



Understanding Children's Work in Guatemala

**Report prepared for the Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Project,
a research co-operation initiative of the International Labour
Organisation, UNICEF and World Bank**

March, 2003

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

1. The current report was developed under the aegis of UCW project activities in Guatemala. It provides an overview of the children's work in Guatemala – its extent and nature, its determinants, and its consequences on health and education. The report also looks at national responses to child *labour*,¹ i.e., at responses to negative or undesirable forms of work that should be eliminated. The report serves two important UCW project objectives in the country: first, it helps provide a common analytical understanding of children's work, upon which common strategies can be developed addressing it; and second, the report contributes to a broader effort to build counterpart capacity in analysing and using data on children's work for policy development.

Prevalence of children in work

2. **Children's work, defined for the purposes of this report as any form of economic activity performed by children, is very common in Guatemala.** Some 507,000 children aged 7-14 years, one-fifth of total children in this age group, are engaged in work. The other children in the 7-14 years age group are either full-time students (62 percent) or are reportedly involved in no activities (18 percent). Some of the children from the latter group, idle children, are likely in reality involved in unreported work. Those that are indeed idle can be even more disadvantaged than their working counterparts, benefiting neither from schooling nor from the learning-by-doing than many forms of work offer.

3. **The prevalence of children in work varies substantially by sex, age, ethnicity and residence.** The work prevalence of male 7-14 year-olds is almost twice that of female 7-14 year-olds, and the work prevalence of indigenous children almost twice that of non-indigenous children. Work prevalence is highest among older children but the absolute number of very young Guatemalan children engaged in work is nonetheless significant. Some 206,000 children aged 5-11 years are economically active. Children's work is mainly a rural phenomenon: the prevalence of children in work in rural areas is almost twice that of urban areas, and rural child workers make up three-fourths of total child workers.

4. **The prevalence of children in work appears to be rising in Guatemala.** The latest national employment survey, ENE1 2002, estimated 23 percent of children were involved in work. This compares with a 20 percent estimate generated by ENCOVI 2000, an estimate of 14 percent from ENIGFAM 1998-1999 and an estimate of eight percent from the 1994 population census. However, differences in survey methodologies mean that caution must be exercised in reading too much into comparisons of the survey results.

5. **The performance of household chores is also very common among Guatemalan children.** Around 300,000 children aged 7-14 years – 12 percent of this age group – perform household chores for at least four hours per day. The proportion of female 7-14 year-olds performing household chores is more than triple that of male 7-14 year-olds. This underscores the fact that work prevalence alone is a misleading indicator of girls' total involvement in activities that are not related to school or to leisure. Indeed, when "work" is defined to also include household chores for at least four hours per day, girls and boys work in equal proportion.

¹ See section 3.1 especially Box 1 for the use of the terms ("child work" and "child labour")

Characteristics of children's work

6. **Most Guatemalan working children are found in the agricultural sector and work for their families.** Two out of three are involved in agriculture and work for their families without wages. But the type of work children perform appears to depend to an important extent on their sex. Boys tend to work on the *finca* (three-fourths of them) with commercial activities coming a distant second (10 percent), while girls' activities are more evenly spread among agricultural work (40 percent), commerce (28 percent), manufacturing (20 percent) and personal services (12 percent).

7. **Children's work in Guatemala is characterised by very long working hours, leaving children little time for study or play.** Working children put in an average of 47 hours of work per week, considerably more than a full-time adult worker in the industrial world. Working children who do not go to school put in the longest hours – an average of 58 per week – but even those who also attend school put in a 40-hour workweek on average. Household chores also eat into children's time for play and study. Children performing household chores do so for an average of 40 hours per week.

8. **Available evidence suggests that children can face hazardous conditions in many of the sectors in which they work:**

- *Domestic service in private homes:* Child domestic servants, almost all girls must work extremely long hours; reports of threats, beatings, harassment and even sexual abuse are not uncommon; benefits are not paid, vacations or sick days generally are non-existent. Less than one-third is able to attend school.
- *Firecracker production.* The production of firecrackers is probably the most dangerous occupation in which Guatemalan children are involved. Children as young as six, mostly boys, insert fuses into firecrackers and perform other related tasks requiring a great deal of concentration to avoid accidents (e.g., if the "wheel" holding the firecrackers in which children insert fuses falls, it explodes). As a result, accidents are not uncommon, causing severe burns and sometimes even the death of children
- *Agricultural work.* Children in the agricultural sector frequently long working days under a hot sun, carrying heavy loads, and risking cuts from sharp knives. Injuries such as fractures, cuts, loss of eyesight and limbs are not uncommon, not to mention death from disease, malnutrition and injury.
- *Mining and quarrying.* Children work in the mining and refining of lime. Children often lift and crush heavy rocks putting them in danger of bone fractures, burns, and respiratory ailments as well as landslides. Many work in slavery-like conditions to pay off debt for their parents. They face serious health hazards, including lung and skin disease, deformation, blindness and loss of limb.
- *Garbage picking.* Children are found in the garbage dumps of urban area picking through and collecting items that can be recycled or reused. According to an ILO/IPEC rapid assessment, some 82 percent sustain cuts or other injuries; 56 percent suffer burning eyes as a result of gas released by the decomposing garbage; and 40 percent experience headaches from sun exposure.

9. **Unconditional worst forms of child labour are also found in Guatemala.** The UN Special Rapporteur on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography cites information received from authorities and social workers suggesting that child prostitution exists on a significant scale in a variety of localities. Guatemala is both source for and destination of trafficked children, although the total extent of child trafficking in the country is not known. The government indicates that the number of street children has increased in recent years. Estimates of their total numbers range from 3,500 to 8,000, but precise figures are impossible because of the fluid and mobile nature of the street population.

Consequences of work on child welfare

10. Work appears to interfere with children's ability to join schooling. About 62 percent of working children attend school compared to 78 percent of non-working children. Child workers complete only about half the total number of years of schooling of their non-working counterparts. Of the four sectors employing the largest number children, school attendance is lowest (41 percent) in the health and personal services sector, where the largest proportion of child workers are female servants in private homes. Work interferes with girls' schooling more than boys' schooling in all but the manufacturing sector.

11. Available data do not indicate a clear negative relationship between children's work and child health. The prevalence of health problems is almost the same for children who work full-time, who are full-time students and who neither work nor attend school, at around 22 percent. Only children who combine school and work have a slightly higher prevalence of health problems (27 percent). Nutritional status, as measured by the Body Mass Index (BMI) is actually slightly better for children who work than for those who are full-time students. But these findings are likely at least in part the product of measurement problems encountered when attempting to look at the work-health relationship.

Determinants of children's work and schooling

12. Regression analysis looked at the role of the following variables as determinants of children's work and schooling:

- *Gender.* Boys are more likely to work full-time (three percentage points) and to work while attending school (10 percentage points), than girls. Girls, on the other hand, are more likely than boys to be neither attending school nor working (seven percentage points), and therefore presumably involved in household chores.
- *Ethnicity.* Indigenous children are nine percentage points more likely to work, and eight percentage points less likely to attend school full time, than their non-indigenous counterparts.
- *Poverty.* Work prevalence falls and school attendance rises progressively as household income goes up, but the income effect is relatively weak. For example, an increase in income of about 10 percent has only negligible effects on the probability that a child goes to work.
- *Mothers' educational status.* A mother having no education increases the likelihood that a child works by five percentage points, and decreases the likelihood that a child attends school by 18 percentage points.
- *Household composition.* Each additional adult in a household increases the probability of a child attending school full-time by 3 percentage points. Each additional child aged 0-6 years increases the probability that a child will be working and studying by 1.5 percentage points.
- *Exposure to collective shocks.* Children from households exposed to collective shocks are four percent points more likely to work (either attending school or not) and two percentage points less likely to attend school only.
- *Exposure to individual shocks.* Children who belong to a household that has suffered from an individual shock

are about five percentage points more likely to be working.

- *Credit rationing.* Children belonging to credit rationed households are seven percentage points less likely to attend school than children from non-rationed households. Children from credit rationed household are more likely to be idle (about six percentage points) and to work full-time.
- *Health insurance.* Children belonging from household where at least one member is covered by health insurance are 4.5 percentage points less likely to work. Children who belong from a household with a member covered by health insurance are 4.5 percentage points more likely to attend school.

National response to child labour

13. **National Plan for Preventing and Eradicating Child Labour.** Specific efforts targeting child labour are undertaken with the framework of the 2001 National Plan for Preventing and Eradicating Child Labour (children aged 6-14 years) and for Protecting Adolescent Workers (children aged 15-17). The National Plan is designed to set broad policy guidelines and promote co-ordinated action against child labour. The Government's 2000-2004 agenda for social programmes aims at achieving a 10 percent reduction in the number of child workers by 2004. Steps have also been taken by the Ministry of Labour to set up a national committee to eradicate child labour.

Strategic options for combating child labour

14. This section of the report provides a set of general strategic options for combating child labour and reducing the number of children at risk of entering work. It is beyond the scope of the report to provide detailed programme interventions or specific action plans. These will be developed, conditional on the approval by Government and the three partner agencies, in a second phase of the project.

15. **General policy considerations.** On the basis of the analysis carried out in Guatemala and of studies conducted in several other countries, it is evident that many policies that do not appear to be directly related to child labour in fact have a very significant bearing on the phenomenon. Some of the most important of these general policy considerations are as follows:

- *Reducing household vulnerability:* Children's work frequently forms part of a household's strategy for dealing with risk, making them less vulnerable to losses of income arising from individual or collective shocks. Reducing household vulnerability will require extending the reach and improving the effectiveness of the country's social protection system. Public spending on social protection is currently low by international standards, and the social protection system is fragmented, without an overall strategy.
- *Increasing school access and quality:* There is broad consensus that the single most effective way to stem the flow of school age children into work is to extend and improve schooling, so that families have the opportunity to invest in their children's education and it is worthwhile for them to do so. The Government is in the midst of an ambitious education reform programme that addresses both issues of quality and access, and has increased spending on education in real terms by an average of about 20 percent per year since 1996. Despite these efforts, education spending is still low relative to other LAC and lower-middle countries, and improving both school access and school quality, remain important challenges.
- *Improving access to basic services:* Although the Government has made substantial progress in increasing basic services coverage, an important proportion of the population remains unreached. The current level of resources channelled towards the expansion of modern utility services needs to be

maintained, and, if possible, increased, so as to reach universal coverage within a 10-year horizon. Service expansion efforts also need to be better targeted to traditionally disadvantaged groups, in particular, poor, rural and indigenous households.

- *Promoting adult literacy:* The empirical evidence indicates that providing adults, and particularly mothers, with basic literacy skills has an important impact on rates of school enrolment and work. This points to the importance of expanding adult literacy and adult education programmes as a strategy for increasing school participation and reducing the proportion of children in work.

16. Choice of policy options in rural areas. The sheer numbers of children in agriculture mean that eliminating children's work in this sector is not a feasible near-term policy objective. Of most immediate policy concern is not children's work in general in the agricultural sector, but rather the large proportion of children in agriculture not attending school (60 percent, and the subgroup of rural child workers that face serious work hazards. A more realistic initial strategy would instead focus on these immediate concerns. This would entail two specific initial policy objectives: (1) increasing the school enrolment rate of child agricultural workers, and particularly of female agricultural workers, and at the same time (2) removing children from the most hazardous forms of rural work.

17. Choice of policy options in urban areas: Children's work in urban areas occurs on a more limited scale, but poses greater dangers to children's health and well-being. Risks are especially high for the one of two urban child workers that works outside their families. This argues for immediate efforts aimed at (1) removing children from urban, especially non-family, workplaces, and at the same time at (2) increasing the ability and willingness of households to invest in their children's education. Girls working as domestic servants in private homes are a particularly at-risk group of urban child workers, and therefore should be a special target of efforts against child labour in urban contexts.

18. Policy options for addressing unconditional worst forms of child labour. Although children involved in worst forms of labour appear to represent only a small proportion of total child workers, their numbers are by no means negligible, and they suffer the most serious rights violations and face the most serious health and developmental threats. Eliminating worst forms of labour, therefore, should be an immediate strategic objective. While the general policy measures discussed above will contribute to reducing worst forms of labour, additional, more targeted actions are also needed. In an initial stage, these include: (a) filling the information gap on unconditional worst forms of labour, to inform policies addressing worst forms of child labour; and (b) strengthening grassroots organisation to enable them to better reach street children, who are most at risk of involvement in worst forms of labour.

19. Legislative and monitoring measures. National legislation is not fully consistent with international child labour norms. In addition, the government by its own admission currently does not have the capacity to properly enforce and monitor laws relating to child labour. There are therefore two overall priorities in the field of child labour legislation: (1) bringing national legislation into conformity with international child labour norms and (2) strengthening the Government's ability to enforce and monitor this legislation.

1. INTRODUCTION

20. The Understanding Children's Work (UCW) project is guided by the Oslo Agenda for Action, unanimously adopted at the 1997 International Conference on Child Labour, which laid out the priorities for the international community to fight against child labour. The Agenda specifically identified the crucial need to address the lack of data on child labourers, and called for stronger co-operation amongst international agencies involved in addressing child labour. Through a variety of data collection, research and assessment activities, the UCW project is broadly directed towards increasing global- and local-level understanding of child labour, its causes and effects, how it can be measured, and what works in addressing it. The project is also directed towards improving synergies between the three implementing partners – ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank – in order to increase the effectiveness of their co-operation in the child labour field.²

21. The current report was developed under the aegis of UCW project activities in Guatemala. It provides an overview of children's work in Guatemala – its extent and nature, its determinants, and its consequences on health and education. The report also looks at national responses to child *labour*,³ i.e., responses to negative or undesirable forms of work that should be eliminated. The report serves two important UCW project objectives in the country. First, it provides a *common analytical understanding* of children's work, thereby contributing to greater coherency in the approaches to child labour employed by the three agencies at the country level. Second, through close involvement of local counterparts in its development, the paper contributes to a broader effort to *build national capacity* in collecting and using data for policy development in the child labour field.

22. The report is the product of a collaborative effort of the National Statistical Institute, concerned Government ministries, local researcher institutes and ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank. The statistical information presented in the report is drawn primarily from a national living conditions survey conducted in 2000 (*Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000). The survey involved a stratified sample of 7,276 households and a total of 38,000 persons. The report also draws on a number of smaller-scale studies, qualitative as well as quantitative, Government and NGO reports, agency documents and other information sources.

23. Following this introduction, Section 2 briefly reviews the Guatemalan national context – the land and people, socio-economic trends, and human development challenges. Section 3 looks at data on the extent of children's involvement in work,

² For further information, see the project website at www.ucw-project.org.

broken down by age, sex, residence and region, as well as at trends in the prevalence of children in work. Section 4 examines key characteristics of children's work, including the sectors where child workers are concentrated, the intensity of work, work hazards encountered by children, and unconditional worst forms of labour that children face. Section 5 analyses the consequences of children's work on the education and health. Section 6 looks at major determinants of decisions relating to work and schooling, using the results of a regression analysis. Section 7 outlines the national policy response to child labour. Finally, Section 8 looks at strategic options for accelerating and strengthening national action against child labour.

³ See section 3.1 especially Box 1 for the use of the terms ("child work" and "child labour")

2. THE NATIONAL CONTEXT ⁴

24. **Guatemala is a physically diverse country, with many isolated areas.** The country is divided into numerous distinct geographic zones, including forested highlands in the west, fertile lowland coasts, and tropical forests in Peten. Two-thirds of the country is mountainous and volcanic. Most of the population lives on land between 900 and 2,500 meters above sea level. Unfortunately, this natural resource diversity is being increasingly threatened by erosion, deforestation, and population pressures on the land. The country is not physically united and many villages are fairly isolated, with long inter-village distances, due to an inadequate road network. About 13 percent of households do not have access to motorable roads;⁵ this figure reaches close to 20 percent in the Nor-Occidente, Nor-Oriente, and Norte regions, which are also among the poorest.

25. **Mirroring the physical diversity of the country, Guatemala's population is rich in cultural and linguistic diversity.** About half of the population of over 11 million is indigenous, including some 23 ethno-linguistic groups, 21 of which are Mayan.⁶ The largest indigenous groups include the K'iche (22 percent of the indigenous population), the Kaqchikel (21 percent), the Mam (19 percent), and the Q'eqchi (15 percent).⁷ The Mayan population – descendants of the great civilization that created the magnificent pyramids and ceremonial centers of Mexico and Central America – live primarily in hundreds of small, rural communities scattered throughout the western and central highlands.⁸ Some 84 percent of the indigenous population speaks an indigenous language but an inter-generational loss of cultural heritage also seems evident, since a smaller share of indigenous children and youth speak the indigenous languages than the older generations.

26. **Unfortunately, Guatemala's diversity has historically been accompanied by conflict, exclusion, and a dualistic social and economic structure.** Internationally, countries with significant indigenous populations tend to have higher poverty rates, and within these countries, the indigenous tend to be poorer than the non-indigenous population due to historically exclusionary forces.⁹ In this regard, Guatemala is no exception. Indeed, inequality between ethnicities is a pervasive feature in Guatemala.

⁴ This section is drawn primarily from World Bank, *Guatemala Poverty Assessment*, Country distribution draft, Report No. 24221-GU, 31 May 2002.

⁵ Motorable roads defined as paved, gravel or unpaved roads. Excludes dirt roads, tracks and paths. Estimates are for households in the ENCOVI sample for which community-level information was collected. See GUAPA Technical Paper 8 (Puri, 2002) for additional details.

⁶ Tovar Gómez (May 1998).

⁷ Population estimates by ethnicity based on World Bank calculations using the ENCOVI 2000 (expanded sample), *Instituto Nacional de Estadística – Guatemala*.

⁸ Davis (1988) and FLACSO (November 2001).

⁹ Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (1994).

While the indigenous make up about 43 percent of the population, they account for less than a quarter of total income and consumption. In contrast, economic and political resources remain concentrated among the economic elite of predominantly European descent and the Ladino population. The linkages between these groups have been weakened by decades of exclusion and conflict.

27. Guatemala experienced one of the longest of Latin America's recent civil wars. Spanning 36 years (from 1960-1996), the war underwent several phases, only later involving the indigenous on a large scale. The first wave broke out in 1960 with a group of army officers revolting against government corruption. Initially, the movement was centred in the eastern region and involved primarily the non-indigenous population. When the revolt failed, the officers fled to the countryside and launched a war against the Government.¹⁰ The second wave broke out in the 1970s, this time in the western highlands, with some Indigenous communities becoming active participants. During the final and longest phase, from the late 1970s through the 1980s, social tensions exploded into a full-scale civil war with active indigenous participation (involving close to half a million Mayans during that period).¹¹

28. The conflict imposed significant costs on the economy. In addition to the loss of life, the war had serious short- and long-run impacts on Guatemala's development, for the overall economy and life at the village level. While it is impossible to quantify the full range of impacts, some are directly quantifiable. The Historical Clarification Commission report estimates that, during the 1980s alone, the costs of the war were equivalent to 15 months of production in Guatemala, or 121 percent of GDP in 1990. The majority of these costs arise from the loss of productive potential and abandoned economic activities due to death, disappearance, or forced displacement. Destruction of physical capital, including private, community and infrastructure assets was also costly (estimated at 6 percent of GDP in 1990). The engagement the potential workforce in military – rather than productive – capacity also further reduced Guatemala's output. Using time-series models and average growth-poverty elasticities, Lopez (October 2001) estimates that if the armed conflict had not occurred, per capita GDP in 2000 would have been about 40 percent higher and poverty would have been about 12 percentage points lower.

29. The Peace Accords aimed not only to formally end the armed conflict, but to reverse the country's historically exclusionary pattern of development. Recent developments in Guatemala have been shaped in large part by the signing of the

¹⁰ World Bank and the Carter Center (July 1997).

¹¹ Davis (1988) and Jonas (2000).

Peace Accords in December 1996. The four main areas of the agreements involved (a) resettlement, re-incorporation, and reconciliation issues; (b) an integral human development program; (c) goals for productive and sustainable development; and (d) a program for the modernization of the democratic state, including a strengthening of the capacity of participation and consultations of the distinct segments of civil society. Three cross-cutting themes were also emphasized throughout the accords: the rights of indigenous communities, commitments regarding the rights and position of women, and a strengthening of social participation.¹² Importantly, the main themes on the Peace Agenda were maintained throughout the protracted negotiations process, despite numerous changes in Government, three different peace commissions, and various changes in the military. The endurance of these main themes throughout the peace process bears testimony to their importance as priorities for the country.

30. Guatemala's economy is much less diverse than its topography or people.

Agriculture still dominates, accounting for a quarter of GDP,¹³ and employs 36 percent of all workers.¹⁴ Exports are still dominated by coffee, sugar, and bananas, notwithstanding some success in promoting non-traditional exports. Despite a fall in international prices, coffee remains the principal income earner, accounting for over a fifth of export revenues. The main export crops all require large inputs of seasonal labour for harvest. Subsistence agriculture traditionally revolves around the production of corn and black beans. *Maquila* (free-trade assembly and re-export zones), mining, energy, commerce, and services have all grown fairly rapidly in the past decade. Tourism strengthened in the 1990s and now ties with sugar as the second highest source of foreign exchange after coffee, though its success depends largely on political stability and security.

31. Poverty incidence is very high in Guatemala. Over half of all Guatemalans – 56 percent or about 6.4 million people – lived in poverty in 2000.¹⁵ About 16 percent lived in extreme poverty. The share of children in poverty – 68 percent – is even higher, due to higher fertility rates among the poor. International comparisons of

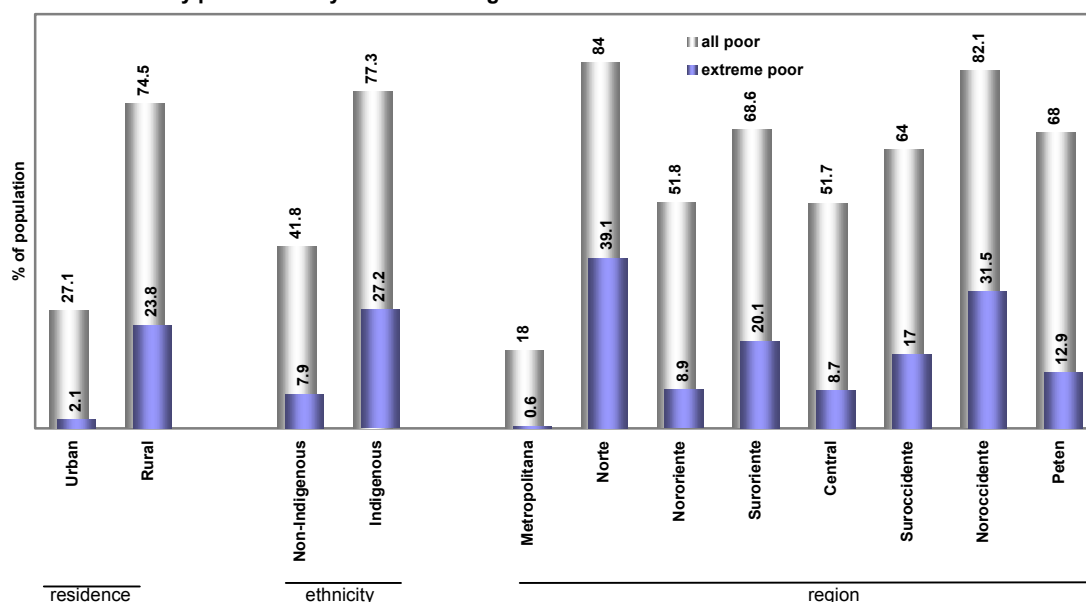
¹² MINUGUA (June 2001).

¹³ World Bank macroeconomic database.

¹⁴ For the population aged 15+. World Bank calculations using the ENCOVI 2000, *Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Guatemala*.

¹⁵ Poverty rates were estimated by INE-SEGEPLAN-URL with technical assistance from World Bank using data from ENCOVI 2000, *Instituto Nacional de Estadística – Guatemala*. The extreme poverty line is defined at the yearly cost of a “food basket” that provides the minimum caloric requirement. The annual cost of this minimum caloric requirement yields an extreme poverty line of Q.1,912. Below this level of consumption (or income), individuals cannot maintain the minimum level of caloric consumption even if all resources were allocated to food. The full poverty line is defined as the extreme poverty line (the cost of food that satisfies the minimum caloric requirement) plus an allowance for non-food items. This allowance is calculated as the average non-food budget share for the population whose food consumption was around the extreme poverty line, yielding a poverty line of Q.4,319.

FIGURE 1. Poverty prevalence by selected background characteristics



Source: Poverty estimates calculated by INE-SEGEPLAN-URL with technical assistance from World Bank using the ENCOVI 2000, *Instituto Nacional de Estadística – Guatemala*. **Metropolitana** mainly covers Guatemala City (and Department); **Norte** includes the Departments of Baja Verapaz and Alta Verapaz; **Noroccidente** covers the Departments of Huehuetenango and Quiché; **Suroccidente** includes the Departments of Sololá, Totonicapán, Suchitepequez, Quetzaltenango, Ratalhuleu, and San Marcos; **the Central Region** covers the Departments of Chimaltenango, Escuintla, and Sacatepequez; **Noroccidente** covers the Departments of Izabal, Zacapa, Chiquimula, and El Progreso; **Suroriente** includes the Departments of Santa Rosa, Jalapa, and Jutiapa; and **Peten** covers Peten.

poverty are always difficult due to various methodological differences (welfare measures, poverty lines, survey samples), but available evidence suggests that poverty in Guatemala is higher than in other Central American countries, despite its mid-range ranking using per capita GDP. Poverty is also generally deeper¹⁶ and more severe¹⁷ in Guatemala. Poverty is predominantly rural and extreme poverty is almost exclusively rural in Guatemala. It is much higher in the “poverty belt” comprising the Norte and Nor-Occidente regions and the department of San Marcos, all seriously affected by the country’s three-decades long civil war. Poverty is also significantly higher among the indigenous.

32. Inequality is also very high in Guatemala. The population distribution is characterised by a large low-income majority and a very small high income minority. Income and consumption are more concentrated than in most other countries in Latin America, which as a whole has higher inequality than other regions in the world.¹⁸ The top income quintile accounts for 54 percent of total consumption, almost three

¹⁶ The Poverty Depth Index (P1) represents the amount needed to bring all poor individuals up to the poverty line (FPL or XPL), expressed as a percentage of the poverty line taking into account the share of the poor population in the national population.

¹⁷ The Poverty Severity Index (P2) is a derivation of P1 that takes into account the distribution of total consumption among the poor. In other words, it is measure of the degree of inequality among the population below the poverty line.

¹⁸ As for poverty, inferring distributional changes for income over time is a challenging task due to differences in survey design and methodological issues. Nonetheless, using the “1989 comparable income aggregate”, the Gini coefficient for 2000 is .61, compared with .60 for 1989, suggesting that income inequality has slightly decreased during the last decade. Source: World Bank calculations using data from the ENCOVI 2000, *Instituto Nacional de Estadística – Guatemala*.

times higher than the next highest quintile and 11 times higher than average consumption in the bottom quintile. The Gini indices using consumption and income are .48 and .57 respectively. There are significant inequalities across ethnic groups and geographic areas. Although the indigenous represent 40.5 percent of the population, they claim less than a quarter of total income and consumption in the country. Likewise, whereas rural residents account for almost two thirds of the nation's population, they claim only about a third of total income and consumption.¹⁹

33. A significant share of Guatemalan households lack access to basic services.

Overall, about 70 percent of Guatemalan households have water²⁰ and electricity. Almost 90 percent have some kind of basic sanitation,²¹ though fewer than half have sewerage. About 20 percent subscribe to either a fixed line and/or a cellular telephone service. Around 16 percent of Guatemalan households do not have access to any kind of modern network utility service. While overall coverage rates are average for Central America, they lag slightly the average for Latin America and other lower-middle income countries. Access to modern utility services is also highly inequitable. While piped water and electricity are almost universal in urban areas, they reach little more than half of rural households. Relative to the poorest quintile, the richest quintile of the population are twice as likely to have a water or electricity connection, and four times as likely to have sewerage. Almost no poor, rural, or indigenous households have telephone connections.

TABLE. International comparisons coverage of basic services, (% households with access)

	Electricity	Piped water ⁽¹⁾	Basic sanitation ⁽²⁾	Telephone
Guatemala	73	69	87	20
El Salvador	80	52	81	20
Nicaragua	69	61	84	16
Panamá	79	86	93	41
LAC Average	n.a.	85	78	n.a.
Lower-middle income average	n.a.	80	54	n.a.

Notes: (1) Piped water in dwelling or yard; (2) Includes toilets and latrines. El Salvador and Honduras quintiles based on income aggregate.

Sources: El Salvador (Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples 1997); Guatemala (ENCOVI 2000, Instituto Nacional de Estadística - Guatemala); Honduras (Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares, 1999); Nicaragua (LSMS 1998-99); Panama (LSMS 1997); averages for LAC and lower-middle income countries (World Bank World Development Indicators 2001); as cited in World Bank, *Guatemala Poverty Assessment*, Country distribution draft, Report No. 24221-GU, 31 May 2002.

34. Malnutrition among Guatemalan children is widespread. Guatemala has the worst performance in the LAC region in terms of child growth attainment, with an

¹⁹ Inequality, however, is higher within the non-Indigenous population than with the Indigenous population, and is higher in urban areas than in rural areas. The Gini index is .37 for the Indigenous population against .47 for non-Indigenous population; it is .35 for rural areas and .44 respectively for urban areas.

²⁰ Defined as piped water to property (dwelling or yard). Not necessarily potable.

²¹ Broadly defined to include latrines, septic tanks, and sewerage.

overall stunting²² rate of 44 percent of all children under five.²³ There is a strong correlation between poverty and child malnutrition. Malnutrition is much higher among poor children than non-poor children (64 percent of extreme poor and 53 percent of all poor children versus 27 percent of non-poor children). Malnutrition is also higher among rural and indigenous children than their urban or non-indigenous counterparts.

35. Guatemala ranks poorly for health indicators. Life expectancy at birth (65 years) is the lowest in Central America, and far lower than the average for LAC countries (70) or lower-middle income countries (69).²⁴ Infant mortality (40-45 per thousand)²⁵ is also the highest in Central America, and far higher than the average for LAC (30) or lower-middle income countries (32).²⁶ Only Bolivia and Haiti perform worse for life expectancy or infant mortality in LAC; Guatemala does worse than other low-income countries, such as Nicaragua and Honduras. The patterns of health indicators also suggest worse conditions for the poor, rural, and indigenous populations. Though Guatemala has improved health outcomes over the past 20 years, its progress has been slower than the low-income countries of Bolivia, Nicaragua and Honduras.

36. Guatemalan literacy is *far lower* than average in Latin America. With an illiteracy rate of 31 percent in 2000, only Nicaragua and Haiti rank worse. Illiteracy among women, the poor, indigenous, and rural residents is particularly high. Despite this poor performance, Guatemala has seen improvements over time, with a slight quickening of the pace since the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996. Educational attainment is also quite low in Guatemala, with significant gender, ethnic and poverty gaps, but again there has been some progress over time. Guatemala is still a “primary” country, with an average educational stock of 4.3 years (for those aged 14+). Attainment is even lower among women, the poor, and the indigenous, although these disparities have been narrowing over time.

37. Guatemala has made progress in improving primary enrolment, but coverage is still low and biased towards the non-poor. In the early 1970s, primary

²² The stunting rate reflects the deficit in height for age of a child. It is an indicator of past growth failure, associated with a number of long-term factors including chronic insufficient protein and energy intake, frequent infection, inappropriate feeding practices and poverty. Technically, stunting is defined as percentage of children falling below –2 standard deviations for height for age of a reference population.

²³ These rates are consistent for various recent surveys (ENCOVI 2000: 44 percent; DHS 1998: 46 percent).

²⁴ Source: World Bank (2001b).

²⁵ Estimates of infant mortality for Guatemala vary. The 1998/99 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) puts the average at 45. The World Bank World Development Indicators (2001), based on official health statistics, puts the estimate for that same year at 40.

²⁶ World Bank (2001b).

schools enrolled just over half of the target population.²⁷ Net enrolment rates increased dramatically in only one generation, to 79 percent in 2000.²⁸ Importantly, progress has been significantly faster in the years since the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996. Notwithstanding its commendable progress, primary coverage is still low by international standards. Guatemala's net enrolment is the lowest in Central America, and lags significantly behind the averages for LAC (91 percent) and lower-middle income countries (99 percent). As with other indicators, enrolment is lower among girls, the poor, indigenous, and rural children. Coverage at the pre-primary, secondary, and superior levels are even lower and more biased against disadvantaged groups than at the primary level.

²⁷ World Bank WDI 2001.

²⁸ Source: World Bank calculations using ENCOVI 2000 – *Instituto Nacional de Estadística Guatemala*.

3. EXTENT OF CHILDREN'S WORK IN GUATEMALA

3.1 Children's work defined

38. For the purposes of this paper, “children’s work” is defined as any form of economic activity performed by children. Economic activity, in turn, as defined by the UN System of National Accounts (1993 Rev. 3), is a broad concept that encompasses most productive activities by children, including unpaid and illegal work, work in the informal sector, and production of goods for own use. This operational definition of children’s work does not include household chores, which are non-economic activities, and therefore outside the ‘production boundary’, according the UN System of National Accounts (1993 Rev. 3). But this distinction between work and chores is essentially technical, as both can interfere with school and leisure, and both can pose health risks. This paper therefore also looks separately

Box 1. Child work, or children’s work, versus child labour

The definitions of child work and child labour, and the distinctions between the two, have been subject to considerable debate in development circles.

A consensus is gradually emerging, however, that in the English language sees ‘child work’ or ‘children’s work’ as a general term covering the entire spectrum of work-related tasks performed by children, and ‘child labour’ as that subset of children’s work that is injurious to children and that should be targeted for elimination. There is also growing recognition that there are certain intolerable, or ‘unconditionally worst’, forms of child labour that constitute especially serious violations of children’s rights, and that should be targeted first for elimination.

Implicit in this distinction is the recognition that work by children *per se* is not necessarily injurious to children or a violation of their rights. Indeed, in some circumstances, children’s work can be beneficial, not harmful, contributing to family survival and enabling children to acquire learning and life skills.

There is less agreement concerning where the line between benign forms of children’s work, on one side, and child labour for elimination, on the other, is drawn. This question is by no means merely academic, as underlying it is the more basic question of what precisely the social problem is that should be eliminated.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) recognizes the children’s right to be protected from forms of work that are 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. The CRC also calls on States parties to set minimum ages for admission to employment, having regard to other international instruments.

ILO Conventions No. 138 (Minimum Age) and No. 182 (Worst Forms) target as child labour 1) *all forms of work* carried out by children below a minimum cut-off age (at least 12 years in less developed countries), 2) *all forms except ‘light work’* carried out by children below a second higher cut-off age (at least 14 years in less developed countries), and 3) *all ‘worst forms’ of child labour*, including hazardous types of work, carried out by children of any age under 18.²⁹

The Government of Guatemala targets as child labour all work performed by children under the age of 14, *except* in cases where a permit is granted by the Inspector General of Labour (IGT). The Inspector General has the authority to grant a work permit to a child under 14 only if the child is an apprentice, “extreme poverty” warrants the child’s contribution to the family income, or if he or she is engaged in work that is light in “duration and intensity”. Underage work must also not prevent the child from meeting compulsory schooling requirements in some way.

²⁹ This report does not look in detail at work performed by children 15-17 years of age; nonetheless, the engagement of children in this aged in hazardous work or other worst forms of child labour needs to be tackled.

at the extent to which children must perform household chores.³⁰ Data on economically active children have often been used as a proxy for those on child labour that needs elimination.

39. Not all children's work is equivalent to child labour that must be singled out for elimination. Child labour is a narrower concept that refers only to negative or undesirable forms of work that should be eliminated (see Box 1). This report does not attempt to draw a clear statistical line between benign forms of work, on one side, and child labour, on the other. There are two main reasons for this. First, and most importantly, there is no clear legal consensus concerning what specific types of work constitute child labour. Second, even assuming such a consensus, drawing this line would require detailed information about the work tasks and work conditions of children in each of industrial sectors in which they are found. This information was not collected by ENCOVI 2000 or the other major household surveys conducted recently in Guatemala. The report therefore attempts to instead provide the information, and identify the data gaps that need to be filled, in order that the Government is able to draw this line, based on national laws and guided by international child labour norms.

40. Unless otherwise indicated, the discussion on the extent of children's involvement in work refers to the 7-14 years age group. The upper bound of 14 years is consistent with ILO Convention No. 138 on Minimum Age, which states that the minimum age for admission to employment or work should not be less than 15 years (Art. 2.3).³¹ Fourteen years can also be considered the threshold age after which children being to exercise a degree of control over their time allocations, i.e., the age at which children begin to become "free agents". The lower bound of seven years coincides with the age at which Guatemalan children start formal schooling.

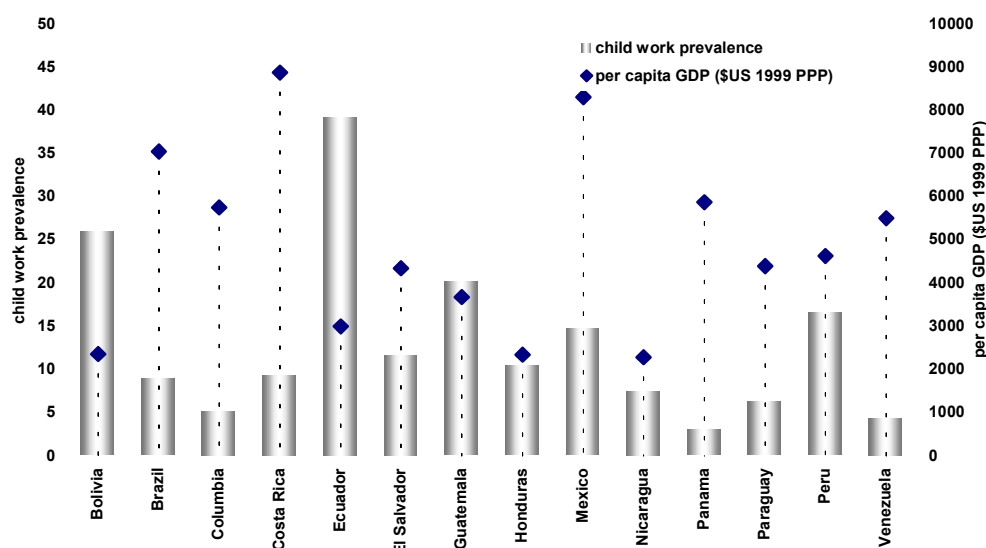
³⁰ Since household chores is not an exhaustive category, indicators relating to this type of activity are kept separate from information about child work.

³¹ In countries where the economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed, the Convention sets a minimum age of not less than 14 years for general work, and 12 years for light work, for an initial period. In Guatemala, the minimum working age is 14 years, with some exceptions.

3.2 Total prevalence of children in work

41. **Children's work is very common in Guatemala.** One-fifth of total 7-14 year-olds, over 500,000 in absolute terms, are engaged in work (as defined above). Among 5-17 year-olds, 23 percent, or over 900,000 in absolute terms, are involved in work. Guatemala ranks third highest in prevalence of children in work of the 14 Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) countries where data are available, behind only Bolivia and Ecuador (Figure 3).³² In terms of GDP per capita, on the other hand, the country ranks fifth lowest of the 14 countries. Guatemala's relative level of children's work is therefore high compared to its relative level of income.³³ Two countries – Honduras and Nicaragua – have lower levels of children's work despite also having lower levels of income.

FIGURE 3. Child work prevalence and per capita GDP, selected LAC countries



Notes: Estimates refer to the following age groups: Bolivia (7-14); Brazil (5-14); Colombia (10-14); Costa Rica (12-14); Ecuador (10-14); El Salvador (10-14); Guatemala (7-14); Honduras (10-14); Mexico (12-14); Nicaragua (6-14); Panama (10-14); Paraguay (5-14); Peru (6-14); and Venezuela (10-14).

Sources: GDP per capita estimates: UNDP, *Human Development Report 2001*. Child work estimates: **Bolivia**, [Encuesta Continua de Hogares \(ECH\)](#), 1999; **Brazil**, [Pesquisa Nacional por Amostragem de Domicílios \(PNAD\)](#), 1998; **Colombia**, [Encuesta Nacional de Hogares Fuerza de Trabajo \(ENH\)](#), 1998; **Costa Rica**, [Encuesta Permanente de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples \(EHPM\)](#), 1998; **Ecuador**, [Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida \(ECV\)](#) 3rd Round, 1998; **El Salvador**, [Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples \(EHPM\)](#), 1998; **Guatemala**, [Encuesta Nacional Sobre Condiciones de Vida-ENCOVI](#), 2000; **Honduras**, [Encuesta Permanente de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples \(EHPM\)](#), 1998; **Mexico**, [Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares \(ENIGH\)](#), 1996; **Nicaragua**, [Encuesta Nacional de Hogares sobre Medición de Niveles de Vida](#), 1993; **Panama**, [Encuesta de Hogares \(EH\)](#), 1998; **Paraguay**, [Encuesta Permanente de Hogares \(EPH\)](#), 1999; **Peru**, [Encuesta Nacional de Hogares Sobre Medición de Niveles de Vida \(ENNV\)](#), 1994; **Venezuela**, [Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo \(EHM\)](#), 1998.

42. **But estimates based on household surveys understate the total prevalence of children in work.** There are two main reasons for this. First, household surveys such as ENCOVI 2000 are ill-suited to capturing so-called unconditional worst forms of child labour,³⁴ because of the unlikelihood that these morally repugnant or dangerous

³² The estimates are based on similar survey instruments, but they refer to different age groups. Comparisons therefore are indicative only.

³³ Expressed in terms of \$US 1999 purchasing power parity.

³⁴ As defined by ILO Convention No. 182. Categories considered by ILO Convention No. 182 as unconditional worst forms include: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or

activities are reported by a household member to a survey interviewer, even if the child in question is still part of the household. Hazardous and unconditional worst forms of child labour are discussed further in section 4 of this report. Second, a substantial proportion of Guatemalan children are reportedly neither working nor attending school. This group of children requires further investigation, but it stands to reason that many from this group are in reality performing functions that contribute in some way to household welfare, i.e., either working or doing household chores.³⁵

TABLE 1. Child activity status, by age, sex and residence

Sex	Activity	Children aged 6-14 years						Children aged 5-17 years					
		Urban		Rural		Total		Urban		Rural		Total	
		%	No. ⁽¹⁾	%	No. ⁽¹⁾	%	No. ⁽¹⁾	%	No. ⁽¹⁾	%	No. ⁽¹⁾	%	No. ⁽¹⁾
Male	Work only	4.3	19	12.3	104	9.5	123	9.3	65	19.9	265	16.3	330
	Study only	73.9	334	53.9	456	60.9	790	62.4	433	40.9	545	48.2	978
	Work and study	10.1	45	19.7	167	16.4	212	10.9	76	16.0	213	14.2	289
	Neither	11.8	53	14.1	119	13.3	172	17.3	120	23.3	310	21.2	430
	Total work ⁽²⁾	14.4	64	32.0	271	25.9	335	20.2	141	35.9	478	30.5	619
	Total study ⁽³⁾	78.2	379	73.6	623	67.3	1,002	73.3	509	56.9	758	62.4	1266
Female	Work only	4.1	18	6.8	54	5.9	72	7.6	53	10.1	129	9.2	182
	Study only	74.6	323	58.4	464	64.1	787	63.5	444	43.9	562	50.8	1006
	Work and study	7.6	32	8.3	66	8.1	99	8.1	57	6.3	80	6.9	137
	Neither	13.8	60	26.5	210	22	270	20.9	146	39.7	508	33.1	655
	Total work	11.7	50	15.1	121	14.0	172	15.7	109	16.4	209	16.1	319
	Total study	82.2	356	66.7	530	72.2	887	71.6	500	50.2	642	57.7	1142
Total	Work only	4.2	37	9.7	158	7.7	195	8.5	118	15.1	395	12.8	512
	Study only	74.2	657	56.1	920	62.4	1,577	62.9	876	42.4	1107	49.5	1984
	Work and study	8.8	78	14.2	233	12.3	311	9.5	132	11.2	293	10.6	425
	Neither	12.8	113	20.1	330	17.5	442	19.1	266	31.3	818	27.1	1085
	Total work	13.0	115	23.9	392	20.0	507	18.0	250	26.3	688	23.4	938
	Total study	83.0	736	70.3	1,153	74.7	1,889	72.4	1009	53.6	1400	60.1	2409

Notes: (1) numbers expressed in thousands; (2) 'Total work' refers to children that work only and children that work and study;

(3) 'Total study' refers to children that study only and children that work and study.

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala*

43. Working children attending school substantially outnumber those not attending school. In absolute terms, around 312,000 Guatemalan 7-14 year-olds (12 percent) combine school and work while some 196,000 (eight percent) work without attending school. The other (non-working) children in the 7-14 years age group are either full-time students (62 percent) or are reportedly involved in no activities (18 percent) (Figure 4). The latter group, reportedly idle children, also merits policy attention. Children from this group that are indeed idle can be even more disadvantaged than their working counterparts, benefiting neither from schooling nor from the learning-by-doing that some forms of work offer. Regression analysis also suggests that this is the group that is most at risk of entering work should a household be faced with a sudden loss of income or other type of shock (see below).

offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; and (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties.

³⁵ Parents may falsely report their children as being idle instead of as working because (at best) work by children is forbidden or (at worst) because their children are engaged in illegal or dangerous activities. Alternatively, parents may misinterpret the survey question, and report a child as idle because he or she was not working at the time of the interview, although he or she may work during other periods.

UNDERSTANDING CHILDREN'S WORK IN GUATEMALA

44. The performance of household chores is also very common among Guatemalan children. Although, as noted above, household chores do not fall within the formal definition of work, their implications for child welfare are similar to those of work. Indeed, household chores can conflict with formal education just as much as, or in the case of girls even more than, work activities such as bringing in the harvest or helping in the family enterprise. Around 300,000 children aged 7-14 years – 12 percent of this age group – perform household chores for at least four hours per day.³⁶ Around 22,000 of these children shoulder the burden of both household chores and work, and around 28,000 perform household chores, work *and* attend school (Table 2). Among 5-17 year-olds, 14 percent household chores for at least four hours per day.

TABLE 2. Involvement in household chores more than four hours per day, children aged 7-14 years

Sex	% of children performing household chores for more than 4 hrs./day		Distribution of children performing household chores for more than 4 hrs./day by activity status								Work prevalence (expanded definition) ^(a)	
			work only		study only		work and study		no activities			total
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Male	5.5	72,067	5.3	3,794	55.0	39,618	16.4	11,773	23.4	16,882	100	30.2
Female	18.8	230,616	8.0	18,488	54.3	125,155	7.2	16,661	30.5	70,312	100	29.8
Total	12.0	302,623	7.4	22,282	54.4	164,773	9.4	28,434	28.8	87,134	100	30.0

Notes: (a) Expanded definition combines children performing household chores for at least four hours per day with those that are economically active (eliminating the overlapping group that fall into both categories).

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

45. Including household chores in the definition of work significantly raises total work prevalence. A more comprehensive indicator of children's work can be formed by combining children performing household chores for at least four hours per day with those that are economically active (and eliminating the overlapping group that fall into both categories). Work prevalence among 7-14 year-olds when using this more comprehensive indicator rises to 30 percent, with little difference by sex (Table 2).

3.3 Trends in the prevalence of children in work

46. The prevalence of children in work appears to be rising in Guatemala. The latest national employment survey, ENE1 2002,³⁷ yielded a work prevalence estimate of 23 percent. This compares with a 20 percent estimate generated by ENCOVI 2000, an estimate of 14 percent from ENIGFAM 1998-1999³⁸ and an estimate of eight percent from the 1994 population census (Figure 7).³⁹ However, differences in survey methodologies mean that caution must be exercised in reading too much into

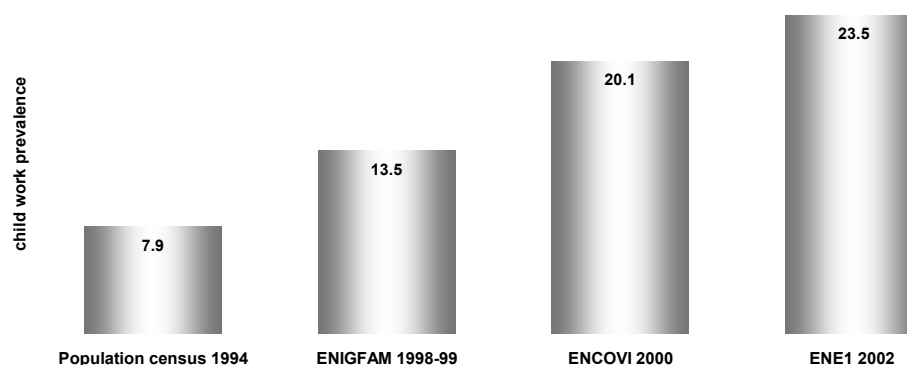
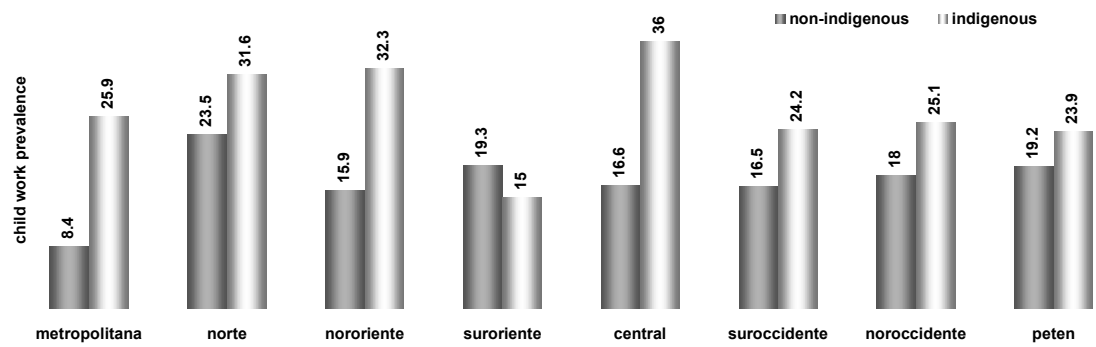
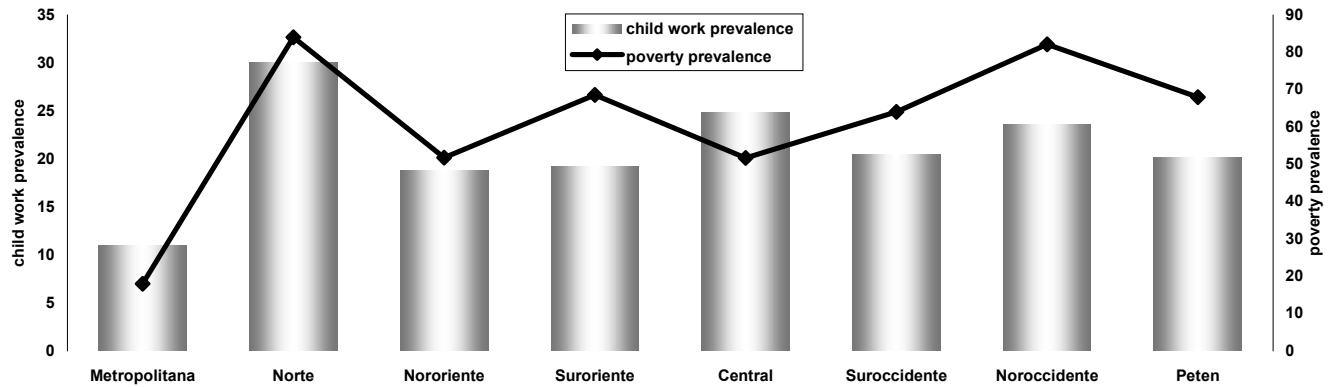
FIGURE 7. Longitudinal comparison of child work prevalence

FIGURE 6. Prevalence of 7-14 year-olds in work by ethnicity and region



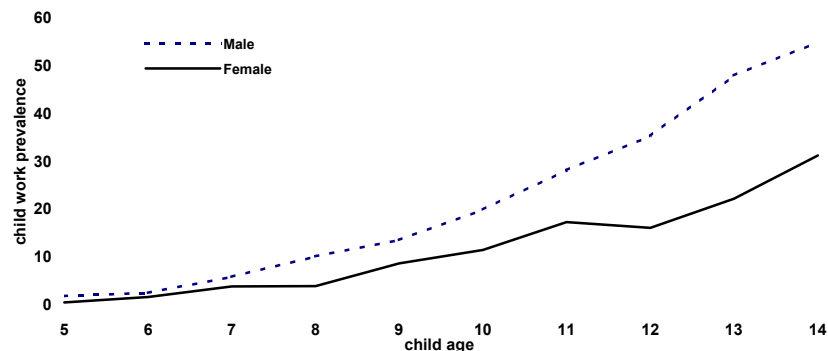
Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000*. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala

FIGURE 6. Children's work and poverty prevalence by region



Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000*. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala

FIGURE 5. Prevalence of children in work by age and sex



Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000*. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala

4. CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN'S WORK

4.1 Sector and modality of work

54. Almost two-thirds of total 7-14 year-old working children are found in the agriculture sector. Considering that 65 percent of children live in the countryside, this is not surprising. But it is interesting that also one fourth of urban children report working in this sector, which is the second largest employer of urban children after commerce (the latter employs 32 percent of children). The type of work children perform appears to depend to an important extent on their sex. Boys tend to work on the *finca* (three-fourths of them) with commercial activities coming a distant second (10 percent), while girls' activities are more evenly spread among agricultural work (40 percent), commerce (28 percent), manufacturing (20 percent) and personal services (12 percent) (Table 4). Similar patterns prevail for working children in the broader 5-17 years age group.

TABLE 4. Distribution of working children by main industrial sector, residence and sex

Sector	Sex	6-14 year-old working children						5-17 year-old working children					
		Urban		Rural		Total		Urban		Rural		Total	
		%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
agriculture	male	34.6	22,446	84	227,711	74.5	250,288	28.5	40,068	79.96	382,420	68.27	422,488
	female	10.5	5,311	52.1	62,851	39.8	68,478	7.51	8,246	43.93	92,024	31.41	100,270
	total	24	27,709	74.2	376,325	62.8	318,507	19.3	48,314	68.98	474,444	55.73	522,758
commerce	male	28.1	18,229	6.1	16,536	10.3	34,604	26.38	37,085	6.62	31,651	11.11	68,736
	female	36.9	18,665	23.3	28,108	27.4	47,143	41.8	45,867	25.44	53,300	31.06	99,167
	total	32	36,946	11.4	57,818	16.1	81,655	33.14	82,952	12.35	84,951	17.9	167,903
manufacturing	male	14.9	9,666	3.7	10,030	5.9	19,821	17.01	23,913	4.79	22,927	7.57	46,840
	female	22.5	11,381	19.1	23,041	20.1	34,583	19.58	21,486	21.47	44,974	20.82	66,460
	total	18.2	21,013	8.4	42,603	10.7	54,268	18.14	45,399	9.87	67,901	12.08	113,300
health and personal services	male	9.2	5,968	1.5	4,066	3	10,079	10	14,053	1.75	8,370	3.62	22,423
	female	28.8	14,568	5.3	6,394	12.3	21,163	29.67	32,560	8.45	17,701	15.74	50,261
	total	17.8	20,551	2.7	13,694	6.1	30,938	18.62	46,613	3.79	26,071	7.75	72,684
construction	male	7.7	4,995	3.9	10,572	4.7	15,790	13.66	19,209	5.66	27,058	7.48	46,267
	female	0.3	152	0	0	0.1	172	0.22	239	0.09	187	0.13	426
	total	4.5	5,196	2.7	13,694	3.1	15,722	7.77	19,448	3.96	27,245	4.98	46,693
other	male	5.5	3,568	0.9	2,440	1.7	5,711	4.44	6,248	1.22	5,847	1.95	12,095
	female	0.9	455	0.2	241	0.4	688	1.22	1,340	0.62	1,303	0.83	2,643
	total	3.5	4,041	0.5	2,536	1.2	6,086	3.04	7,588	1.05	7,150	1.58	14,738
Total	male	100	64,872	100	271,085	100	335,957	100	140,576	100	478,273	100	618,849
	female	100	50,584	100	120,635	100	172,055	100	109,738	100	209,489	100	319,227
	total	100	115,456	100	507,176	100	507,176	100	250,314	100	687,762	100	938,076

Source: Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala

55. Guatemalan children work primarily for their families and not for wages.

Around three-quarters of 7-14 year-olds in agriculture and commerce, and two-thirds of 7-14 year-olds in manufacturing, are unremunerated family workers (Table 5).

Only in the health and personal services sector, the fourth-largest employer of children, is family-based work relatively unimportant. With the exception of the agriculture sector, children's mode of work varies significantly by sex. In the manufacturing and commerce sectors, family work is relatively more important for girls than for boys, while private sector employment is relatively more important for

boys than for girls. In the health and personal services sector, 82 percent of girls work as domestics against only five percent of boys.

TABLE 5. Distribution of 7-14 year-old child workers by sex, mode of work and industrial sector

Sex	Industry	Mode of work							Total
		Private sector employ	Daily wage worker	Domestic Worker	Employer	Self employed	Unpaid family worker	Unpaid non-family worker	
Male	Agriculture	1.75	13.75	0	0	0.76	75.98	7.75	100
	Manufacturing	39.31	0	0	0	1.33	55.76	2.71	100
	Commerce	28.25	4.92	1.89	0	0	62.69	1.77	100
	Health and Personal Services	26.25	5.13	5.71	2.65	36.07	24.2	0	100
	Others	59.07	11.38	0.78	0	0	20.36	8.41	100
	Total	11.06	11.62	0.42	0.08	1.73	68.34	6.65	100
Female	Agriculture	4.68	14.13	0.56	0	0	72.42	8.22	100
	Manufacturing	14.13	3.82	0	0.28	5.34	73.72	2.7	100
	Commerce	10.28	0.36	2.8	1.83	1.65	80.07	3.02	100
	Health and Personal Services	1.88	2.19	81.67	0	0.39	9.64	4.23	100
	Others	30.52	0	0	0	0	49.17	20.31	100
	Total	7.89	6.76	10.99	0.56	1.57	66.97	5.26	100
Total	Agriculture	2.38	13.83	0.12	0	0.6	75.22	7.85	100
	Manufacturing	23.31	2.43	0	0.18	3.88	67.17	2.7	100
	Commerce	17.93	2.3	2.41	1.05	0.95	72.67	2.49	100
	Health and Personal Services	9.79	3.15	57.02	0.86	11.97	14.37	2.86	100
	Others	57.98	10.95	0.75	0	0	21.45	8.87	100
	Total	9.99	9.98	3.99	0.24	1.67	67.88	6.18	100

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000*. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala

56. Children perform a wide variety of work functions. In agriculture, most children are found on coffee and sugar cane plantations, where they contribute to the collective efforts of their families. Commercial work done by children tends to consist of helping out at the family market stall or store. This is especially true for girls, who will generally accompany their mother to the market or, when they are older, be left to mind the family business. Manufacturing activities involve mainly girls because they tend to be in the textile sector. The work typically consists of one of two things. Either weaving of traditional Mayan cloth for sale to local markets and tourists or assembly of garments for export, with the household being a sub-

Box 1. Child work in the *Maquiladoras*

Maquiladoras (often shortened to *maquilas*) are industries that assemble garments from imported materials and ship them to foreign destinations with an extremely favorable tax regime. A large percentage of Guatemala's *maquilas* are owned by US or South Korean investors and employ a largely female workforce.

Maquilas used to be important employers of minors and, although there are no figures available, it is likely that quite a number of adolescent girls still works for them. But as a result of the negative publicity given to child labour in the textile *maquilas*, employers have greatly reduced their use of child labour.

Instead, they contract garment sewing to small shops and private homes, allowing a firm to boost its production while turning a blind eye to child workers who are employed by these sub-contractors or who assist their mothers working out of their homes. While this practice is commonly found in Latin America, a particularly Guatemalan evolution of it is the existence of *maquila* communities –entire villages sub-contracted by the *maquila* through the village council, where virtually every one participates in the *maquila* work.¹

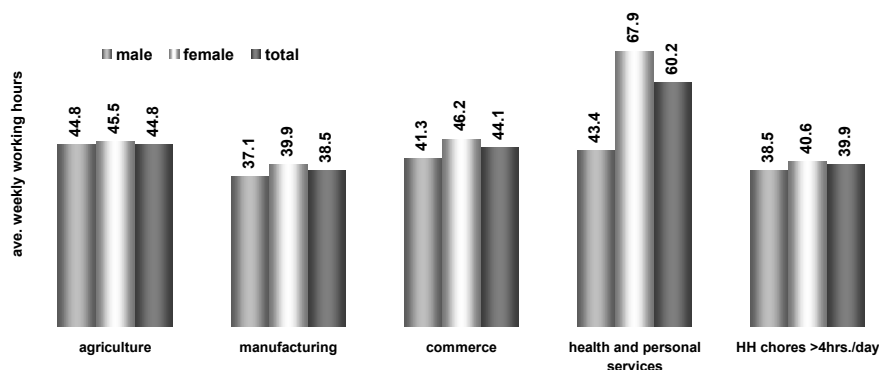
contractor for a maquiladora factory (see Panel 1). In the health and personal services sector, children, mostly girls, work primarily as servants within private homes. Children encounter work hazards in all of these sectors, as detailed below.

4.3 Intensity of work

57. Children's work in Guatemala is characterised by very long working hours, leaving children little time for study or play. Working children put in an average of 47 hours of work per week, considerably more than a full-time adult worker in the industrial world. By contrast, the Guatemalan Labour Code sets 30 hours per week as the maximum acceptable limit. Working children who do not go to school put in the longest hours – an average of 58 per week – but even those who also attend school put in a 40-hour workweek on average. Work hours vary somewhat across sectors, and by sex within sectors. The average workweek is longest in the health and personal services sector, and shortest in the manufacturing sector. Work hours are slightly longer for girls than boys in the manufacturing and commerce sectors, and much longer for girls than boys in the health and personal services sector (Figure 8a).

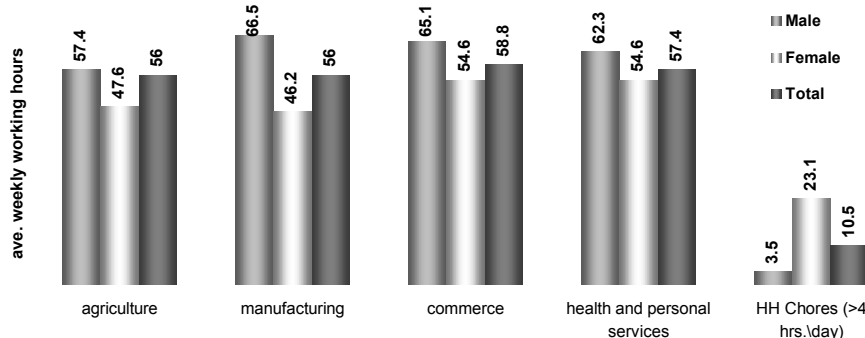
58. Household chores also eat into children's time for play and study. Children performing household chores⁴¹ do so for an average of 40 hours per week, with girls

FIGURE 8a. Children age 7-14 years: average weekly working hours, by sector



Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala*

FIGURE 8b. Adults aged 15-65: average weekly working hours, by sector



Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala*

⁴¹ For more than four hours per day.

again putting in more hours than boys (Figure 8). Children performing household chores spend almost four times as much time on them as adults (Figure 8b).

4.4 Hazardous forms of children's work

59. **Available evidence suggests that children can face hazardous conditions⁴² in many of the sectors in which they work.** ENCOVI 2000 did not look at work tasks and workplace conditions in sufficient detail to permit an assessment of the hazardousness of the various forms of work that children perform. But other information sources point to a variety of work-related hazards faced by children.

60. **Domestic servants in private homes.** Girls working as domestic servants in private homes are very vulnerable to abuses. ENCOVI 2000 indicates that there are 17,350 girls aged 7-14 years working as domestic servants. Estimates from other sources, however, put the number much higher. The Archbishop's Human Rights Office, in its 2000 report on childhood, for example, estimates that there are some 92,800 children aged 10-14 years working as domestic servants. One-quarter of total female servants, and almost all very young ones, are indigenous. These girls typically come from poor rural families and are sent to town by their parents as a survival strategy. In general, the younger the girl, the more likely she is to be of indigenous origin and to be unschooled. Available information paints a grim picture of the conditions of female domestics.⁴³ Work days of 13-16 hours,⁴⁴ six days a week, for salaries around Q200-400 (about \$25-50) per month; threats, beatings, harassment and even sexual abuse are not uncommon; benefits are not paid, vacations or sick days generally are non-existent. Less than one-third of female servants is able to attend school.

61. **Firecracker production.** The production of firecrackers is probably the most dangerous occupation in which Guatemalan children are involved. Gunpowder, which is used in firecracker production, is highly explosive, toxic and flammable, and production takes place directly in the home or in workshops lacking safety and hygiene measures. As a result, accidents are not uncommon, causing severe burns and sometimes even the death of children.⁴⁵ In addition, exposure to gunpowder leads to respiratory illness and eye irritations that cause itching, tearing, and burning.⁴⁶ It

⁴² ILO Convention No. 182 targets as hazardous work any activity or occupation which, by its nature or type has, or leads to, adverse effects on the child's safety, health (physical or mental), and moral development. (International Labour Office, *Every Child Counts: New Global Estimates on Child Labour*, International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour, Geneva, April 2002.)

⁴³ ENCOVI 2000, CALDH, op.cit., and Reynoso, op. cit.

⁴⁴ ILO-IPEC, *El trabajo infantil domestico en Guatemala lineamientos y recomendaciones para una propuesta de intervención*, 2002, available at www.pubicaciones.ipec.oit.or.cr.

⁴⁵ There are no reliable statistics on the number of accidents and deaths because parents tend to hide them to avoid trouble.

⁴⁶ *By the Sweat and Toil of Children: An Economic Consideration of Child Labor*. Volume VI. U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of International Labour Affairs. 2000.

Box 2. How the Guatemalans view child work

"Children's work is dignifying, because it allows them to satisfy their basic needs, increases their self-esteem and improves the living conditions of their family in an honest way, for their development".

In a recent study, 45% of elementary school teachers agreed with this opinion, as well as half of the indigenous organisations (the other half considered that how dignifying work is for children depends on its conditions). On the other hand, only 14% of government institutions, 9% of physicians and none of the international organisations agreed that child work is dignifying. Respondents identify the following conditions as exploitative of children, and therefore not dignifying:

- unfair salary or no salary at all
- long hours
- sexual exploitation
- taking advantage of children's labour force and/or of their innocence and inability to defend themselves
- tasks exceeding their physical force or skills
- activities harmful to their physical, moral and psychological development
- physical and/or psychological mistreatment
- denial of the right to education or recreation as appropriate for their age
- unlawful appropriation of the product of their work.

Mayan authorities in particular draw a clear distinction between family work, which has a high pedagogical value because it develops honor, dignity and knowledge, and work for an outsider, which may help the family but often takes place under exploitative conditions.

Source: CALDH, "Consulta piloto sobre niñez trabajadora", unpublished manuscript, Guatemala, 1999.

is estimated that about 3,000 children work at gunpowder production and another 5,000 work at firecracker production.⁴⁷ Firecracker production is concentrated in the Guatemala department, and more particularly in the municipalities of San Juan Sacatepequez and San Raymundo. Children as young as six, mostly boys, insert fuses into firecrackers and perform other related tasks requiring a great deal of concentration to avoid accidents (e.g., if the "wheel" holding the firecrackers in which children insert fuses falls, it explodes). Some children combine this work with schooling, but many delay enrolment, drop out or avoid schooling altogether, to spend 10-12 hours a day working at the family business.

62. Agricultural work. Children in the agricultural sector can be subjected to hazardous work conditions. On coffee plantations, children – mostly boys – work picking, sorting and carrying heavy sacks of the coffee beans. Working and living conditions for these child workers are often dismal. With long working days under a hot sun, carrying heavy loads, and risking cuts from sharp knives, these children are highly susceptible to injuries and disease. Plantation living often means little or no health care, cramped housing in mere shacks (*galeras*) made of palm leaves, tin and wood, lack of potable water and sanitation, poor treatment or abuse from plantation managers. Common illnesses among these children include respiratory infections, intestinal infections and parasites, malaria, dengue, insect and snake bites. Injuries such as fractures, cuts, loss of eyesight and limbs are not uncommon, not to mention death from disease, malnutrition and injury.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Information obtained from the Labour Ministry's Child Labour Office. See also: Casa Alianza, Ann Birch, "Guatemala's Brothels are Another Workplace", Child Labour News Service, 1 November 1999.

⁴⁸ Reynoso, Patricia. (2001)

63. **Mining and quarrying.** Children working in mining and quarrying face dangerous conditions and suffer a high incidence of injuries and illness. Children in Guatemala work in the mining and refining of lime that is used in the construction industry and the fermenting of local alcoholic beverages. Children often lift and crush heavy rocks putting them in danger of bone fractures, burns, and respiratory ailments as well as landslides. Along the Samalá River in Retalhuleu department, children, some as young as five, are employed in stone quarries to chip and haul stones. Many work in slavery-like conditions to pay off debt for their parents. They face serious health hazards, including lung and skin disease, deformation, blindness and loss of limb. Because of the isolation of these quarries, it is difficult for the children to access schooling or medical services.⁴⁹

64. **Garbage picking.** Children are found in the garbage dumps of urban area picking through and collecting items that can be recycled or reused. Most (73 percent) of these children work sorting the garbage, while a smaller proportion (10 percent) works gathering the garbage into packages/bundles. This work exposes children to numerous risks. According to an ILO/IPEC rapid assessment, some 82 percent sustain cuts or other injuries; 56 percent suffer burning eyes as a result of gas released by the decomposing garbage; and 40 percent experience headaches from sun exposure. The children also face a high risk of infection and disease as a result of being exposed to and handling various forms of dangerous refuse. The average working day for children working as garbage pickers is 7.4 hours; the average workweek is five and half days. Children typically start working in the garbage dumps at the age of nine years, though some start at an even earlier age.⁵⁰

4.5 Unconditional worst forms of child labour

65. **In Guatemala as in most countries information about children involved in so-called unconditional worst forms of child labour is extremely sketchy.**⁵¹ This is due both to the methodological difficulties inherent in investigating them and to their cultural sensitivity. As noted above, household surveys are not designed to generate information about children involved in these forms of work. However,

⁴⁹ ILO, *Guatemala: Programme success for removing children from stone quarries*, International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) Factsheet, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/textonly/about/factsheets/facts18.htm>.

⁵⁰ *Los niños del Basurero*, ANDATA WFCL: Trabajo Infantil En Basureros. *Guatemala OIT-IPEC rapid assessment reporte de investigación Guatemala*, octubre de 2001.

⁵¹ Activities targeted by ILO Convention No. 182 as unconditional worst forms include: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; and (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties. ILO Convention No. 182 also targets as worst forms any work that is hazardous to the health, safety or morals of children.

sporadic reports from other sources, e.g., police, journalists, NGOs, social workers, provide at least a partial picture.

66. Commercial sexual exploitation of children is reported to be on the increase, although accurate figures are impossible to obtain. The UN Special Rapporteur on the sale of children, child commercial sexual exploitation and child pornography, in her report on a 1999 mission to Guatemala, cites an estimate of 2,000 minors forced to work in approximately 600 brothels and bars in Guatemala City alone.⁵² This estimate, however, is based on an old (1994) police report; no more recent assessment of the extent of the problem is available. Some sexually exploited children are recruited under the false pretence of marriage or a good job in the city. Others are kidnapped or sold by their parents, and some are trafficked across national borders. They include both boys and girls. The Special Rapporteur, in the same report, cites information received from authorities and social workers in other localities suggesting that child sexual exploitation also exists on a significant scale outside Guatemala City.⁵³

67. Guatemala is both source for and destination of trafficked children, although the total extent of child trafficking in the country is not known. Reports indicate that along the border with El Salvador, children are brought into the country from El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras by organized rings; many of these children are lured by false promises of lucrative jobs, which would allow them to send remittances back to their families. They include both boys and girls, and are from the poorest population segments.⁵⁴ Police estimated in 1996 that 85 percent of total child prostitutes in Guatemala City had come from these three countries.⁵⁵ The sale and/or trafficking of children out of Guatemala mainly occurs in the context of inter-country adoption.⁵⁶ However, there are also reports of international bands of traffickers recruiting Guatemalan adolescents on the border with Mexico for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation.⁵⁷

68. Street children are especially vulnerable to unconditional worst forms of labour. The government indicates that the number of street children has increased in

⁵² UN Economic and Social Council, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, *Addendum: Report on the mission to Guatemala*, Commission on Human Rights, E/CN.4/2000/73/Add.2, 27 January 2000.

⁵³ UN Economic and Social Council, op. cit.

⁵⁴ Proniños, Niños Centro Americanos (PRONICE), 1999, as cited in United States State Department, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 2001, Guatemala*, released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, 4 March 2002.

⁵⁵ ECPAT International, as cited in Global March Against Child Labour, Worst Forms of Child Labour: Guatemala, <http://globalmarch.org/worstformsreport/world/guatemala.html>.

⁵⁶ UN Economic and Social Council, op. cit.

⁵⁷ ECPAT International, op. cit.

recent years.⁵⁸ Estimates of their total numbers range from 3,500 to 8,000, but precise figures are impossible because of the fluid and mobile nature of the street population. Street children are concentrated in Guatemala City, but also can be found in a number of the departments. An estimated one-fourth to one-third are females. Many street children are forced to beg or steal to support themselves; others fall prey to adults who involve them in commercial sexual exploitation, drug-trafficking and other illicit activities. The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, in its concluding observations on the government's second periodic report to the Committee, cites allegations of rape, ill treatment and torture, including murder for the purposes of 'social cleansing', of children living in the streets.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, *Second periodic reports of States Parties due in 1997, Guatemala*, CRC/C/65/Add.10, 29 March 2000.

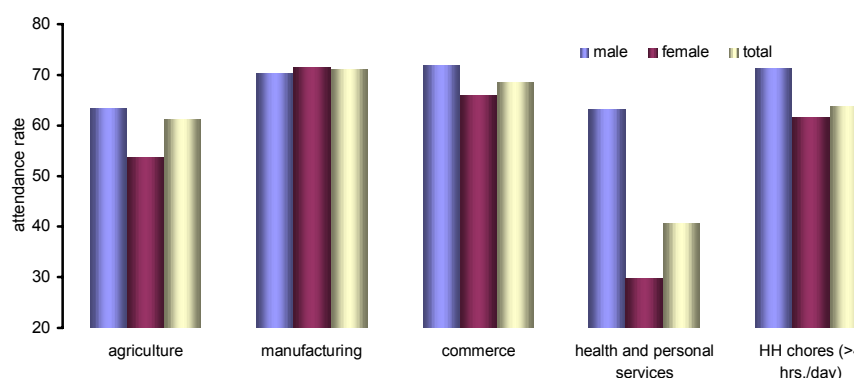
⁵⁹ United Nations, *Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child: Guatemala 09/07/2001*, CRC/C/Add.154, 9 July 2001.

5. CONSEQUENCES OF WORK ON CHILD WELFARE

5.1 Children's work and education

69. School attendance is significantly lower for working children compared to their non-working counterparts. About 62 percent of working children attend school, against 78 percent of non-working children. Child workers complete only about half the total number of years of schooling of their non-working counterparts.⁶⁰ And for working children who do go to school, work reduces the time they have for their studies and is a frequent reported cause of absenteeism,⁶¹ undoubtedly affecting their ability to derive educational benefit from schooling. As noted earlier, children who combine school and work put in an average of 40 hours of work per week. For working children both in and out of school, therefore, work serves to limit educational development, and, concomitantly, future earning capacity.

FIGURE 9. School attendance of working children, by sector, and of children performing household chores for more than four hours per day



Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala*

70. The ability of working children to attend school appears to depend somewhat on the type of work in which they are engaged (Figure 9). Of the four sectors employing the largest number children, school attendance is lowest (41 percent) in the health and personal services sector, where, as noted above, the largest proportion of child workers are female servants in private homes. School attendance is next lowest (61 percent) in the agriculture sector. Work-school conflicts in the agricultural sector are frequently seasonal, increasing during harvest periods,⁶²

⁶⁰ Among 10-14 year-olds, those who work complete 1.78 years of schooling, compared to 3.38 years for those that do not work, and to 3.35 for those that combine school and work.

⁶¹ The Qualitative Study of Poverty and Exclusion conducted in 2000 (QPES 2000), for example, found that child work was cited as the main cause of absenteeism in the 10 study communities.

⁶² Harvest seasons vary by crop. Coffee harvests, for example, run from November to December, sugar from October to April but especially from November to February, and cardamon twice a year. In Guatemala, many families migrate for the harvest season, making even part-time school difficult during that season, and substantially disrupting the school year. Besides migration to Mexico and the United States, it is common for families to migrate to work on plantations along the Southern coast of Guatemala.

suggesting that a possible decentralisation and tailoring of the school calendar to local conditions might be warranted. School attendance is highest among children working in the manufacturing and commerce sectors (71 and 69 percent, respectively). Work interferes with girls' schooling more than boys' schooling in all but the manufacturing sector (Figure 9). The gender gap in school attendance is largest among children working in health and personal services; only 30 percent of girls in this sector attend school against 63 percent of boys.

71. **Household chores also appear to interfere with schooling.** School attendance is 64 percent for children performing chores (for more than four hours per day) compared to 76 percent for children who do not perform household chores (Figure 9). Household chores appear to hamper girls' schooling more than boys'. Sixty-two percent of girls performing household chores for more than four hours per day are able to attend school, compared to 71 percent of boys.

5.2 Children's work and health

72. **Available data do not indicate a clear negative relationship between children's work and child health.** The prevalence of health problems is almost the same for children who work full-time, who are full-time students and who neither work nor attend school, at around 22 percent. Only children who combine school and work have a slightly higher prevalence of health problems (27 percent). Nutritional status, as measured by the Body Mass Index (BMI),⁶³ is actually slightly better for children who work than for those who are full-time students (Table 6). But these findings are likely at least in part the product of measurement problems encountered when attempting to look at the work-health relationship. The health consequences of work, for example, may be obscured by the selection of the healthiest children for work, or by the fact that health consequences may not become apparent until a later stage in life.⁶⁴ Finally, it must also be recalled that ENCOVI 2000 did not capture

TABLE 6. Health and nutritional indicators, by activity status

Activity status	Reported health problems (%)			BMI for age (%)					
				Male		Female		Total	
	Male	Female	Total	-2 sd ⁽¹⁾	-3 sd ⁽²⁾	-2 sd ⁽¹⁾	-3 sd ⁽²⁾	-2 sd ⁽¹⁾	-3 sd ⁽²⁾
Work only	22.20	24.30	22.90	1.82	-	0.00	-	1.15	
Study only	20.70	23.60	22.10	1.54	0.21	1.07	0.14	1.31	0.18
Work and study	26.10	27.60	26.50	1.38	0.57	0.98	0.00	1.25	0.39
Neither	21.20	22.90	22.30	1.78	0.19	0.35	0.00	0.91	0.07
Total	21.80	23.80	22.80	1.57	0.25	0.84	0.09	1.22	0.17

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000*. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala

(1) Moderately Malnourished; (2) Severely Malnourished

⁶³ The BMI is calculated by dividing weight in kilograms by the square of height in metres.

⁶⁴ For a more complete discussion of measuring the child work - child health relationship, see O'Donnell O., Rosati F.C., and van Doorslaer E., *Child Labour and Health: Evidence and Research Issues*, Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Project, 12 December 2001.

unconditional worst forms of child labour, whose health consequences for children are undoubtedly most severe.

6. DETERMINANTS OF CHILDREN'S WORK AND SCHOOLING⁶⁵

73. **Child age and sex.** A child's age and sex are important determinants of whether he or she works, attends school, does both or does neither. Guatemalan parents are more likely to involve their male children in work. Holding constant household income, parents' education and other relevant factors, boys are more likely to work full-time (three percentage points) and to work while attending school (10 percentage points), than girls. Girls, on the other hand, are more likely than boys to be neither attending school nor working (seven percentage points), and therefore presumably involved in household chores. Not surprisingly, children are more likely to be involved in work as they grow older, suggesting that parents see a higher opportunity cost of schooling in terms of earnings forgone as their children approach adulthood.

74. **Ethnicity.** The probability of working is higher for indigenous children, even when families have similar income levels. Work incidence among indigenous children (27 percent) is much higher than among non-indigenous children (15 percent). As poverty is much higher among the indigenous community, this is not surprising. Moreover, indigenous households are more likely to live in areas with poor facilities. However, even controlling for income and for area of residence, indigenous children are nine percentage points more likely to work, and eight percentage points less likely to attend school full time, than their non-indigenous counterparts. Poverty appears, hence, not to be the only determinant of child labour in indigenous communities. Cultural factors may play an important role, albeit the availability and accessibility to schools and other infrastructures could play a non negligible role.

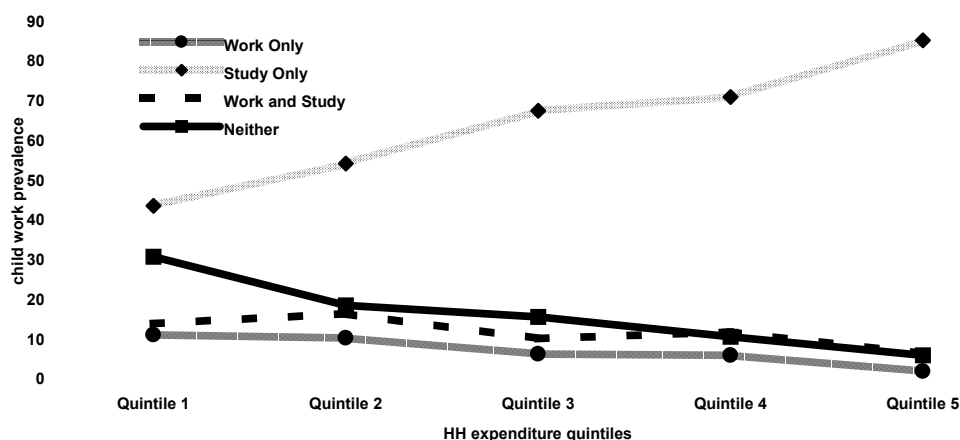
75. **Poverty.** Work prevalence among children from extremely poor households (26 percent) is almost twice as that among non-poor children (15 percent).⁶⁶ Work prevalence falls and school attendance rises

⁶⁵ The joint determination of child labour and schooling was investigated through bivariate probit estimations for the ENCOVI 2000 sample. Regression results are presented in Table 50 of the Detailed Statistical Tables.

⁶⁶ Poverty is measured based on a consumption aggregate using a poverty line of 4,318 Q. and an extreme poverty line of 1,911 Q.

progressively as household income goes up (Figure 10), but the income effect is relatively weak. For example, an

FIGURE 10. Child work prevalence by household expenditure quintile

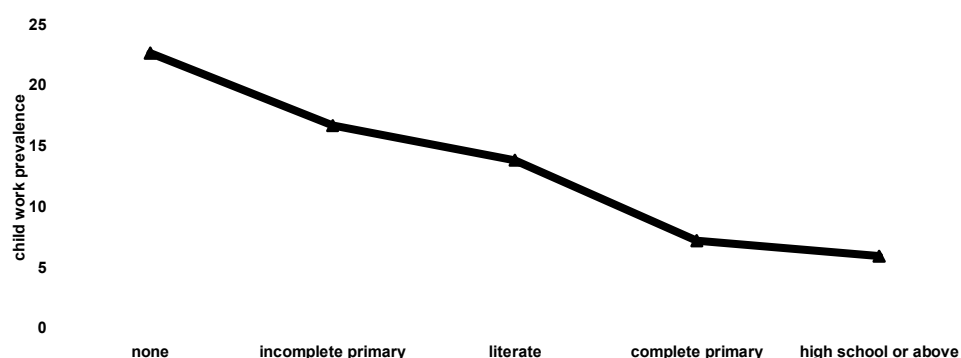


Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000*. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala

increase in income of about 10 percent has only negligible effects on the probability that a child goes to work. This indicates that relatively small changes in income are not likely to produce a relevant effect on the decision to work or attend school. Interventions aimed at reducing child labour and increase school attendance based on income transfers only are hence not likely to produce relevant changes, unless the size of the transfer is "large" .

76. Mothers' educational status. Work prevalence is highest among children whose mothers have no education, and falls progressively as mothers' education level rises (Figure 11). School attendance and mothers' education, on the other hand, are positively related. These relationships are likely at least partially the product of a disguised income effect, i.e., mothers with higher levels of education are also likely to have higher levels of income, and therefore less need to involve their children in work. However, the relationship between mothers' education and work prevalence holds even when

FIGURE 11. Child work prevalence by mothers' level of education



Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000*. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala

controlling for income.⁶⁷ A possible explanation of these findings is that education confers on the mother greater weight (moral authority or, if education translates into income, bargaining power) in family decisions. If, as some assume, mothers care for their children more than the fathers, the mother's education tends to have a positive effect on the welfare of her children. Yet another possibility is that the mother's time is an input into the education (production of human capital) of their children, and that the mother's own level of education raises the productivity of this input. Finally, more educated parents might have a better knowledge of the returns to education and/or be in a position to help their children exploit the earning potential acquired through education.

77. **Household composition.** Children from households with more adults, and therefore more available "labour force", are less likely to work and more likely to attend school. Indeed, controlling for other factors, each additional adult in a household increases the probability of a child attending school full-time by 3 percentage points. Children from households with more young children, and therefore more dependant mouths to feed, on the other hand, are more likely to work. Again controlling for other factors, each additional child aged 0-6 years increases the probability that a child will be working and studying by 1.5 percentage points. The sex of the household head has only a small effect on the probability of working, and this effect varies by the sex of the child. Boys are more likely to work when they belong to households headed by males, and girls are more likely to work when they belong to female-headed households.

78. **Exposure to collective shocks.** Households exposed to collective shocks (earthquake, flood, drought, etc.) are more likely to involve their children in work. Controlling for other factors, children from households exposed to collective shocks are four percent points more

⁶⁷ Holding income constant, a mother having no education increases the likelihood that a child works by five percentage points, and decreases the likelihood that a child attends school by 18 percentage points.

likely to work (either attending school or not) and two percentage points less likely to attend school only. This suggests that children's work serves as a strategy for coping with adverse events. As transition back to school from work is difficult, even temporary negative shocks may result in permanent changes in children's welfare.

79. **Exposure to individual shocks.** Individual negative shocks (loss of employment, death of household head, etc.) also have important effect on child labour. Children who belong to a household that has suffered from one of these shocks are about five percentage points more likely to be working. For example, about 15 percent of the children belonging to a household that has not experienced a negative shock are working, compared to 20 percent of children from households that have suffered a shock.

80. **Credit rationing.** Credit rationing strongly reduces school attendance. Children belonging to credit rationed households are seven percentage points less likely to attend school than children from non-rationed households. Children from credit rationed household are more likely to be idle (about six percentage points) and to work full-time.

81. **Health insurance.** Children belonging from household where at least one member is covered by health insurance are 4.5 percentage points less likely to work. The effect of health insurance coverage on school attendance is also not negligible. Children who belong from a household with a member covered by health insurance are 4.5 percentage points more likely to attend school.

82. **But children's work is a complex phenomenon and the factors mentioned above clearly represent only a partial list of determinants.** Better data and more in-depth analysis are needed for a more complete understanding of why children become involved in work. Information on availability of infrastructure, school quality, and access to credit markets and social protection schemes, is especially needed. Better qualitative analyses of factors such as parental attitudes and cultural traditions are also necessary. The demand for child workers, not looked at by household surveys, is another area that needs to be better understood. The unique circumstances causing children's involvement in

unconditional worst forms of child labour, also not captured by traditional household surveys, is an area requiring particular research attention.

7. NATIONAL RESPONSE TO CHILD LABOUR

7.1 Legislation relating to child labour

83. **The Guatemalan legislation contains a number of basic protections for child workers.** The Guatemalan Constitution⁶⁸ and the national Labour Code (*Código de Trabajo*) set the basic minimum age of work at 14 years. The Code is not consistent with legislation that makes schooling in Guatemala compulsory up to the age of 15 years.⁶⁹ The Inspector General of Labour (IGT) has the authority to grant a work permit to a child under 14 only if the child is an apprentice, “extreme poverty” warrants the child’s contribution to the family income, or if he or she is engaged in work that is light in “duration and intensity”.⁷⁰ Underage work must also not prevent the child from meeting compulsory schooling requirements in some way.⁷¹ The Labour Code prohibits all minors from night work, from work in “unhealthy and dangerous” conditions, and from work that is excessive in duration.⁷² It sets the legal workday for children under 14 years at six hours and for children aged 14-17 years at seven hours. For work that is “unhealthy or dangerous”, as established by regulation or upon inspection by the Inspector General, the Code sets the minimum working age at 16 years.⁷³ Guatemala ratified ILO Convention No. 138 (Minimum Age) on 27 April 1990 and No. 182 (Worst Forms) on 11 October 2001. The country ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in June 1990.

84. **These legal mechanisms mean little in the absence of effective mechanisms for their enforcement.** The Ministry of Labour’s inspection system for enforcing child labour laws is widely seen as inadequate. The number of labour inspectors is insufficient. The labour court system is understaffed and has a large backlog of cases. Defendants may select the judge they will appear before. The Peace Accords call for strengthening and decentralizing labour inspections, and the United States Agency for International Development among other groups supports Government efforts aimed at achieving this.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ Article 102, paragraph 1.

⁶⁹ The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child has recommended that the minimum age for admission to employment be amended to address this inconsistency. (United Nations, *Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child: Guatemala 09/07/2001*, CRC/C/Add.154, 9 July 2001.)

⁷⁰ Article 150.

⁷¹ Very few underage work permits are granted, however. Between 1995 and 1999, for example, only 507 such permits were issued by the Ministry of Labour.

⁷² Articles 148 and 149.

⁷³ Article 148.

⁷⁴ One USAID-supported programme involves assisting the government in hiring and training inspectors, with the aim of doubling their current number, as well as the establishment of regional inspectorates. (Klothen Kenneth L., as cited in United States Department of Labour, Country Profile of Guatemala, <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/media/reports/iclp/sweat/guatemala.htm>.)

7.2 National policy framework

85. **Peace Accords.** The Peace Accords, signed in December 1996, provide a broad policy agenda for the country's post-war rebuilding and recovery period. The Accords mark a significant shift towards a more inclusive development path, and towards closing the huge gaps between rich and poor. Key areas of emphasis related to economic development and poverty reduction include: a focus on human development (including education and health), goals for productive and sustainable development, a program for the modernisation of the democratic state, and strengthening and promoting participation. The rights of the indigenous and women were also highlighted as cross-cutting themes throughout the accords, in an attempt to reverse the historical exclusion of these groups.⁷⁵

86. **Poverty reduction strategy.** The Government outlined its poverty reduction strategy in an important policy document "*Estrategia de Reducción de la Pobreza*" (ERP)⁷⁶ released in November 2001. General principles emphasised in the ERP include: a rural focus, using the poverty map for targeting; efficient and transparent public spending; decentralisation; and participation. Key action areas ("*ejes vitales*") include: (a) promoting growth with equity; (b) investing in human capital (emphasising health, education and food security); and (c) investing in physical capital (particularly water and sanitation, rural roads, electricity, and rural development). Cross-cutting issues in the ERP include multiculturalism and interculturalism, gender equity, and vulnerability.⁷⁷

87. **National Plan for Preventing and Eradicating Child Labour.** Specific efforts targeting child labour are undertaken with the framework of the 2001 National Plan for Preventing and Eradicating Child Labour (children aged 6-14 years) and for Protecting Adolescent Workers (children aged 15-17). The National Plan, developed with technical inputs from, *inter alia*, IPEC, UNICEF, Ministry of Labour, regional Social Protection Directorates and the *Unidad de proteccion al menor trabajador*, is designed to set broad policy guidelines and promote co-ordinated action against child labour. The Government's 2000-2004 agenda for social programmes aims at achieving a 10 percent reduction in the number of child workers by 2004. Steps have also been taken by the Ministry of Labour to set up a national committee to eradicate child labour.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ World Bank, *Guatemala Poverty Assessment*, Country distribution draft, Report No. 24221-GU, 31 May 2002.

⁷⁶ SEGEPLAN (November 2001).

⁷⁷ World Bank, *Guatemala Poverty Assessment*, Country distribution draft, Report No. 24221-GU, 31 May 2002.

⁷⁸ ILO-IPEC, *Progressive Eradication of Child Labour in Gravel Production in Retalhuleu, Guatemala*, summary outline (Geneva, 2001), as cited in United States Department of Labour, *Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labour 2001*, Bureau of International Labour Affairs, 2002.

Economic alternatives were identified in a feasibility study and families organized into groups and trained to manage a business. A revolving fund was set up to provide financial support, which was made available in return for a commitment to send children to school. Ten families were trained to run their own stone-chipping business and a chipping machine purchased to provide a better quality product. These families now have better earnings and the children can attend school on a more permanent basis. One hundred families were also given training in alternative income-generating activities, such as bakery and sewing.

- **Awareness Raising**

Communities in the area were sensitized to facts about child labour and workshops were held to develop a strategy to disseminate information.

Implementation

The programme was implemented by HABITAT (Asociación Guatemalteca para el desarrollo Sostenible), which since 1994 has been working in the areas of investigation and evaluation of environmental impact and occupational safety, community and childhood development. Several other agencies, including Fe y Alegria, Guatemalan government ministries and universities cooperated on the implementation of the project. IPEC and the implementing agency provided the funds.

7.3 Programmes directly addressing child labour

88. **ILO-IPEC.** Government efforts specifically addressing the child labour phenomenon fall primarily within the framework of its programme of co-operation with ILO-IPEC. The Government signed a Memorandum of Understanding with IPEC in 1996. The strategic objective of the ILO/IPEC-supported programme in Guatemala is the progressive elimination of child labour, prioritising the urgent eradication of its worst forms. To contribute to the achievement to this objective, the programme addresses key policy and legislative issues and provides grassroots-level support, including demonstration projects and local capacity building. The programme includes efforts combating child labour in the fireworks, stone quarrying (see Box 3), coffee, and broccoli sectors. The country is also participating in the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC), an international IPEC effort to collect data on child labour.

89. **Trade unions and employers' organisations.** Trade unions and employers' organisations are important strategic partners in efforts against child labour. The trade unions have created a 'Trade Union Commission of for Eradicating Child Labour'. This commission, with the support of IPEC, has elaborated a strategic plan emphasising three broad lines of action against child labour: a) promotion and dissemination of the international treaties and national legislation; b) strengthening monitoring and enforcement; and c) measures directly targeting working children and their families. The major employers' organisation, CACIF (*Consejo de asociaciones agrícolas, comerciales, industriales y financieras*), contributed to the development of a code of conduct setting out sanctions for employers' associations contracting children under the age of 14.

90. **Non-governmental organisations.** The efforts of the 20 NGOs⁷⁹ that form part of GTI, the main grouping of child-related NGOs in the country, are directed primarily towards defending the rights of children. As part of these efforts, a number of the GTI-member NGOs support interventions addressing the phenomenon of child labour. These interventions include: protection, social support and reintegration of street children (CEIPA, CASA ALIANZA, CHILHOPE); social and economic

⁷⁹ The NGOs that form GTI are as follows: ADEJUC; ADI; CEIPA; CEIBA; CASA ALIANZA; Association 'Proyecto Conrado de la Cruz'; CHILDHOPE; CEDIC; CEADEL; PRONICE; PAMI; FUNESCO; Foundation ESFRA; UDINOV; ASCATED; CALDI; CONANI; Pastoral Social de Guatemala; PENNAT; and Vison Mundial.

support for families of working children (ADI); communication of social values to working children (“honourable work”) (Group CEIBA); alternative non-formal education programmes for working children (CHILDHOPE, CONANI, PENNAT); promoting public awareness and discussion around the issue of child labour (PAMI); community action to improve local conditions and promote schooling (Foundation ESFRA, Pastoral Social de Guatemala, Vison Mundial); vocational training for street children and other vulnerable groups (UDINOV); and promotion of legal reforms (CALDH) (see Box 4).

7.4 Other major programmes impacting upon child labour

91. **Education reform.** Education reform efforts are driven by the Peace Accords of 1996, which recognise the importance of reforms in the education sector to achieving peace, equity, economic modernisation and international competitiveness. The sector has already undergone important reforms since the signing of the Accords. The Ministry of Education has been restructured in order to deconcentrate, decentralize, and simplify education administration to promote efficiency and effectiveness. Since

BOX 4. Major child-related NGOs in Guatemala

ADEJUC looks after the children in rural areas in their process of education; above all they work with children of the armed conflict. Regarding child labour they have started investigations concerning the interests and necessity of indigenous working children.

ADI situated in the municipality of Coatepeque in Quetzaltenango. It develops programmes of education, health and economic assistance for families in which the issue of child labour is existent.

CEIPA develops programmes of assistance for working children in Quetzaltenango. They started with giving support to shoeshine kids and sellers in the markets providing them with food and further they developed alternative education programmes.

Association of the Group **CEIBA** promotes the idea that children, adolescents and the adult population start searching and putting into effect appropriate answers that allow for recognising the social structure and striking in this way the development of the community. They focus on children and adolescents with drug problems, illiterate, working or withdrawn from school. Regarding the issue of child labour they try to communicate social values to the children (honourable work).

Association **CASA ALIANZA** is an international organisation that assists and protects children living in the streets and tries to start a process of voluntary insertion with the help of different programmes.

Association '**Proyecto Conrado de la Cruz**' looks after children and adolescents that work in domestic services, agriculture or in the production of 'tortilla' or that sell in the markets. They try to explain them their labour rights and develop programmes regarding the issue of health, education and human rights.

CHILDHOPE works with vulnerable children: a) giving attention and try to prevent street children b) mobilisation and sensibility for working children c) support the population, community or groups that have suffered victims of violence. They support the development of strategies and methodologies of awareness / attention for the children. They define child labour as a fundamental problem of society and have elaborated studies and insurrections. They supported the Education Programme for working children **PENNAT**.

CEDIC: their major objective is to change the situation of children living in the streets by means of medical, educational and psychological assistance. Their programmes are enrolled directly in the streets, open homes, households that need immediate rescue or stable households. This institution co-ordinates the Court of Minors, Public Ministry, Secretariat of social Well-fare and the Centre TOM (tratamiento y orientación de menores).

CEADEL: their objective is to promote and develop the capacity of the population and above all of vulnerable groups, children, women and young people.

PRONICE develops programmes of investigation, training and formation regarding the situation and expectations of the children, especially children at risk and vulnerable children. They support and try to strengthen the work of institutions that take care in a direct way of children through activities like introducing work methodologies with children, elaborating and evaluating projects and prepare the activities of teaching institutions and popular education techniques. The investigation programme tries to go deeply into the consciousness/knowledge of the living

conditions of vulnerable children and children at risk. The communication programme has the objective to create/generate a discussion regarding the problems of childhood.

PAMI concentrates on a) access to educational, preventive and curing services in the area of health and nutrition b) sensibility and knowledge on children rights c) investigations in the field of health, nutrition and vulnerable children. PAMI has enrolled 11 investigations regarding the issue of child labour. The objective is to give space to analysis and discussions concerning this problem and make the situation of working children visible through publications, forums and implication of mass media.

FUNESCO promotes the participation, organisation and negotiation of children, young people, women and adults in order to make their life conditions better.

Foundation **ESFRA** focuses on making living conditions of the community better through actions designed to resolve health and environmental problems and further to impel the participation of children and women in the education process.

UDINOV: its major aim is of social-educational and formative character for children living in the streets. Their programme 'Solidaridad Juvenil Comunitaria' includes vocational training for young community investigators/promoters, educational reinforcement, and mental, preventive and psychological health protection. It tries to improve the environment, to prevent mistreatment through education, to defend children rights and mental health. Alternative communication through sport, recreational and cultural activities and education for life.

ASCATED (Association of Training and Assistance)

CALDH: (Centre of legal action in human rights) try to promote actions in legal matters that allow eradication of child work.

CONANI (National Commission of Actions for Children) has three programmes: Promoters for young people in Community; School for parents and the programme for alternative school centres for young workers. The institution supports adolescents in margin areas. 90% of the people assisting these centres are adolescent workers in 'maquiladoras', workers in particular firms, people selling in markets, bricklayers and several other types of professions.

Pastoral Social de Guatemala is an organisation created in the contest of the Catholic Church. They develop actions directed at the more vulnerable population but above all children, integrating community assistance programmes. These programmes focus on health, education, better technology for agriculture and on the local economic development.

PENNAT is an education programme for children and adolescent workers. The programme develops a process with a group of street children working in markets in marginal areas, attempting to analyse with them the conditions of working children and try to improve the access to health and education services. Further, the programme tries to integrate the children in the education process, formal schools and in some cases where this is impossible, it tries to give assistance for an alternative school that takes note of the children's working hours. A proper education curriculum has been established, approved by the Ministry of Education.

Vison Mundial is an international programme that helps the development at community level giving support to families and their children through sponsorships. The major programme consists in the development of basic services, health and education.

1998, all central administrative units and Departmental Directorates receive budgetary allocations and are accountable for their use. School Boards (*Juntas Escolares*) have also been created in most schools, which also receive a direct transfer of funds annually for school maintenance. Current reform efforts centre on increasing school coverage, improving equity and enhancing school quality. The Government plan for the education sector for 2000-2004⁸⁰ identifies six specific priority action areas to which most resources are being allocated: (i) literacy and post-literacy actions; (ii) universalisation of primary schooling; (iii) generalisation of intercultural and bilingual education; (iv) curriculum transformation for improving education quality; (v) specialisation and upgrading of teachers; and (vi) decentralisation/ modernisation of the education system.⁸¹

92. **PRONADE.** The PRONADE programme (*Programa Nacional de Autogestión para el Desarrollo Educativo*) is being used as one of the main vehicles to increase access and improve the quality of primary education, especially in rural, indigenous and remote areas. Under PRONADE, where legally organised communities with no access to education services receive direct transfers of funds from the Ministry of Education to manage schools. To qualify, communities must meet at least four criteria: (a) the community must find a site and demonstrate ability and interest in managing the new school; (b) the community must be located at least three kilometres from the nearest public school; (c) the community must have at least 20 pre-primary and primary aged children; and (d) the community must not already have any teachers on the official government's payroll. Financing is also fully contingent on extensive community participation in all aspects, ranging from hiring teachers to setting the local school calendar.⁸² Each community is represented by a school committee (COEDUCA), which is elected locally and comprised of parents and community members. Various programme evaluations suggest impressive results for PRONADE (compared to other public primary schools), including: longer time spent in the classroom, higher attendance, higher and more informed community participation, and higher grade promotion rates and student retention. In addition, ENCOVI 2000 shows that the programme is extremely well targeted to the poor.⁸³

⁸⁰ Government Plan, Education Sector, 2000-2004.

⁸¹ World Bank, *Guatemala Poverty Assessment*, Country distribution draft, Report No. 24221-GU, 31 May 2002.

⁸² To qualify for funding, communities must meet at set of preset criteria: (a) the community must find a site and demonstrate ability and interest in managing the new school; (b) the community must be located at least 3 km. from the nearest public school; (c) the community must have at least 20 pre-primary and primary aged children; and (d) the community must not already have any teachers on the official government's payroll.

⁸³ World Bank, *Guatemala Poverty Assessment*, Country distribution draft, Report No. 24221-GU, 31 May 2002.

93. **Social protection (SP).** Public spending on social protection is low by international standards is also quite low in relation to the poverty gap. In addition, the public social protection system is fragmented, reflecting the lack of an overall strategy and a scattering of programmes across many agencies. In 2000, there were some 36 different public social protection programmes, including two main social insurance programmes (accounting for 40 percent of total SP spending) and 34 social assistance programmes (absorbing 60 percent of total SP spending).⁸⁴

- *Social insurance programmes.* Social insurance is run by the *Instituto Guatemalteco de Seguridad Social* (IGSS) and covers workers in the formal private and public sectors across the country. Established in 1946, social security includes several main sub-programs: accident coverage; maternity and sickness; disability; old age (pensions) and survival. In 1998, a pilot programme (TAM) was launched to provide social insurance to agricultural migrant workers and their families in the departments of Escuintla and Suchitepequez. While the social security system is said to cover the entire country, not all services are available in all departments. Indeed, the country's social insurance programmes provide minimal coverage of the population and are regressive. In all, just seven percent of the population lives in households that receive social insurance. Coverage of social insurance is eight times higher for the top quintile as the bottom quintile, and higher for urban residents and the non-indigenous.⁸⁵
- *Social assistance programmes.* Guatemala lacks a comprehensive social safety net, with numerous programmes scattered across many agencies, shifting institutional responsibility, duplications and gaps. Social assistance is provided by numerous agencies and includes at least 34 different programmes. The main categories of programmes include: (a) scholarships; (b) food-for-work programs; (c) various social assistance/service programs; (d) school feeding; (e) PRONADE, a decentralized program that provides cash transfers and school meals along with education services; (f) micro-credit; (g) disaster management; and (h) a variety of subsidies (land, housing, school transport and electricity). Institutional responsibility for these programs is dispersed among many agencies. Criteria for targeting the various SA programs differs widely across programmes, with some using geographic criteria and others using broad categorical eligibility (e.g., girls in poor rural areas, victims of human rights violations, orphans, poor elderly, landless peasants, breast-feeding mothers, refugees, etc.). But close to four-fifths

⁸⁴ World Bank, *Guatemala Poverty Assessment*, Country distribution draft, Report No. 24221-GU, 31 May 2002.

⁸⁵ World Bank, *Guatemala Poverty Assessment*, Country distribution draft, Report No. 24221-GU, 31 May 2002.

of the population receives some form of social assistance, and this share is fairly uniform across quintiles, ethnicities and areas.⁸⁶

94. **Basic services expansion.** The 1996 Peace Accords acknowledged the pivotal importance of modern utility services in the Guatemalan development process and made a commitment to expanding coverage to disadvantaged groups in order to make-up for historic neglect. This commitment has given rise to very significant and tangible changes in the utilities sectors in Guatemala. On the one hand, the country took major steps to allow private sector participation and promote the development of competition. On the other, the volume of resources channelled towards expanding rural service provision has increased substantially through a variety of new and existing institutional mechanisms. As a result of these changes, Guatemala has witnessed significant progress since the Peace Accords in terms of expanding coverage and reducing inequities. Coverage indices for electricity, water and sanitation increased by about 15 percentage points in the period after the Peace Accords (1997-2000) versus about 10 percentage points for the period preceding the accords (1993-96). Taking into account population growth, the expansion of new connections was in general about 50 percent higher in the years following the Peace Accords.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the acceleration of coverage was quite generalized affecting both urban and rural areas, as well as poor and non-poor populations. Disparities in coverage were reduced, with new connections going disproportionately to traditionally disadvantaged groups.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ World Bank, *Guatemala Poverty Assessment*, Country distribution draft, Report No. 24221-GU, 31 May 2002.

⁸⁷ See GUAPA Technical Paper 7 (Foster and Araujo, 2002). These differences were statistically significant.

⁸⁸ World Bank, *Guatemala Poverty Assessment*, Country distribution draft, Report No. 24221-GU, 31 May 2002.

8. STRATEGIC OPTIONS FOR ADDRESSING CHILD LABOUR

95. This section of the report provides a set of general strategic options for combating child labour and reducing the number of children at risk of entering work. It is beyond the scope of the report to provide detailed programme interventions or specific action plans. These will be developed, conditional on the approval by Government and the three partner agencies, in a second phase of the project.

96. On the basis of the analysis carried out in Guatemala and of studies conducted in several other countries, it is evident that many policies that do not appear to be directly related to child labour in fact have a very significant bearing on the phenomenon. This section first looks at some of the most important of these general policy considerations, before moving to examine in more detail policy options in rural and urban contexts for addressing child labour, and special policy considerations for combating children in so-called unconditional worst forms of child labour. The section also considers legislation relating to child labour, and mechanisms for improving its enforcement and follow-up.

97. In light of the multi-sectoral nature of children's work, and of the many general policies affecting it, a unit is needed that monitors the different policies and evaluates them in a coherent manner from a child labour perspective. Co-ordination among the sectoral ministries in addressing child labour is currently very weak, and such a unit would provide an important institutional framework mechanism for addressing this problem. The unit would also need to monitor and gather (in collaboration with the National Statistical Institute) the relevant quantitative indicators on working children and children at risk.

8.1 General policy considerations

98. **Reducing household vulnerability:** Children's work frequently forms part of a household's strategy for dealing with risk, making them less vulnerable to losses of income arising from individual or collective shocks. Empirical evidence underscores this point. Controlling for other factors, Guatemalan children from households exposed to collective or individual shocks are about five percentage points more likely to work compared to children from families that had not experienced these shocks.⁸⁹ Evidence also suggests that children that are neither working nor attending school are the most likely to be sent to work when a family confronts a shock. In Guatemala, this group is almost as big as that of working children. Reducing household vulnerability will require extending the reach and improving the

⁸⁹ YPMS 1999 did not look at individual and collective shocks, and therefore their impact on child work prevalence in the Guatemala context is not known.

effectiveness of the country's social protection system. As noted above, public spending on social protection is currently low by international standards, and the social protection system is fragmented, without an overall strategy.

99. Increasing school access and quality: Efforts to combat child labour, in Guatemala as elsewhere, need to focus in particular on the logical alternative to work – accessible and good quality schooling. There is broad consensus that the single most effective way to stem the flow of school age children into work is to extend and improve schooling, so that families have the opportunity to invest in their children's education and it is worthwhile for them to do so. The Government is in the midst of an ambitious education reform programme that addresses both issues of quality and access, and has increased spending on education in real terms by an average of about 20 percent per year since 1996. Despite these efforts, education spending is still low relative to other LAC or lower-middle countries, and improving both school access (especially among girls, the Indigenous, the poor, and rural children) and school quality, remain important challenges.

- *Reducing direct schooling costs:* School fees and out-of-pocket costs (for books, writing materials, school meals, transport, etc.) are non-negligible in Guatemala, especially for the poor. It costs households an average Q.650 (US\$84) per student to attend primary school. It is not surprising then that Guatemalan households point to economic factors as the main constraints to increased primary enrolment – “lack of money” is the single most common reason given for not enrolling in primary school, accounting for 38 percent of non-enrollees.⁹⁰ This underscores the need to expand and better-target demand-side support programmes, such as scholarships, school feeding and school transport subsidies. The support programmes currently in place are highly regressive, with most benefits going to the non-poor. Close to half of all scholarship benefits, for example, currently accrue to the top income quintile of the population.
- *Reducing indirect schooling costs:* The indirect costs of schooling in terms of foregone labour are likely an even more significant, though more difficult to quantify, barrier to schooling for children. Two relatively low-cost measures would contribute to a lessening of the opportunity cost of schooling. First, as part of its efforts to decentralize key decisions to the local and community levels, the Government could decentralise the school calendar, so that communities could adjust to local harvest schedules and thereby reduce the competition between school and work. Second, the Government could consider lowering the age range

⁹⁰ Informants in the ENCOVI were asked for the primary reason children did not enroll in school. Percentages are for the target age cohort of non-enrollees (aged 7-12). World Bank calculations using the ENCOVI 2000, *Instituto Nacional de Estadística – Guatemala*.

for primary school, from the 7-12 years to 6-11 years, as it is for older children that the opportunity cost of schooling in terms of work foregone is greatest.

- *Increasing school quality and relevance:* “Lack of interest” is the second main impediment to primary enrolment, according to Guatemalan households, accounting for 16 percent of absentees.⁹¹ This suggests that schooling is of low quality and lacks relevance to children’s lives, and therefore is not considered by families to be a worthwhile investment either of children’s time or of limited household financial resources. Low levels of learning achievement in reading and math and continued high levels of dropout and repetition also point to quality concerns. The Ministry of Education has implemented various limited-scale pilot initiatives to address quality issues in primary education,⁹² but a broader, system-wide effort to strengthen curriculum, develop bilingual education, and enhance the skills and performance standards of teachers is needed, in order to attract and keep children in school and out of the labour market. The maldistribution of teachers, substandard school facilities, and shortages in classroom learning resources and instructional materials (particularly non-Spanish materials), all of which disproportionately affect poor and indigenous children, also need to be addressed as part of an overall effort to improve school quality.
- *Increasing physical school access:* Evidence suggests that demand-side factors, rather than the lack of schools, are the main obstacles to increased primary enrolment. Nonetheless, some supply-side gaps in schooling services, especially for girls and Indigenous children, remain, leaving affected children with few options beyond work. The Government’s PRONADE programme, under which communities with no access to education services receive direct transfers of funds from the Ministry of Education to manage schools, has proved extremely effective in expanding school coverage in poor, rural communities, and is the best vehicle for filling remaining supply-side gaps.

100. **Improving access to basic services:** Improving access to basic services is important because it helps reduce the time children, and especially girls, must spend performing household chores, making it more likely that they attend school. These chores, though technically not economic activities, have implications on the health and well-being of children that are similar to those of work. Although, as described

⁹¹ The share was fairly constant across genders, ethnicities, and areas, though was slightly higher for the non-poor (21%) than the poor (15%).

⁹² These include: (a) providing teacher training in multi-grade teaching methodologies (Nueva Escuela Unitaria, NEU schools) piloted in several departments; (b) promoting bilingual schools and methodologies in departments with large indigenous populations (Directorate General of Bilingual, Intercultural Education, DIGEBI schools); (c) providing training in bilingual multi-grade methodologies (DIGEBI-NEU combinations) piloted in the Department of Alta Verapaz; and (d) developing the “schools for excellence” piloted in various schools throughout the country.

above, the Government has made substantial progress in increasing basic services coverage, an important proportion of the population remains unreached. Only little more than half of the rural population, for example, benefit from piped water and electricity connections. The current level of resources channelled towards the expansion of modern utility services needs to be maintained, and, if possible, increased, so as to reach universal coverage within a 10-year horizon. Service expansion efforts also need to be better targeted to traditionally disadvantaged groups, in particular, poor, rural and indigenous households. These expansion efforts need to be accompanied by a strategy for removing the demand-side barriers that prevent a significant proportion of excluded households from making connections to services even when these are available in their communities.

101. **Promoting adult literacy:** The empirical evidence indicates that providing adults, and particularly mothers, with basic literacy skills has an important impact on rates of school enrolment and work. Holding other factors constant, a mother having no education increases the likelihood that a child works by five percentage points, and decreases the likelihood that a child attends school by 18 percentage points. [CHECK] This points to the importance of expanding adult literacy and adult education programmes as a strategy for increasing school participation and reducing the rate of involvement of children in work. The children of literate parents are more likely to attend school at least in part because these parents are more aware of the returns to schooling, suggesting that more general awareness-raising campaigns, aimed at reaching parents with information concerning the importance of schooling, also could have an impact on parents' decisions to send their children to school.

8.2 Policy options for addressing child labour in rural and urban contexts

102. The nature and extent of child involvement in work differs somewhat between rural and urban areas in Guatemala. Rural working children outnumber their urban counterparts by three to one. While rural children's work is concentrated primarily in the agricultural sector, children working in urban areas are more even spread among agriculture, commerce, manufacturing and health and personal services. Family work plays a much more important role in rural areas than in urban areas. The nature and seriousness of work hazards encountered by children also vary between rural and urban areas. Rural agricultural work involves, on the whole, less serious risks, with some important exceptions. The general policy objectives and specific policy measures adopted in rural and urban contexts need to reflect these differences.

103. **Strategic approach in rural areas:** The sheer numbers of children in agriculture mean that eliminating child work in this sector is not a feasible near-term

policy objective. Of most immediate policy concern is not child work in general in the agricultural sector, but rather the large proportion of children in agriculture not attending school (37 percent of boys and 46 percent of girls), and the subgroup of rural child workers that face serious work hazards. A more realistic initial strategy would instead focus on these immediate concerns. This would entail two specific initial policy objectives: (1) increasing the school enrolment rate of child agricultural workers, and particularly of female agricultural workers, and at the same time (2) removing children from the most hazardous forms of rural work.

104. **Strategic approach in urban areas:** Children's work in urban areas occurs on a more limited scale, but poses greater dangers to children's health and well-being. Risks are especially high for the one of two urban child workers that works outside their families. This argues for immediate efforts aimed at (1) removing children from urban, especially non-family, workplaces, and at the same time at (2) increasing the ability and willingness of households to invest in their children's education. Given the serious hazards posed by most urban work, strategies for accommodating school with work seem less appropriate in the urban context. Girls working as domestic servants in private homes are a particularly at-risk group of urban child workers, and therefore should be a special target of efforts against child labour in urban contexts.

8.3 Policy options for addressing unconditional worst forms of child labour

105. Available information, though frequently sketchy, indicates that unconditional worst forms of child labour (as defined by ILO Convention No. 182) exist in Guatemala as in most countries. Although children involved in worst forms of labour appear to represent only a small proportion of total child workers, their numbers are by no means negligible, and they suffer the most serious rights violations and face the most serious health and developmental threats. Eliminating worst forms of labour, therefore, should be an immediate strategic objective.

106. While the general policy measures discussed above will contribute to reducing worst forms of labour, additional, more targeted actions are also needed. In an initial stage, these include:

- (a) *filling the information gap on unconditional worst forms of labour.* Although small scale surveys and press reports provide some qualitative information concerning children involved in worst forms of child labour, quantitative data on the size and specific nature of these forms of child labour are almost totally lacking. New survey methodologies need to be developed and tested in order to fill this information gap, and to inform policies addressing worst forms of child labour; and

(b) *strengthening grassroots organisations*. Even without further study, the close relationship between street life and unconditional worst forms of labour is clear. Strengthening and extending the reach of grassroots organisations that offer protection and support to street children, and promote their social reintegration, is therefore also an important initial priority. These groups currently are very limited in number, resources and capacity, and therefore their ability to reach street children is very small relative to the total need.

8.4 Legislative and monitoring measures

107. Guatemala has ratified ILO Convention No. 182 (Worst Forms), ILO Convention No. 138 (Minimum Age) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), but national legislation is not fully consistent with these international child labour norms. In addition, the government by its own admission currently does not have the capacity to properly enforce and monitor laws relating to child work. There are therefore two overall priorities in the field of child labour legislation: (1) bringing national legislation into conformity with international child labour norms and (2) strengthening the Government's ability to enforce and monitor this legislation.

DETAILED STATISTICAL TABLES

a. Work prevalence by background characteristics

Table 1: Percentage of children working, by sex and age

<i>Age</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
5	2.00	0.70	1.30
6	2.70	1.80	2.20
7	6.00	4.00	5.10
8	10.30	4.10	7.10
9	13.70	8.80	11.30
10	20.00	11.60	16.00
11	28.20	17.40	23.10
12	35.40	16.20	26.50
13	48.00	22.30	34.60
14	54.90	31.30	43.20
15	68.20	33.80	50.70
16	70.40	40.10	54.40
17	73.80	35.90	56.00
Total	30.50	16.10	23.40

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 2. Percentage of children working, by sex and age category

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
7--14	25.90	13.90	20.10
15--17	70.80	36.50	53.60
Total	36.20	19.40	28.00

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 3. Percentage of children aged 5-17 by sex, age category, and activity

<i>Age category</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
5-9	Work only	2.0	1.0	1.5
	Study only	54.8	53.8	54.3
	Work and study	4.8	2.7	3.8
	Neither	38.4	42.5	40.4
10-14	Work only	14.2	9.1	11.7
	Study only	53.8	60.9	57.2
	Work and study	22.3	10.5	16.6
	Neither	9.8	19.4	14.4
15-17	Work only	52	27.3	39.6
	Study only	22.6	25.5	24.1
	Work and study	18.8	9.2	14
	Neither	6.6	38	22.4
Total	Work only	16.3	9.2	12.8
	Study only	48.2	50.8	49.5
	Work and study	14.2	6.9	10.6
	Neither	21.2	33.1	27.1

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 4. Percentage of children aged 7-14 by activity, sex and residence

<i>Sex</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>
Male	Work only	4.3	12.3	9.5
	Study only	73.9	53.9	60.9
	Work and study	10.1	19.7	16.4
	Neither	11.8	14.1	13.3
Female	Work only	4.1	6.8	5.9
	Study only	74.6	58.4	64.1
	Work and study	7.6	8.3	8.1
	Neither	13.8	26.5	22
Total	Work only	4.2	9.7	7.7
	Study only	74.2	56.1	62.4
	Work and study	8.8	14.2	12.3
	Neither	12.8	20.1	17.5

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 5. Percentage of children aged 5-17 by activity, sex and residence

<i>Sex</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>5-9</i>			<i>10-14</i>			<i>15-17</i>		
		<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>
Male	Work only	0.9	2.6	2.0	6.7	18.0	14.2	32.6	62.4	52.0
	Study only	68.6	47.6	54.8	68.5	46.2	53.8	37.1	14.9	22.6
	Work and study	3.0	5.7	4.8	14.2	26.4	22.3	21.6	17.2	18.8
	Neither	27.5	44.1	38.4	10.5	9.4	9.8	8.6	5.4	6.6
Female	Work only	0.3	1.3	1.0	6.4	10.7	9.1	23.7	29.5	27.3
	Study only	67.0	47.3	53.8	71.4	54.8	60.9	42.1	15.5	25.5
	Work and study	1.9	3.2	2.7	10.2	10.7	10.5	16.0	5.2	9.2
	Neither	30.8	48.2	42.5	12.0	23.8	19.4	18.4	49.8	38.0
Total	Work only	0.6	1.9	1.5	6.6	14.5	11.7	28.0	46.2	39.6
	Study only	67.8	47.5	54.3	70.0	50.2	57.2	39.7	15.2	24.1
	Work and study	2.5	4.4	3.8	12.2	19.0	16.6	18.7	11.3	14.0
	Neither	29.1	46.2	40.4	11.2	16.2	14.4	13.7	27.3	22.4

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 6. Percentage of working Children aged 5-17, by sex and ethnicity

<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non -Indigenous	30.2	14.9	22.8
Indigenous	45.0	25.6	35.3
Total	36.2	19.4	28.0

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 7. Percentage of Children aged 7-14 by Activity, Region and Sex

<i>Region</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Metropolitan	Work only	5.1	5.1	5.1
	Study only	73.7	73.7	73.7
	Work and study	6.3	5.6	5.9
	Neither	15	15.6	15.3
North	Work only	16.2	11.3	13.9
	Study only	38.6	47.7	42.9
	Work and study	23.3	8.2	16.1
	Neither	21.9	32.8	27.1
Northeast	Work only	11.9	4.7	8.6
	Study only	60.5	65	62.6
	Work and study	13.6	6.3	10.2
	Neither	14	24.1	18.7
Southeast	Work only	8.3	4.7	6.6
	Study only	63.4	67.9	65.5
	Work and study	18.1	6.3	12.6
	Neither	10.4	21.1	15.4
Central	Work only	11.7	8.1	9.9
	Study only	60	64.4	62.1
	Work and study	18.3	11.3	14.9
	Neither	10.1	16.2	13
Southeast	Work only	7	4.3	5.7
	Study only	63.5	65.6	64.5
	Work and study	19.7	9.7	14.8
	Neither	9.8	20.4	15
Northwest	Work only	13.7	6.8	10.3
	Study only	50.1	53.3	51.7
	Work and study	18.4	8.1	13.3
	Neither	17.8	31.9	24.7
Peten	Work only	12.8	5.7	9.3
	Study only	62.5	65.9	64.1
	Work and study	14.9	6.7	10.9
	Neither	9.8	21.7	15.7
Total	Work only	9.5	5.9	7.7
	Study only	60.9	64.1	62.4
	Work and study	16.4	8.1	12.3
	Neither	13.3	22	17.5

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI)* 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE)* Guatemala

Table 8. Percentage of Children aged 5-17 by Activity, Region and Sex

<i>Region</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Metropolitan	Work only	12.2	10	11.1
	Study only	60.2	62.5	61.4
	Work and study	8.2	5.5	6.8
	Neither	19.4	22	20.7
North	Work only	21.7	12.1	16.9
	Study only	32	35	33.5
	Work and study	20.1	6.7	13.4
	Neither	26.2	46.3	36.2
Northeast	Work only	18.6	4.8	12.1
	Study only	47.8	50	48.8
	Work and study	9.9	5.2	7.7
	Neither	23.6	40.1	31.3
Southeast	Work only	17.4	5	11.3
	Study only	50.1	53	51.5
	Work and study	15.5	4.8	10.2
	Neither	17	37.2	26.9
Central	Work only	17.7	10.5	14.1
	Study only	47.5	51.5	49.5
	Work and study	16	9.6	12.8
	Neither	18.7	28.5	23.6
Southeast	Work only	13.5	9.7	11.6
	Study only	49.9	52.6	51.2
	Work and study	16.3	8.3	12.3
	Neither	20.3	29.4	24.8
Northwest	Work only	20.4	10.2	15.3
	Study only	38.2	39.1	38.7
	Work and study	15.1	6.5	10.8
	Neither	26.3	44.2	35.2
Peten	Work only	18.2	6.1	12.3
	Study only	48.6	53.2	50.8
	Work and study	14.1	6.4	10.4
	Neither	19.1	34.2	26.5
Total	Work only	16.3	9.2	12.8
	Study only	48.2	50.8	49.5
	Work and study	14.2	6.9	10.6
	Neither	21.2	33.1	27.1

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI)* 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE)* Guatemala

Table 9. Percentage of children carrying out household chores, by area, sex and age

Age	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
7	1.0	4.5	2.5	3.9	5.9	4.9	2.9	5.5	4.1
8	4.9	5.0	4.9	5.8	8.6	7.3	5.5	7.3	6.5
9	3.3	8.2	5.5	6.2	14.8	10.6	5.1	12.6	8.8
10	4.9	14.3	9.3	6.2	21.4	13.3	5.8	19.1	12.0
11	4.0	22.8	13.9	7.9	19.9	13.2	6.8	21.0	13.5
12	9.4	22.6	15.6	8.0	35.3	20.5	8.5	30.8	18.8
13	2.0	17.8	10.7	7.5	34.7	21.1	5.5	27.8	17.1
14	3.2	19.9	11.8	5.7	37.8	21.2	4.8	30.7	17.6
15	2.5	24.1	14.2	5.8	45.3	25.2	4.6	37.2	21.3
16	3.7	25.5	15.3	4.3	43.6	25.0	4.1	37.1	21.5
17	7.2	33.1	19.9	3.4	51.3	25.4	4.7	44.4	23.4
Total	4.2	17.6	10.8	5.9	27.2	16.3	5.3	23.7	14.3

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala

b. Characteristics of children's work

Table 10. Percentage of children aged 7-14 working, by sex and industry

Industry	Male	Female	Total
Agric., hunting, fishing	74.46	39.83	62.77
Mining	0.13	0.00	0.09
Manufacturing	5.87	20.07	10.66
Electricity, Gas, Water	0.16	0.00	0.10
Construction	4.66	0.10	3.12
Commerce	10.34	27.36	16.09
Transport	0.91	0.12	0.64
Financial Services	0.48	0.15	0.37
Teaching	0.00	0.13	0.04
Health and Personal Services	3.00	12.25	6.12

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala**Table 11. Percentage of children aged 5-17 working, by sex and industry**

Industry	Male	Female	Total
Agric., hunting, fishing	68.3	31.4	55.7
Mining	0.1	0.0	0.1
Manufacturing	7.6	20.8	12.1
Electricity, Gas, Water	0.2	0.0	0.1
Construction	7.5	0.1	5.0
Commerce	11.1	31.1	17.9
Transport	1.2	0.3	0.9
Financial Services	0.4	0.2	0.3
Teaching	0.0	0.2	0.1
Health and Personal Services	3.6	15.7	7.8
Other	0.1	0.2	0.1

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala

Table 12. Percentage of children aged 7-14 working by area and industry

Industry	Urban	Rural	Total
Agric., hunting, fishing	24.04	74.18	62.77
Mining	0.00	0.11	0.09
Manufacturing	18.24	8.43	10.66
Electricity, Gas, Water	0.31	0.04	0.10
Construction	4.47	2.72	3.12
Commerce	31.99	11.40	16.09
Transport	1.37	0.43	0.64
Financial Services	1.61	0.00	0.37
Teaching	0.19	0.00	0.04
Health and Personal Services	17.79	2.68	6.12
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala**Table 13. Percentage of children aged 5-17 working by area and industry**

Industry	Urban	Rural	Total
Agric., hunting, fishing	19.3	68.98	55.73
Mining	0.0	0.11	0.08
Manufacturing	18.14	9.87	12.08
Electricity, Gas, Water	0.26	0.06	0.11
Construction	7.77	3.96	4.98
Commerce	33.14	12.35	17.9
Transport	1.3	0.75	0.9
Financial Services	1.02	0.06	0.31
Teaching	0.13	0.03	0.06
Health and Personal Services	18.62	3.79	7.75
Other	0.33	0.04	0.12
Total	100	100	100

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala**Table 14. Working Children: average weekly working hours, by sex and industry**

Industry	Male	Female	Total
Agric. Hunting and fishing	39.2	32.2	37.8
Mining	46.6	--	46.6
Manufacturing	38.5	31.6	34.4
Electricity, Gas, Water	57.4	--	57.4
Construction	47.8	34.5	47.7
Commerce	39.3	39.6	39.5
Transport	35.7	34.7	35.6
Financial Services	31.7	48.5	34.5
Teaching	42	11.3	12.6
Health and personal Services	39.7	57.3	51.9
Total	39.8	38.3	39.3

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 15. Percentage of children aged 7-14 by mode of employment and sex

<i>Modality of Employment</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
wage employ	11.16	7.89	10.06
daily employ	12.04	17.75	13.97
Self employ	1.81	2.13	1.92
Unpaid family	68.34	66.97	67.88
Unpaid employ	6.65	5.26	6.18
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala**Table 16. Percentage of children aged 5-17 by mode of employment and sex**

<i>Modality of Employment</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
wage employ	19.6	15.8	18.3
daily employ	17.1	17.3	17.2
Self employ	2.6	4.9	3.4
Unpaid family	55.7	58.2	56.5
Unpaid employ	5.0	3.8	4.6
Total	100	100	100

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala**Table 17. Percentage of children aged 7-14 working by mode of employment and area**

<i>Modality of Employment</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>
wage employ	21.74	6.62	10.06
daily employ	19.70	12.28	13.97
Self employ	3.44	1.47	1.92
Unpaid family	51.21	72.79	67.88
Unpaid employ	3.91	6.85	6.18
Total	100	100	100

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala**Table 18. Percentage of children aged 5-17 working by mode of employment and area**

<i>Modality of Employment</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>
wage employ	33.8	12.7	18.3
daily employ	19.6	16.3	17.2
Self employ	4.8	2.9	3.4
Unpaid family	38.8	63.0	56.5
Unpaid employ	3.1	5.1	4.6
Total	100	100	100

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

c. Consequences of work on health and education

Table 19. Percentage of children aged 7-14 with health problems, by area and activity

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>
Work only	23.00	22.90	22.90
Study only	20.00	23.70	22.10
Work and study	19.60	28.90	26.50
Neither	25.70	21.10	22.30
Total	20.80	23.80	22.80

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala*

Table 20. Percentage of children aged 5-17 with health problems, by area and activity

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>
Work only	21.9	21.0	21.2
Study only	20.6	23.9	22.5
Work and study	23.9	27.8	26.6
Neither	18.9	17.1	17.6
Total	20.7	21.8	21.4

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala*

Table 21. Percentage of children aged 7-14 with health problems, by expenditure quintile, sex and activity

<i>Sex</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Quintile 1</i>	<i>Quintile 2</i>	<i>Quintile 3</i>	<i>Quintile 4</i>	<i>Quintile 5</i>	<i>Total</i>
Male	Work only	16.9	22.3	16.7	40.8	17.8	22.2
	Study only	19.8	19.3	18.4	22.5	23.3	20.7
	Work and study	27.6	27.6	29.2	19.4	21.7	26.1
	No activities	20.4	18.3	19.3	14.9	51.4	21.2
Female	Work only	26.8	19.4	34.1	17.5	21.0	24.3
	Study only	26.4	22.0	22.0	22.1	26.0	23.6
	Work and study	22.3	27.1	32.5	27.3	37.9	27.6
	No activities	18.0	17.2	32.4	28.9	57.4	22.9
Total	Work only	20.6	21.4	23.2	31.9	19.8	22.9
	Study only	23.4	20.6	20.1	22.3	24.6	22.1
	Work and study	26.0	27.4	30.0	22.3	27.1	26.5
	Neither	18.9	17.6	26.4	22.9	54.2	22.3

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala*

Table 22. Percentage of children aged 5-17 with health problems, by expenditure quintile, sex and activity

Sex	Activity	Quintile 1	Quintile 2	Quintile 3	Quintile 4	Quintile 5	Total
Male	Work only	17.5	20.4	14.7	25.6	29.8	20.0
	Study only	19.6	19.1	18.9	22.5	21.9	20.5
	Work and study	26.9	26.4	29.9	19.9	34.2	26.9
	No activities	17.2	15.4	15.5	15.5	34.5	17.6
Female	Work only	21.7	23.4	27.9	20.1	23.6	23.4
	Study only	25.3	22.0	23.9	21.5	27.3	24.0
	Work and study	22.8	23.6	26.3	22.9	37.2	25.6
	No activities	16.6	15.8	23.5	23.6	21.3	19.3
Total	Work only	19.0	21.3	20.0	23.6	27.0	21.2
	Study only	22.6	20.6	21.4	22.0	24.5	22.3
	Work and study	25.7	25.5	29.0	21.0	35.3	26.5
	Neither	16.8	15.6	20.2	20.2	26.9	18.6

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala**Table 23. Percentage of Children aged 7-14 with health problems, by sex and industry**

Industry	Male	Female	Total
Agric., hunting, fishing	25.6	26.2	25.7
Mining	--	--	--
Manufacturing	21.4	21.9	21.7
Electricity, Gas, Water	31.4	--	31.4
Construction	21.9	--	21.7
Commerce	22.9	31.7	27.9
Transport	5.6	100	11.3
Financial Services	--	--	--
Teaching	--	--	--
Health and Personal Services	27.8	20.9	23.1
Total	24.6	26.2	25.2

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala**Table 24. Percentage of Children aged 5-17 with health problems, by sex and industry**

Industry	Male	Female	Total
Agric., hunting, fishing	22.9	22.6	22.9
Mining	--	--	--
Manufacturing	21.1	23.9	22.8
Electricity, Gas, Water	38.5	--	38.5
Construction	19.9	--	19.7
Commerce	28.7	28.1	28.3
Transport	38.3	21.6	36.4
Financial Services	--	48.0	8.1
Teaching	--	17.9	17.2
Health and Personal Services	27.1	19.4	21.7
Total	23.4	24.1	23.7

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala

Table 25. BMI for age for children ages 7-14

	Male		Female		Total	
	Percentage below		Percentage below		Percentage below	
	-2 sd	-3 sd	-2 sd	-3 sd	-2 sd	-3 sd
Work only	1.82	--	0.00	--	1.15	--
Study only	1.54	0.21	1.07	0.14	1.31	0.18
Work and study	1.38	0.57	0.98	0.00	1.25	0.39
Neither	1.78	0.19	0.35	0.00	0.91	0.07
	Urban		Rural			
Work only	2.02	--	0.95	--		
Study only	0.92	0.06	1.58	0.27		
Work and study	1.82	0.51	1.06	0.35		
Neither	0.69	0.29	0.99	0.00		
	Extreme Poor		Poor		Non-Poor	
Work only	2.01	--	1.01	--	0.45	--
Study only	1.41	0.27	1.57	0.22	1.04	0.11
Work and study	1.44	0.94	1.34	0.16	0.97	0.36
Neither	1.07	0.00	0.30	0.00	2.09	0.37

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala*

d. Determinants of work and schooling

Table 26. Percentage of Children by Income Quintile and Activity

<i>Quintile</i>	<i>Work Only</i>	<i>Study Only</i>	<i>Work and Study</i>	<i>Neither</i>
1	15.5	32.3	10.3	41.8
2	16.1	41.9	13.0	29.1
3	12.5	50.4	9.2	27.9
4	11.3	57.0	11.3	20.4
5	6.0	76.7	8.7	8.7
Total	12.8	49.5	10.6	27.1

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 27. Percentage of Children aged 7-14, by Activity, Sex and Mother's Education

<i>Educational Level of Mother</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
None	Work Only	11.87	6.05	9.06
	Study Only	56.27	59.12	57.65
	Work and Study	18.02	8.90	13.62
	Neither	13.85	25.93	19.68
Literate	Work Only	4.10	2.81	3.45
	Study Only	68.69	72.54	70.61
	Work and Study	14.35	6.42	10.39
	Neither	12.87	18.23	15.54
Incomplete Primary	Work Only	2.53	2.03	2.28
	Study Only	72.32	79.97	76.08
	Work and Study	18.04	10.67	14.42
	Neither	7.11	7.34	7.22
Complete Primary	Work Only	1.45	0.17	0.82
	Study Only	91.46	89.43	90.47
	Work and Study	6.18	6.66	6.42
	Neither	0.90	3.73	2.29
High School or Above	Work Only	4.06	0.82	2.51
	Study Only	69.84	76.36	72.96
	Work and Study	4.71	2.05	3.44
	Neither	21.39	20.77	21.10
Total	Work Only	9.87	5.06	7.54
	Study Only	60.40	63.77	62.04
	Work and Study	16.97	8.65	12.94
	Neither	12.78	22.51	17.50

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 28. Percentage of Children aged 5-17, by Activity, Sex and Mother's Education

<i>Educational Level of Mother</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
None	Work Only	18.7	10.2	14.6
	Study Only	43.2	45.8	44.4
	Work and Study	15.2	7.4	11.4
	Neither	22.9	36.7	29.5
Literate	Work Only	11.1	2.6	6.9
	Study Only	55.5	63.3	59.3
	Work and Study	12.9	5.5	9.3
	Neither	20.5	28.7	24.5
Incomplete Primary	Work Only	7.2	3.2	5.2
	Study Only	61.9	72.3	67.1
	Work and Study	15.8	8.4	12.1
	Neither	15.1	16.0	15.6
Complete Primary	Work Only	4.6	1.2	2.9
	Study Only	80.2	81.8	81
	Work and Study	6.4	6.5	6.4
	Neither	8.8	10.6	9.7
High School or Above	Work Only	2.6	1.8	2.2
	Study Only	71.2	74.8	72.8
	Work and Study	7.7	2.3	5.2
	Neither	18.5	21.1	19.7
Total	Work Only	16.2	8.5	12.5
	Study Only	47.9	51.7	49.7
	Work and Study	14.6	7.2	11.0
	Neither	21.3	32.7	26.8

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 29. Children working aged 5-17 by sex and poverty status

<i>Sex</i>	<i>Extreme Poor</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Non-Poor</i>	<i>Total</i>
Male	36.5	33.7	24.1	30.5
Female	16.1	17.4	14.6	16.1
Total	25.7	25.8	19.4	23.4

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 30. Percentage of children aged 7-14 in each activity, income quintile and head of household

<i>Quintile</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>HH Male</i>	<i>HH Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	Work only	11.10	12.50	11.30
	Study only	44.70	35.10	43.70
	Work and study	13.50	19.50	14.10
	Neither	30.70	32.90	30.90
2	Work only	10.80	8.80	10.50
	Study only	55.10	50.10	54.30
	Work and study	15.50	22.00	16.60
	Neither	18.60	19.00	18.70
3	Work only	5.60	10.70	6.40
	Study only	66.80	72.30	67.60
	Work and study	11.20	5.10	10.30
	Neither	16.50	11.90	15.80
4	Work only	5.70	8.10	6.10
	Study only	72.10	66.00	71.10
	Work and study	11.90	12.00	12.00
	Neither	10.20	14.00	10.80
5	Work only	1.90	3.00	2.10
	Study only	84.70	87.50	85.30
	Work and study	6.50	6.30	6.50
	Neither	6.80	3.20	6.10
Total	Work only	7.60	8.50	7.70
	Study only	62.30	62.80	62.40
	Work and study	12.20	13.10	12.30
	Neither	17.90	15.60	17.50

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala*

Table 31. Percentage of children aged 5-17 in each activity, income quintile and head of household

<i>Quintile</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>HH Male</i>	<i>HH Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	Work only	15.0	19.4	15.5
	Study only	33.2	24.7	32.3
	Work and study	10.1	12.7	10.3
	Neither	41.7	43.2	41.8
2	Work only	16.2	15.4	16.1
	Study only	42.6	38.1	41.9
	Work and study	12.1	17.5	13.0
	Neither	29.1	29.0	29.1
3	Work only	10.8	21.0	12.5
	Study only	50.2	51.7	50.4
	Work and study	10.1	4.6	9.2
	Neither	28.9	22.6	27.9
4	Work only	11.5	10.4	11.3
	Study only	57.1	56.3	57.0
	Work and study	11.1	12.2	11.3
	Neither	20.3	21.1	20.4
5	Work only	5.7	7.0	6.0
	Study only	76.9	76.0	76.7
	Work and study	8.3	10.4	8.7
	Neither	9.2	6.6	8.7
Total	Work only	12.5	14.5	12.8
	Study only	49.3	50.5	49.5
	Work and study	10.5	11.5	10.6
	Neither	27.7	23.6	27.1

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 32: Percentage of working Children, by gender of household head

<i>Household Head's sex</i>	<i>% Working Children</i>
Household Head Male	22.9
Household Head Female	25.9
Total	23.4

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 33. Percentage of children aged 7-14 by activity, sex and ethnicity

Sex	Activity	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Total
Male	Work Only	7.3	12.6	9.5
	Study Only	69.3	48.8	60.9
	Work and Study	12	22.5	16.4
	Neither	11.3	16.1	13.3
Female	Work Only	4.1	8.3	5.9
	Study Only	71.8	53.4	64.1
	Work and Study	6.3	10.5	8.1
	Neither	17.8	27.7	22
Total	Work Only	5.7	10.5	7.7
	Study Only	70.5	51.1	62.4
	Work and Study	9.3	16.6	12.3
	Neither	14.5	21.8	17.5

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 34. Percentage of children aged 5-17 by activity, sex and ethnicity

Sex	Activity	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Total
Male	Work Only	17.4	22	19.3
	Study Only	59.3	41.6	52.1
	Work and Study	12.8	23	16.9
	Neither	10.5	13.5	11.7
Female	Work Only	7.8	15.4	11
	Study Only	63.1	43.4	54.7
	Work and Study	7	10.2	8.3
	Neither	22.1	31	25.9
Total	Work Only	12.8	18.7	15.3
	Study Only	61.1	42.5	53.4
	Work and Study	10	16.6	12.7
	Neither	16.1	22.2	18.7

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 35: Percentage of working Children aged 5-17, by household size

<i>Household Size</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
2	61	19.8	40.2
3	31.9	22.1	26.6
4	26.2	16.5	21.3
5	21.4	11.4	16.6
6	25.3	15.3	20.3
7	32.5	17.6	25.3
8	34	17.1	25.8
9	35.1	16.3	25.7
10	38.5	18.6	28.9
11	36.6	13.9	25.1
12	38.5	12.6	25.9
13	44.8	28.1	35.6
14	23.5	28	25.9
15	43.5	0	25.1
16	50	13.6	23.5
17	36.1	15.6	26.4
18	66.7	25	42.9
Total	30.5	16.1	23.4

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala***Table 36. Percentage of working Children aged 7-17, by school attendance, ethnicity and sex**

<i>School Attendance</i>	<i>Non-Indigenous</i>			<i>Indigenous</i>		
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Not Attending school	62.4	26.2	44.3	62	33.2	45.7
Attending School	17.7	10	14	35.6	19	28.1
Total	30.2	14.9	22.8	45	25.6	35.3

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala***Table 37. Percentage of working Children aged 7-17, by school attendance, ethnicity and residence**

<i>School Attendance</i>	<i>Non-Indigenous</i>			<i>Indigenous</i>		
	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>
Not Attending school	43.1	44.8	44.3	43.8	46.1	45.7
Attending School	11.7	16.4	14	24	29.5	28.1
Total	17.9	26.7	22.8	30.3	36.7	35.3

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala***Table 38. Children aged 7-14: Rate of Non-Attendance by Ethnicity and Sex**

<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-indigenous	18.62	21.89	20.20
Indigenous	28.69	36.08	32.31
Total	22.78	27.86	25.25

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida (ENCOVI) 2000. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) Guatemala*

Table 39. Children aged 5-17: Rate of Non-Attendance by Ethnicity and Sex

<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Non-indigenous	28.0	30.0	28.9
Indigenous	35.5	46.4	40.9
Total	31.0	36.9	33.9

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala**Table 40. Children aged 7-14: Rate of Non-Attendance by Industry and Sex**

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Agric., hunting, fishing	36.72	46.40	38.79
Mining	100.00	0.00	100.00
Manufacturing	29.74	28.41	28.89
Electricity, Gas, Water	45.71	0.00	45.71
Construction	70.66	0.00	69.89
Commerce	28.17	34.01	31.53
Transport	16.83	0.00	15.82
Financial Services	0.00	0.00	0.00
Teaching	0.00	0.00	0.00
Health and Personal Services	36.75	70.23	59.36
Total	36.74	42.09	38.55

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala**Table 41. Children aged 5-17: Rate of Non-Attendance by Industry and Sex**

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Agric., hunting, fishing	53.5	60.3	54.7
Mining	80.5	-	80.5
Manufacturing	49.9	51.7	50.9
Electricity, Gas, Water	50.0	-	50.0
Construction	75.6	59.9	75.4
Commerce	39.8	49.3	45.4
Transport	48.8	-	43.4
Financial Services	32.3	48.0	34.9
Teaching	-	38.6	37.1
Health and Personal Services	52.0	73.7	67.0
Total	53.2	56.9	54.5

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala**Table 42: Children working and not working aged 5-17, by school attendance and repetition rates**

<i>Activity Status</i>	<i>Pre-primary repetition rate</i>	<i>Primary repetition rate</i>	<i>Secondary (media) repetition rate</i>
Working	4.3	12.5	4.2
Not working	2.5	12.9	8.0
Total	4.1	12.6	5.2

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 43. Children aged 5-17: School Repetition Rates by Type of Activity

<i>Type of activity</i>	<i>Pre-primary repetition rate</i>	<i>Primary repetition rate</i>	<i>Secondary (media) repetition rate</i>
Work only	--	15.7	1.1
Study only	4.6	12.3	4.4
Work and study	2.7	12.6	8.4
No activities	--	16.1	0.7

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala**Table 44. Children aged 7-14: Reasons for not attending school by poverty status**

	<i>Extreme Poor</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Non-Poor</i>	<i>Total</i>
Illness	65.9	51.67	59.96	57.6
Teacher Absent	1.72	6.64	0.84	3.24
Mother Works	0.38	0.55	0.16	0.34
Caring for Home	5.13	2.18	0.47	1.82
Teacher Strike	0.45	--	--	0.07
Lacking Money	0.89	1.17	0.32	0.73
Work	7.49	7.91	3.08	5.62
Not Interested	7.97	8.55	2.61	5.72
Weather	--	0.35	0.64	0.43
Pregnancy	--	0.12	--	0.05
Seasonal Migration	--	1.17	0.66	0.76
Other Reason	10.08	19.69	31.27	23.61
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala**Table 45. Children aged 5-17: Reasons for not attending school by poverty status**

	<i>Extreme Poor</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Non-Poor</i>	<i>Total</i>
Illness	65.0	50.4	56.9	55.5
Teacher Absent	1.5	6.2	0.7	2.9
Mother Works	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.3
Caring for Home	5.9	1.9	0.6	1.9
Teacher Strike	0.4	--	--	0.1
Lacking Money	0.8	1.3	0.7	0.9
Work	8.2	8.6	4.6	6.7
Not Interested	7.7	8.1	2.7	5.5
Weather	--	0.3	0.6	0.4
Pregnancy	--	0.4	0.1	0.2
Seasonal Migration	--	1.2	0.6	0.7
Other Reason	10.2	21.2	32.6	25.0
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 46. Children aged 7-14: Reasons for non-enrolment by sex

<i>Reasons for Non-Enrollment</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Illness / Injury	3.95	2.18	2.97
School does not offer	0.08	0.42	0.27
Lack of Space	1.06	0.69	0.85
Caring for Home	1.10	12.40	7.36
Work	15.30	6.15	10.23
Lacking Money	36.15	34.63	35.31
Completed Studies	0.40	0.49	0.45
Not Interested	18.17	16.65	17.33
Distance/Transportation	1.60	4.79	3.37
Requires Special School	0.48	0.04	0.23
Repeated Grade	0.78	0.94	0.87
Seasonal Migration	0.00	1.24	0.69
No School	1.07	1.26	1.17
Age	11.42	9.47	10.34
Other Reason	7.42	8.00	7.74
Total	100	100	100

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala**Table 47. Children aged 5-17: Reasons for non-enrolment by sex**

<i>Reasons for Non-Enrollment</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Illness / Injury	2.6	1.8	2.2
School does not offer	0.2	0.3	0.3
Lack of Space	1.4	0.5	0.9
Caring for Home	0.8	19.6	11.0
Work	28.9	9.0	18.0
Lacking Money	31.8	30.2	30.9
Completed Studies	0.4	0.7	0.6
Not Interested	19.1	19.0	19.1
Distance/Transportation	1.2	3.0	2.2
Pregnant	--	0.7	0.4
Requires Special School	0.3	0.1	0.2
Repeated Grade	0.6	0.6	0.6
Seasonal Migration	--	0.7	0.4
No School	1.0	1.1	1.0
Age	6.5	5.9	6.2
Other Reason	5.4	6.8	6.2
Total	100	100	100

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 48. Children aged 7-14: Reasons for not attending school by sex

<i>Reasons for Not Attending School</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Illness	55.03	60.74	57.60
Teacher Absent	3.16	3.33	3.24
Mother Works	0.14	0.59	0.34
Caring for Home	0.76	3.13	1.82
Teacher Strike	0.12	0.00	0.07
Lacking Money	0.54	0.97	0.73
Work	8.29	2.35	5.62
Not Interested	6.65	4.59	5.72
Bad Weather	0.66	0.16	0.43
Pregnancy	0.08	0.00	0.05
Temporary Migration	0.53	1.04	0.76
Other	24.02	23.11	23.61
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 49. Children aged 5-17: Reasons for not attending school by sex

<i>Reasons for Not Attending School</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Illness	53.2	58.4	55.5
Teacher Absent	3.0	2.9	2.9
Mother Works	0.1	0.5	0.3
Caring for Home	0.9	3.0	1.9
Teacher Strike	0.1	--	0.1
Lacking Money	0.9	0.9	0.9
Work	9.9	2.6	6.7
Not Interested	6.1	4.8	5.5
Bad Weather	0.6	0.1	0.4
Pregnancy	0.2	0.1	0.2
Temporary Migration	0.6	0.9	0.7
Other	24.5	25.7	25
Total	100	100	100

Source: *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida* (ENCOVI) 2000. *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (INE) Guatemala

Table 50. Bivariate probit model, marginal effects

Variable	Work only		Study only		Work and Study		No activities	
	dy/dx	z	dy/dx	z	dy/dx	z	dy/dx	z
Female	-0.023	-4.72	0.049	3.06	-0.083	-8.75	0.057	4.76
Age	-0.054	-6.8	0.242	10.19	0.100	6.8	-0.288	-16.23
age2	0.003	9.01	-0.014	-12.43	-0.003	-4.37	0.013	15.88
Indigenous	0.030	6.91	-0.085	-6.61	0.052	6.61	0.003	0.29
Hh expenditure	-0.046	-7.6	0.157	8.25	-0.028	-2.55	-0.082	-5.79
Hhsize	-0.017	-8.11	0.055	8.61	-0.015	-3.92	-0.023	-4.84
Numkidsy	0.008	3.24	-0.021	-2.65	0.018	3.92	-0.005	-0.8
Numkidso	0.005	2.76	-0.017	-2.71	0.006	1.68	0.005	1.13
Femkidsy	-0.003	-1.41	0.007	0.84	-0.014	-2.93	0.011	1.81
M_none	0.040	4.89	-0.149	-5.78	-0.009	-0.63	0.119	5.86
M_primary	0.024	2.8	-0.083	-3.16	0.004	0.3	0.055	2.56
F_none	0.052	6.11	-0.183	-7.96	-0.004	-0.34	0.135	7.05
F_primary	0.027	4.03	-0.097	-4.62	0.000	0.02	0.070	4.22
Collective	0.018	3.11	-0.045	-2.64	0.049	4.51	-0.021	-1.69
Individual	0.019	3.65	-0.054	-3.31	0.037	3.75	-0.002	-0.19
Credit	0.015	3.36	-0.060	-4.19	-0.011	-1.29	0.056	5.25
Insurance	-0.017	-4.5	0.045	3.31	-0.039	-5.43	0.012	1.08
Credit_Individual	-0.009	-1.5	0.028	1.32	-0.015	-1.26	-0.004	-0.22
Credit_Collectivet	-0.021	-3.83	0.070	3.32	-0.031	-2.73	-0.017	-1.04
Regional Dummies:								
Norte	-0.020	-2.73	0.076	2.82	0.000	0.01	-0.056	-3.09
Noriente	-0.016	-2.13	0.060	2.25	0.007	0.38	-0.052	-2.94
Surorient	-0.027	-4.68	0.103	4.12	0.026	1.31	-0.102	-7.54
Central	-0.008	-1.05	0.027	1.05	0.072	3.53	-0.092	-6.3
Suroccidente	-0.034	-5.9	0.131	5.76	0.023	1.31	-0.121	-9.1
Noroccidente	-0.030	-4.5	0.117	4.6	-0.007	-0.42	-0.079	-4.62
Peten	-0.019	-2.79	0.072	2.78	0.026	1.3	-0.079	-5.18

(*) dy/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1