Training provision should include both technical and core skills for employability.</p> <p>Partnerships with private sector in the form of apprenticeships and training provision often way of easing transition to work following training.</p> <p>Special emphasis is frequently needed on increasing access and quality for training in rural and remote areas.</p>
	Strengthening labour market institutions in order to address job-search constraints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthening employment services, labour market information and career guidance Developing systems of skills certification 	<p>These services should target vulnerable youth in particular who are generally less connected and therefore at a particular disadvantage in a system that is reliant on informal networks.</p> <p>Needed to ensure that young persons are able to adequately signal their skills to prospective employers.</p>
	Enacting demand-side policies to address low labour demand and limited business opportunities for young workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promoting sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth Expanding youth entrepreneurship opportunities 	<p>Entrepreneurship promotion should include measures for expanding access to credit, promoting a culture of entrepreneurialism and expanding access to effective business advisory and support services.</p>

Policy	Goal	Possible measures	Design considerations
Addressing adolescents in hazardous work: eliminating child labour among those aged 15 to 17 years	Removing adolescents from hazardous work in order that they are protected and afforded second chances for acquiring decent work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introducing active labour market policies (ALMPs) for providing withdrawn youth (and other vulnerable youth) with second chances for securing decent work 	Adolescents withdrawn from exploitative situations may also need a range of social services: emergency shelter, medical care, psychosocial counselling, legal support, family tracing and assessment, post-reintegration follow-up.
	Mitigating risk in order to ensure that adolescents are not exposed to hazards in their workplace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introducing measures to remove the hazard, to separate the child sufficiently from the hazard so as not to be exposed, or minimize the risk associated with that hazard 	Risk mitigation is a strategic option only in instances where youth are exposed to hazards in sectors or occupations that are not designated as hazardous in national hazardous work lists and where scope for change in work conditions exists. Especially important in the context of risk mitigation is training and awareness-raising on occupational safety and health for employers and their young workers, master craftspersons and their apprentices, including on adequate and consistent supervision.
	Ensuring young persons' rights at work in order that they receive equal treatment and are protected from abuse and exposure to hazards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthening the enforcement of labour laws and collective agreements 	Implementing international labour standards in rural areas can pose additional challenges as labour inspections may be less frequent.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasing the participation of young people in employers' and workers' organizations and in social dialogue 	Key instruments for enabling young people to voice their concerns and for improving the quality of jobs available to them.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promoting the integration of occupational safety and health and hazardous child labour into the organizing and bargaining agendas of trade unions 	

Policy	Goal	Possible measures	Design considerations
<p>Mainstreaming gender: accounting for the special vulnerabilities of female children and youth</p>	<p>Ensuring equal opportunities and treatment of young women and men in education and in work</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promoting inclusive education strategies which are adaptive to and supportive of the unique schooling challenges faced by girl children 	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Designing and implementing targeted interventions addressing the variety of cultural, social and economic factors that leave girl children especially vulnerable to certain types of child labour 	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ensuring gender sensitivity throughout education/training systems and in career guidance services 	<p>Gender audits of existing systems and services will be required in order to identify necessary reforms.</p>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Implementing communication campaigns aimed at changing traditional perceptions of gender roles 	<p>Communication campaigns will require baseline information on existing knowledge, attitudes and practices.</p>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reviewing laws and practices to eliminate discrimination of women in the labour market 	

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Data sources

Table A1. Information on National household survey used in Part III, section: Employment outcomes of former child labourers

Region	Country	Survey name	Year
East Asia and the Pacific	Indonesia	National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) (SIMPOC)	2009
	Lao PDR	National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) (SIMPOC)	2010
Latin America and the Caribbean	Bolivia	Encuesta de Hogares (EH)	2009
	Brazil	Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios (PNAD)	2011
	Ecuador	Encuesta Nacional de Trabajo Infantil (ENTI)	2012
Middle East and North Africa	Jordan	National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) (SIMPOC)	2007
	Yemen	National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) (SIMPOC)	2011
South Asia	Mongolia	National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) (SIMPOC)	2006–2007
Sub-Saharan Africa	Guinea	Enquête nationale sur le travail des enfants (ENTE) (SIMPOC)	2010
	Madagascar	Enquête nationale sur le travail des enfants (ENTE) (SIMPOC)	2007
	Niger	Enquête nationale sur le travail des enfants (ENTE) (SIMPOC)	2009
	Togo	Enquête nationale sur le travail des enfants (ENTE) (SIMPOC)	2009–2010

Table A2. ILO School-to-Work Transition Survey (SWTS) used in Part III, section: Child labour and the transition from school to work

Region	Country	Survey name	Sample size (15-29 years age group)	Geographic coverage	Reference period
Asia and the Pacific	Bangladesh	ILO SWTS	9,197	National	January-March 2013
	Cambodia	ILO SWTS	3,552	National	July and August 2012
	Nepal	ILO SWTS	3,584	National	April and May 2013
	Samoa	ILO SWTS	2,914	National	November and December 2012
	Viet Nam	ILO SWTS	2,722	National	December 2012 and January 2013
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	Armenia	ILO SWTS	3,216	National	October and November 2012
	Kyrgyzstan	ILO SWTS	3,930	National	July-September 2013
	Macedonia FYR	ILO SWTS	2,544	National	July-September 2012
	Moldova	ILO SWTS	1,158	National	January-March 2013
	Ukraine	ILO SWTS	3,526	National	February 2013
Latin America and the Caribbean	Brazil	ILO SWTS	3,288	National	June 2013
	El Salvador	ILO SWTS	3,451	National	November and December 2012
	Jamaica	ILO SWTS	2,584	National	February-April 2013
	Peru	ILO SWTS	2,464	Urban	December 2012-February 2013
Middle East and North Africa	Egypt	ILO SWTS	5,198	National	November and December 2012
	Jordan	ILO SWTS	5,405	National	December 2012 and January 2013
	Occupied Palestinian Territory	ILO SWTS	4,320	National	August and September 2013
	Tunisia	ILO SWTS	3,000	National	February and March 2013
Sub-Saharan Africa	Benin	ILO SWTS	6,917	National	December 2012
	Liberia	ILO SWTS	1,504	National	July and August 2012
	Madagascar	ILO SWTS	3,295	National	May and June 2013
	Malawi	ILO SWTS	3,102	National	August and September 2012
	Tanzania	ILO SWTS	1,988	National	February and March 2013
	Togo	ILO SWTS	2,033	National	July and August 2012
	Uganda	ILO SWTS	3,811	National	December 2012-January 2013
	Zambia	ILO SWTS	3,206	National	February-April 2013

Table A3. Data sources used in Part V: Adolescents in hazardous jobs

Region	Country	Survey name	Year
East Asia and the Pacific	Bangladesh	ILO SWTS	2013
	Cambodia	Socio Economic Survey (SES)	2009
	Indonesia	National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) (SIMPOC)	2009
	Lao PDR	National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) (SIMPOC)	2010
	Samoa	ILO SWTS	2012
	Viet Nam	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 4 (MICS 4)	2010–2011
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	Kyrgyzstan	ILO SWTS	2013
	Moldova	ILO SWTS	2013
Latin America and the Caribbean	Bolivia	Encuesta de Hogares (EH)	2009
	Brazil	Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios (PNAD)	2011
	Costa Rica	Encuesta Nacional de Hogares (ENAHO)	2012
	Ecuador	Encuesta de Empleo, Desempleo y Subempleo (ENEMDU)	2011
	El Salvador	Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples (EHPM)	2012
	Honduras	Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples (EHPM)	2011
	Jamaica	ILO SWTS	2013
	Mexico	Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo (ENOE) con Módulo de Trabajo Infantil (MTI)	2011
	Nicaragua	Encuesta Continua de Hogares (ECH)	2010
	Uruguay	Encuesta Nacional sobre las Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes	2009
Middle East and North Africa	Egypt	Survey of Young People in Egypt	2009
	Jordan	National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) (SIMPOC)	2007
	Yemen	National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) (SIMPOC)	2011

Region	Country	Survey name	Year
South Asia	Bhutan	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 4 (MICS 4)	2010
	India	National Sample Survey Round 66 (NSS-R66)	2009–2010
	Nepal	Labour Force Survey (LFS)	2008
	Pakistan	Labour Force Survey (LFS)	2010–2011
	Sri Lanka	Child Activity Survey (SIMPOC)	2009
Sub-Saharan Africa	Central African Republic	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 4 (MICS 4)	2010
	Guinea	Enquête nationale sur le travail des enfants (ENTE) (SIMPOC)	2010
	Niger	Enquête nationale sur le travail des enfants (ENTE) (SIMPOC)	2009
	Nigeria	Post-Planting Questionnaire for Panel Households (LSMS-ISA)	2010
	Rwanda	National Child Labour Survey (NCLS) (SIMPOC)	2008
	Senegal	Enquête de suivi de la pauvreté au Sénégal (ESPS)	2011
	Togo	Enquête nationale sur le travail des enfants (ENTE) (SIMPOC)	2009–2010
	Uganda	ILO SWTS	2012–2013
	Zambia	Labour Force Survey (LFS)	2008

Appendix 2: The hazardous work list

ILO Convention No. 182 does not define what this includes, instead leaving it to the countries to do so in the form of what we commonly call the “hazardous work list”. But the ILO Recommendation No. 190 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999), the non-binding guidelines that accompany Convention No. 182, gives some indication as to what work should be prohibited. It urges member States to give consideration to:

- work that exposes children to physical, emotional or sexual abuse;
- work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;
- work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or that 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;
- work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work that does not allow for the possibility of returning home each day.

When countries ratify ILO Conventions No. 182 and No. 138, they commit themselves to determining work to be prohibited to persons under 18 years of age. Article 4 of Convention No. 182 in this context says:

- The types of work referred to under Article 3(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] shall be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, taking into consideration relevant international standards, in particular Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation, 1999.
- The competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, shall identify where the types of work so determined exist.
- The list of the types of work determined under Paragraph 1 of this Article shall be periodically examined and revised as necessary, in consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned.

Table A4. Countries with hazardous work lists

Global distribution of hazardous work lists as of April 2011

Global regions ^(a)	Completed lists	No list but commencing the process	No list but general prohibition	No list
Total	108	47	20	8
Africa	28 (Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Namibia, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Togo, Tunisia, Zimbabwe)	13 (Algeria, Botswana, Cape Verde, Comoros, Eritrea, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sudan (and South Sudan), Uganda, Zambia)	9 (Angola, Djibouti, Gambia, Lesotho, Nigeria, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania)	3 (Equatorial Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Somalia)
Americas	16 (Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United States)	14 (Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Bahamas, Belize, Plurinational State of Bolivia, Canada, Dominica, El Salvador, Jamaica, Mexico, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay)	5 (Barbados, Grenada, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela)	0
Arab States	8 (Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Qatar, Syrian Arab Republic, United Arab Emirates, Yemen)	2 (Iraq, Oman)	1 (Saudi Arabia)	0
Asia and the Pacific	14 (Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Japan, Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Viet Nam)	11 (Afghanistan, Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Kiribati, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu)	4 (Bangladesh, Fiji, New Zealand, Timor-Leste)	4 (Maldives, Marshall Islands, Myanmar, Tuvalu)

Global regions ^(a)	Completed lists	No list but commencing the process	No list but general prohibition	No list
Europe	42 (Albania, Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Belgium, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, Uzbekistan)	7 (Bulgaria, Hungary, Montenegro, San Marino, Serbia, Tajikistan, Macedonia FYR)	1 (Bosnia and Herzegovina)	1 (Turkmenistan)

Notes: (a) As defined by ILO administrative divisions.
 Source: IPEC (2011), op. cit.

For short, we refer to this as the “hazardous work list”. This list is extremely important because, once enacted into law, it forms the basis for a wide range of activities – advocacy, services, policies and enforcement – that can protect children and youth from exploitation and provide a clear rule on what children above designated ages can or cannot do. Country-level status in developing hazardous work lists is summarized in Table A4 above.

WORLD REPORT ON CHILD LABOUR

The second volume of the ILO World Report on Child Labour series highlights the close linkages between child labour and youth employment outcomes, and the consequent need for common policy approaches to addressing challenges arising in countries where both child labour and youth employment prevail.

The Report presents empirical evidence of how child labour combined with limited education can lead to increased youth vulnerability and greater difficulties in transiting to good jobs. This evidence includes results from the ILO School-to-Work Transition Survey (SWTS) programme, an unprecedented data collection effort allowing the analysis of the trajectories followed by youth to enter the world of work in a total of 28 low- and middle-income countries around the world. The Report also reviews evidence of how the child labour-youth employment link can operate in the opposite direction, i.e. of how the difficulties faced by youth in the labour market can make personal investment in education less attractive as an alternative to child labour earlier in the lifecycle.

Hazardous work among adolescents aged 15 to 17 years is a third focus of the Report. Individuals in this critical age group, who are above the minimum working age in most countries but at the same time are still legally children, overlap the child labour and youth employment fields. Evidence is presented indicating that an alarming share of employed adolescents aged 15 to 17 years are in hazardous work and therefore are child labourers.

Taken together, the evidence presented in the Report makes a strong case that the challenge of finding decent work during youth cannot be separated from the challenge of eliminating child labour earlier in the lifecycle. Eliminating child labour, in other words, is a key policy goal in itself and a necessary starting point for achieving decent work for all.

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