

**CHILD AND ADOLESCENT LABOUR
IN FIGURES**

**SYNTHESIS OF THE FIRST NATIONAL SURVEY AND
REGISTRY OF ITS WORST FORMS**

**INTERNATIONAL
LABOUR
ORGANIZATION (ILO)**

**GOVERNMENT OF
CHILE
Ministry of Labour &
Social Prevention**

**National Statistical
Institute (INE)**

**GOVERNMENT OF
CHILE
National Service for
Minors**

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**SYNTHESIS OF THE FIRST NATIONAL SURVEY AND
REGISTRY OF ITS WORST FORMS**

2003

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Presentation

From the year 2002, the Ministry of Labour and Social Prevention and the International Labour Organization (ILO), have cooperatively undertaken an ambitious project to discover the reality of child and adolescent labour in Chile. The objective was not simply to discover the magnitude and characteristics of a problem that often is invisible and hidden, but also to construct and propose efficient policies to eradicate child labour and to assure working conditions that are adequate for adolescents.

The following document is the first result of this effort. It presents the main findings of the First National Children and Adolescent Activities Survey, undertaken in 2003, together with information from the Registry of Worst Forms of Child Labour. We value and appreciate the support of the National Statistical Institute and of the National Service for Minors, respectively, in the development of these instruments.

Although, comparatively, the data in this research is, at the international level, less worrying than that from other developing nations, the panorama revealed is not optimistic: in Chile there are more than 196 thousand children and adolescents at work, of which a

little more than 107 thousand do so in unacceptable conditions, that is, they are engaged in child labour. They are affected by two or more of the following characteristics: they have not yet met the minimum age to be legally admitted to employment – 15 years, they do not go to school, but work in the streets, at night or for longer shifts than legally established by law for all workers. These are children and adolescents from both sexes that are being severely limited in the exercise of their rights to education, recreation, physical and mental health, to live in a caring environment, to be protected and to have real opportunities for progress and development.

This reality should raise consciousness and develop wills, strengthen a larger social consensus in respect to the need to eradicate child labour and promote stricter compliance with the legal norms that protect adolescent workers. We invite you to contribute towards the construction of a society that banishes child labour and that effectively guarantees education and opportunities to the new generations.

Ricardo Infante
Director Subregional Office ILO

Ricardo Solari
Minister of Labour and Social Prevention

Introduction

The conditions of children reveal in its deepest form the quality of life of a society, the values of a country and its preoccupation with the future.

In Chile, as in other parts of the world, child and adolescent labour is explained by the needs of poor families to assure their subsistence. Some of these families present problems of disintegration, abandonment of one of the parents, family violence, alcoholism and even drug addiction. In these cases, child labour is only the most visible expression of a social reality tied to even deeper misery than the mere lack of sufficient income.

There are, certainly, children and adolescents that lend support to the productive activities of the family, contributing thus to increase its levels of income. Usually, this occurs in conditions of higher levels of family harmony and is associated to the learning of a trade that can be performed in the future.

Notwithstanding, in many of these cases, child and adolescent labour includes long and tiring working days, inadequate for children and adolescents, and this constitutes an obstacle for normal educational and social insertion into society. In other cases, work is carried out in the streets, during the night or in dangerous environments.

This study, based on a survey especially designed for the purpose and carried out in 2003, tries to detect these unacceptable forms of child labour, whose eradication should constitute a priority activity for the country.

Since 1990, the Governments of Chile has ratified the main international instruments relative to child and adolescent labour: the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, and Convention No. 138 and No. 182 (worst forms) of the International Labour Organization. Because of these obligations, in the year 2000 the legal age for entrance to the employment was raised from 14 to 15 years.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Prevention (MINTRAB), together with other institutions integrated in the National Committee for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labour, have persisted in efforts to eradicate the presence of children and adolescents in unacceptable work situations in Chile, especially in its worst forms of work and child exploitation.

The country can no longer allow these gaps, in which some children have access to education, technology, culture and opportunities to contribute with their worth to national development, while others live in a world of fear and lack of knowledge.

The “National Plan for the Prevention and Progressive Eradication of Child and Adolescent Labour in Chile”, published in 2001 by the Government, civil society, employers and workers, commits to the progressive eradication of all forms of child labour, as well as to the protection of work conditions for adolescents, by the year 2010.

“Millions of children in the world work in conditions that present obstacles to their education, development and future. Many are occupied in worst forms of child labour, which causes in them irreversible physical and psychological damage, and also put their lives in danger. This situation, which is an unacceptable violation of children’s rights, perpetuates poverty and jeopardizes economic growth and equitable development.”

In the world, 246 million children and adolescents between 5 and 17 years are working. Three fourths of them are trapped in the worst forms of child labour. Twenty million, between 5 and 14 years, live in Latin America and the Caribbean. Estimates provided by ILO.

World report “A future without child labour”, ILO, 2002

CHAPTER 1

CHILD AND ADOLESCENT
WORK IN CHILE

1. CHILD AND ADOLESCENT WORK IN CHILE

The survey shows that in Chile, 107.676 children and adolescents work in occupations that threaten their essential rights, access to education, to rest and recreation time, and put at risk their normal social and psychological development.¹

Definitions

The definition of **child labour** in Chile is based on characteristics inherent to the country.

- Chile has a population that is mostly urban (86% of households), *in contrast to most Latin American and Caribbean countries*.
- There is extensive educational coverage (98% in basic levels of education). Since the country offers opportunities for study to all, it is understood that this is a basic right of each child.
- There is an adequate level of compliance with labour laws in medium-size and large companies; therefore children are not found working in the formal sector, *as is the case in other countries of the developing world*.

All of the above implies that, in Chile, child labour is related basically to seeking subsistence in very poor families, or to supporting parents and family members in productive activities, as is the case of agriculture or micro-businesses and urban commerce.

Two concepts have been defined for child and adolescent labour: acceptable and unacceptable. **Acceptable work** is that which adolescents of 15 years and more do in a situation of full compliance with the law. Also included in this category is light work or work during few hours, which can be carried out in a protected situation, by children between the ages of 12 to 14 years.

For ILO, acceptable work (or light) is associated with the participation of children of 12 or more years, or adolescents, in work that does not affect their health or personal development nor interferes with their schooling.

All activities that do not comply with these characteristics constitute unacceptable work or child labour.

According to the National Plan for the Prevention and Progressive Eradication of Child and Adolescent Labour in Chile, published in 2002, child labour must be eradicated, assuring equality of opportunities to all children and adolescents in the country.

¹ Also, 88.428 children and adolescents of ages 12 to 17 were detected in labour related activities under acceptable conditions, whose characteristics will not be analysed in this publication.

UNACCEPTABLE WORK*

CHILD LABOUR

Children of 11 or less years

Children of 12 to 14 years that do not study

Children of 12 to 14 years that work 14 hours or more in a week

ADOLESCENT LABOUR

15 to 17 years old, working 21 or more hours in a week and
do not attend school.

*Based on international standards contained in the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Conventions No. 138 and No. 182 (Worst forms), as well as legislation current in our country.

HISTORIC DATA

Before carrying out the present diagnosis, available data came mainly from the Socioeconomic Characterisation Survey (CASEN). CASEN covers the age group from 12 to 17 years old as belonging to the labour force. According to this survey, during the 90s, participation of this group in the labour force diminished from 7.3% in 1990, to only 3.9% in 2000. This is equivalent to 65.000 children and adolescents.

In 1996, the CASEN survey incorporated questions relative to child labour, with the intention of capturing its incidence among children from 6 to 17 years old. In that year, it was detected that 15 thousand children (0.9%) between ages 6 to 11 did regular or occasional work, figures that rose to 32 thousand for those between the ages of 12 to 14 (4.2%). Additionally, it was concluded that 78 thousand adolescents (9.7%) from 15 to 17 years old came in to the work force.

LABOUR LAW FOR CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS IN CHILE

The Labour Code prohibits work for children under 15 years old. Therefore, if they do work, it is done illegally, except in special situations where children can be authorised to do so in theaters, movies, television or similar activities.

Adolescents can work under certain conditions. However, only 8.5% of them have labour contracts; therefore a majority does not have social protection.

Law No. 19.684/2000 regulates the participation in the labour market of children and adolescents:

- Between 15 and 18 years old they require authorisation from their parents, tutors or Work Inspector.
- Adolescents between 15 and 16 years old are required to certify compliance with compulsory schooling.
- They are forbidden to work in night time jobs, underground jobs, those that require excessive force, that are dangerous to their health, security and morality, or in places that dispense alcoholic beverages.

General overview of work activities of children and adolescents

The survey results show that 94.6% of children and adolescents in the country do not work and dedicate their time mainly to studies and activities proper of their age. Also, 5.4% of children and adolescents between ages of 5 and 17 worked at least one hour in the reference week.

On the other hand, the work rate in the age bracket between 5 and 17 years is 7.1% for boys and 3.7% for girls.

Three percent of children and adolescents in the country are engaged in unacceptable activities (child labour) and 2.4% in acceptable chores.

Distribution of children and adolescents by activity

Situation of children and adolescents	Number	Percent
Child labour	107.676	3.0
Acceptable work	88.428	2.4
Sum of activities	196.104	5.4
Remaining children and adolescents	3.416.619	94.6
Total	3.612.723	100.0

*Percent based on total of children and adolescents.

Although the magnitude of child and adolescent labour in Chile is small, society should be aware of the problem and deal with it until the disappearance of the grave inequities that affect the future development of children.

Age and sex of children and adolescents in child labour

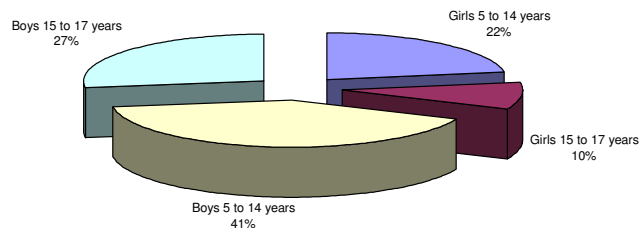
The major part of those involved in unacceptable activities are male.

Additionally, as expected, the rate of unacceptable work is greater among adolescents than among children.

Distribution and rate of children and adolescents by sex and age

Sex	Child labour 5 to 14 years		Child labour 15 to 17 years		Total of children and adolescents in child labour	
	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*
Boys	44.300	3.1	29.336	7.1	73.636	4.0
Girls	23.829	1.7	10.211	2.6	34.040	1.9
Total	68.129	2.4	39.547	4.9	107.676	3.0

*Rate based on total of children and adolescents



Distribution of children and adolescents by sex and age

Urban and rural reality

Although there are more children and adolescents in urban centres than in traditional rural areas, in the latter family work is more frequently encountered, including mothers and children. This makes it more difficult to differentiate between production for the home and that which is destined for the market. Furthermore, in rural sectors, cultural factors are still very important, and according to these the formation of children by the head of the household includes teaching them a trade or set of

skills, which generally implies that they act as assistants or apprentices to the parents in their occupation.²

In the last decades, starting with the notorious increase in exports of agricultural and cattle based products, seasonal work in agriculture in medium and large enterprises has been on the rise. Generally, all members of the family, including children and adolescents under 18 years old, participate in these activities.

Distribution and rate of children and adolescents by zone and age

Area	Child labour 5 to 14 years		Child labour 15 to 17 years		Total of children and adolescents in child labour	
	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*	Number	Rate*
Urban	50.786	2.1	30.997	4.3	81.783	2.6
Rural	17.343	4.4	8.550	9.0	25.893	5.3

* Rate based on total of children and adolescents.

From the point of view of policy priorities for the eradication of child labour, urban areas present the highest concentration of working children. However, in rural zones conditions are

more precarious and, as we shall see, work actually goes against the possibilities of youngsters continuing their studies.

² This cultural concept needs to be redefined in order to act efficiently in a world in which technological advances render obsolete the methods of daily production. The skills or trades taught by a parent, maybe with the exception of the arts and certain crafts, do not assure subsistence in the future or insertion in modern production processes. Transversal working skills are ever more the main determinants of possibilities of obtaining work or not.

Type of activities

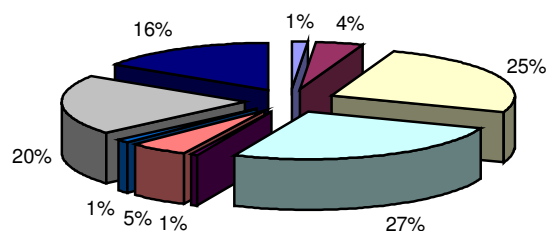
The most frequent occupations of children and adolescents involved in child labour in cities, are that of waiters, salesperson or packers in supermarkets (this last occupation concentrates on the 15 to 17 year old group). In second place on the frequency list are children that work helping their parents, minding automobiles in the streets (especially smaller ones), or in construction, as masons or assistants to more

specialised labourers, bearers or similar jobs.

In rural areas, almost the totality of cases concentrate on agricultural labour, on occupations such as crop gathering, planting, sales of agricultural products and care of animals. Equally, some adolescents appear using heavy machinery or operating buoys and tractors.

Due to climatic and geographic reasons, child and adolescent work in agriculture is more extended in the central and southern macrozones. Both have 25 thousand child and adolescent labourers, representing 89.8% of those engaged in these activities in the country.

DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS BY OCCUPATION GROUP



- Artists, entertainers and related others
- Administrative employee and others
- Salesperson
- Persons in agriculture, fisheries, forestry
- Drivers, freighters in markets, horse drivers
- Preparation and repair of clothing, shoes carpentry and construction.
- Bookbinding, ceramics, stone, bakery
- Helpers, labourers and journeymen
- Workers in personal services

SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORK

Surveys taken in the month of February account for the work of children and adolescents during school vacations. This is mainly concentrated in agricultural work, which coincides with the season for crop gathering and reaping of agricultural products.

In general, seasonal agricultural work is done by children, mainly male, from 5 to 14 years old (12.678 children, corresponding to 70.5% of the total involved in seasonal work).

These children work mainly assisting their parents during half a work day or for the full day, although a small percentage of them must comply with tiring stages that extend beyond 49 hours per week.

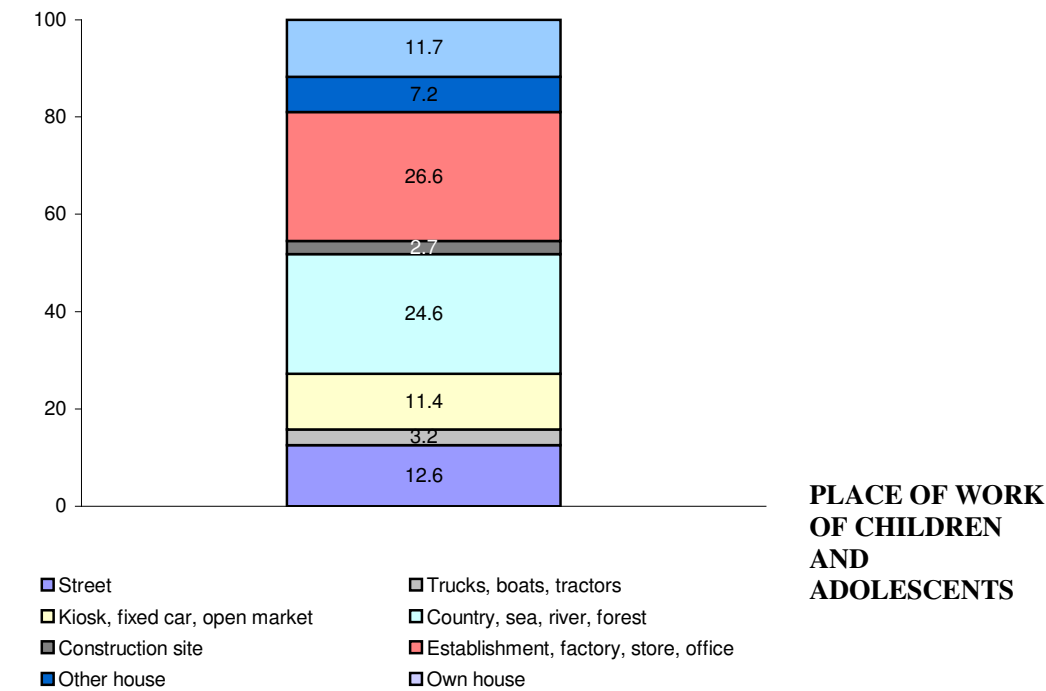
Adolescents that work during the agricultural season face conditions that are even more unfavourable. Males continue to be the majority, although a significant percentage of females can also be found (73.2% versus 26.8%). Even though their activity is somewhat more regulated (the majority have contracts for a fixed period o verbal agreements), almost 60% of them must face long stages of 49 hours or more per week, with the physical consequences that this brings on (pain, tiredness) and the lack of rest time and recreational or other types of activities.

In reality, a major part of the children and adolescents from 5 to 17 years old that carry out this type of activity declare that they finish the day “very tired, with muscular pains and work under conditions of much cold or heat”. Only a few declare that their job does not affect them physically.

Place of work

The main part of children and adolescents that perform child labour do so in venues, established or not, and in non-urban areas that are not necessarily dangerous in themselves.

The situation is different for those whose work activity is carried out in the streets or in transportation means or in construction sites that imply heavier risks of accidents.



Composition of child labour

VIEW OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS IN CHILD LABOUR

**CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS
IN CHILD LABOUR**
107.676
3.0%

5-to-11-year-olds
in child labour
36.542
1.9%

12-to-14-year-olds
in child labour
31.587
3.5%

15-to-17-year-olds
in child labour
39.547
4.9%

◦ Working in the streets:
5.127

◦ Working at night
3.086

◦ Working 14 hours or more:
9.563

◦ Not going to school:
not representative

◦ Working 14 hours or more
30.243

◦ Working at night:
7.838

◦ Working in the streets:
3.419

◦ Not going to school:
not representative

◦ Working 21 hrs. or
more and not going
to school:
17.573

◦ Working at night:
11.719

◦ Working in the
streets:
4.754

◦ Working 49 hrs. or
more:
14.913

The children and adolescents involved in child labour, by age group, are:

- 36 thousand children under 12 years old involved in economic activities, which means that 1.9% of all children in this age group are involved in child labour. (In this age group all forms of work are considered unacceptable).
- 31 thousand children between 12 and 14 years old (3.5% of the total of children in this age group), that work spans of 14 or more hours, or work in the streets, or at night, or have abandoned their studies.
- 39 thousand adolescents between 15 and 17 years old (4.9% of this age group) that work 21 hours or more per week and do not attend school; or exceed the amount of hours established in a complete work day, or work at night or in the streets.



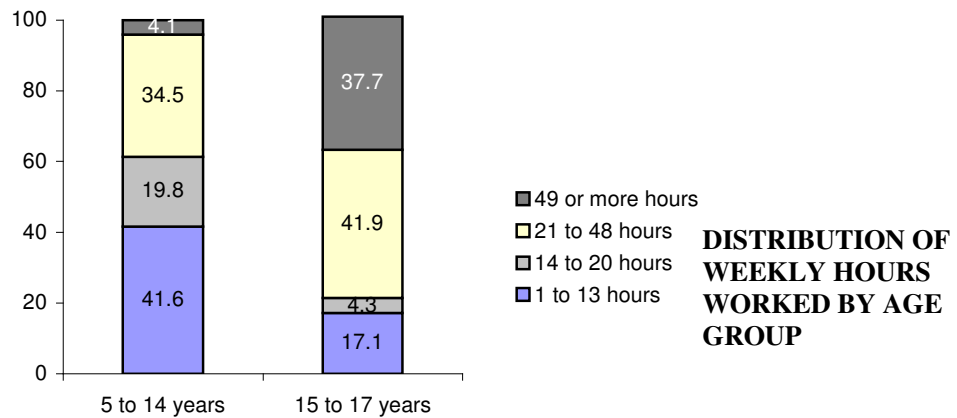
In this way, we arrive at a total of **107 thousand children and adolescents** between 5 and 17 years old that are involved in child labour, which corresponds to 3.0% of this age group.

Length of the working day

As has been defined, work that is considered unacceptable places stricter limits on the hours that a child between ages 5 and 14 can carry out, than those that can be worked by adolescents between 15 and 17 years old.

In this way, the results show that the group between 5 and 14 years works

an average of 18.5 hours per week. On the other hand, adolescents in child labour work an average of 39.5 hours a week. These are long working days, if it is taken into consideration that the maximum allowed is 48 hours per week.



Not going to school can also be associated to long working hours.

- The average of hours worked by children that are in school is 23.3 hours per week.
- The work period for those that do not go to school is 38.2 hours per week.

In this last group, many of those surveyed desire to study exclusively and the majority aspire, at least, to complement work with study.

WEEKLY WORKING PERIODS OF 49 HOURS AND MORE: ILLEGALITY AND PRECARIOUSNESS

In Chile, 3 thousand children and 15 thousand adolescents work hours above the maximum limit established by law.

Children and adolescents that work in the streets

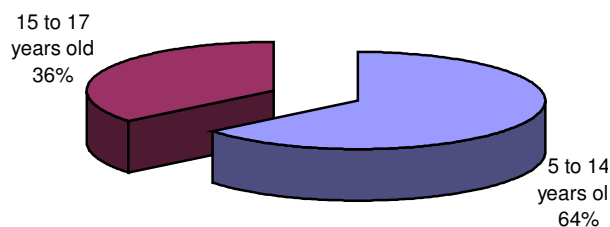
Of the children and adolescents involved in child labour, 12.4% do so in the streets. **The majority of these are children less than 15 years old**, which puts them in a special situation of risk. Although these figures are not huge,

the existence of particular cases should constitute a voice of alarm with respect to the need for protection and social integration of this group, which is exposed to risks that threaten their normal development.

Distribution of children and adolescents that work in the streets, by age group

Children and adolescents working in the streets	Number	Percent of total of children and adolescents in child labour
5 to 14 years old	8.546	12.5
15 to 17 years old	4.754	12.0
Total	13.300	12.4

DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS IN CHILD LABOUR THAT ARE WORKING IN THE STREETS



MOST FREQUENT WORK IN THE STREETS

In the group of smaller children working in the streets, females mind cars and collect newspapers and cardboard. On the other hand, the majority of males sell products in buses and streets, or do juggling in the street corners.

Female adolescents work more frequently as salespersons and promoters; meanwhile, their male counterparts, in general, are dedicated to roving commerce and sales, carwashing and minding cars, or to collect bus fares or control bus schedules.

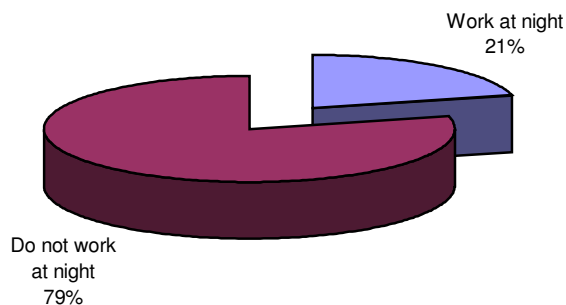
Those that work in the streets are exposed to the dangers of car traffic, to pollution, bad weather, as well as personal insecurity, sexual abuse from adults and the violence of gangs and groups.

Some of those surveyed complained of the cold and heat they suffer. Others claim suffering from aches and pains in their necks, backs, feet and head. Especially the younger ones express these problems. There are also those that feel shame of having to work in the streets.

Night time work

Of the children ages 5 to 14 involved in child labour, 16.0% (10.924) work at night. This is also true of 29.6% of adolescents (11.719). Night time work is considered to be of high risk for this

group, since it takes place in environments that can be damaging to their health and affect their biological cycle, forbidding them from studying and socializing with the family.



**DISTRIBUTION OF
CHILDREN AND
ADOLESCENTS BY
NIGHT-TIME WORK
OR NOT**

TYPES OF NIGHT TIME WORK

Among the types work done at night, the most frequently detected were: waiting tables in bars and restaurants, salespersons, especially of food, loaders in trucks and of goods that are generally done in the early hours of the morning. In addition, mention was made to minding cars, packaging at supermarkets and customer service in videogame sites.

The lack of time for rest is one of the main problems affecting children and adolescents that work at night. They are also obligated to work more than the corresponding shift.

On the other hand, there are some that are ashamed of what they do.

Priority groups for child labour eradication

Children and adolescents that combine two danger factors are those in the highest degree of risk and therefore constitute the priority groups for intervention programmes:

- They work at night and their work hours are excessive.
- They work in the streets and their work hours are excessive.
- They do not attend school and their work hours are excessive.

PRIORITY GROUPS

- 8.012 children from 5 to 14 years old working at night in shifts in excess of 14 hours a week, and 4.175 that work in the streets in the same shifts.
- Among adolescents, 17.573 that work more than half a shift during the week (21 hours) and do not study. In addition, 3.807 persons in this group work more than the legal full shift and do not go to school.
- There are 4.121 adolescents that work at night and 49 hours or more during the week.
- A total of 13.300 children and adolescents work in the streets (on buses, door to door, selling, washing car windows or juggling for coins).
- 22.643 work the night shift, under conditions that are considered of high risk for children and adolescents still developing.

METHODOLOGY OF THE FIRST NATIONAL CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENT ACTIVITIES SURVEY

The household survey was designed to measure exclusively child and adolescent labour, which makes it the first of this kind at the national level. Until now, existing data came from certain questions related to this matter included in surveys to determine socioeconomic characterisation, employment and living standards.

In the study analysed, an innovative methodology was used, which asked the target population (children and adolescents) about the use of their daily time. In this manner, the types of activity undertaken could be known in detail, exploring afterwards in further depth the situation of those who are working.

In the traditional forms of measurement, household heads were consulted in regards to work of their children, generating thus an important underestimation of the phenomenon, since the people surveyed feared sanctions or simply did not recognise this work as such.

This survey covered 16.308 households, and was carried out at the national level during the quarter between February and April, 2003. These months were chosen in order to include information on seasonal agricultural work or others during vacations (February), as well as work performed during school time (March – April).

The sample is representative of the national reality and considers both rural and urban dimensions. The country was divided into four macrozones, which were grouped in the following manner:

Northern Macrozone:	From the Region of Tarapacá to that of Coquimbo.
Central Macrozone:	From the Region of Valparaíso to the Region of Bio Bio.
Southern Macrozone:	From the Region of Aysén to that of Magallanes.
Metropolitan Region:	

Additionally, the sample allows representation for Regions V, VII, IX and X.

CHAPTER 2

HOUSEHOLD CHORES:

A GENDER PROBLEM

2. HOUSEHOLD CHORES:

A GENDER PROBLEM

Girls dedicated to household chores

This research reveals that 42 thousand children and adolescents (1.2% of the total from ages 5 to 17), spend more than half a shift (21 hours or more) during the week, on domestic activities in their own home. These chores are not recognised nor accounted for as activities of “homemakers” or domestic work in the traditional surveys, and their contribution is not considered as economically productive.

Notwithstanding, in this time use survey it was possible to detect household work for the grouping of 5 to 17 years,

clearly revealing the inter-generational reproduction of the division of roles according to gender. Of this segment, 84.8% are females, and of them, 24.1% are married or unmarried adolescent mothers, or living with a partner but without children, and only 15.2% are male.³

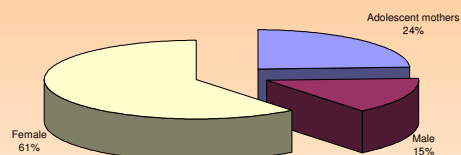
Adolescent mothers or those that have constituted their own families, have been separated from the total of women, since the amount of hours invested in their own household chores and the characteristics of their activities differs from those of children.

Distribution of children and adolescents in household chores in the own home by sex (21 hours or more per week)

Sex	Number	Percent	Rate based on total of children and adolescents
Male	6.394	15.2	0.3
Female	25.541	60.7	1.5
Adolescent mothers, married and living with partner	10.148	24.1	43.3
Total	42.083	100.0	1.2

^{1.} The reference to girls includes 15.2% of males.

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD CHORES IN OWN HOME, BY SEX



As can be observed, 60.7% of those doing household chores in their own home are girls. True to a traditional differentiation of sex roles, males make up only 15.2% of this group.

in household chores. This changes if we consider all female adolescents found in this situation, since 43.3% are dedicated almost exclusively to domestic chores, postponing the rest of activities proper to their age.

Adolescents who are mothers, are married or live with their partner, represent 24.1% of the group engaged

WHAT TYPES OF DOMESTIC CHORES ARE CARRIED OUT BY GIRLS?

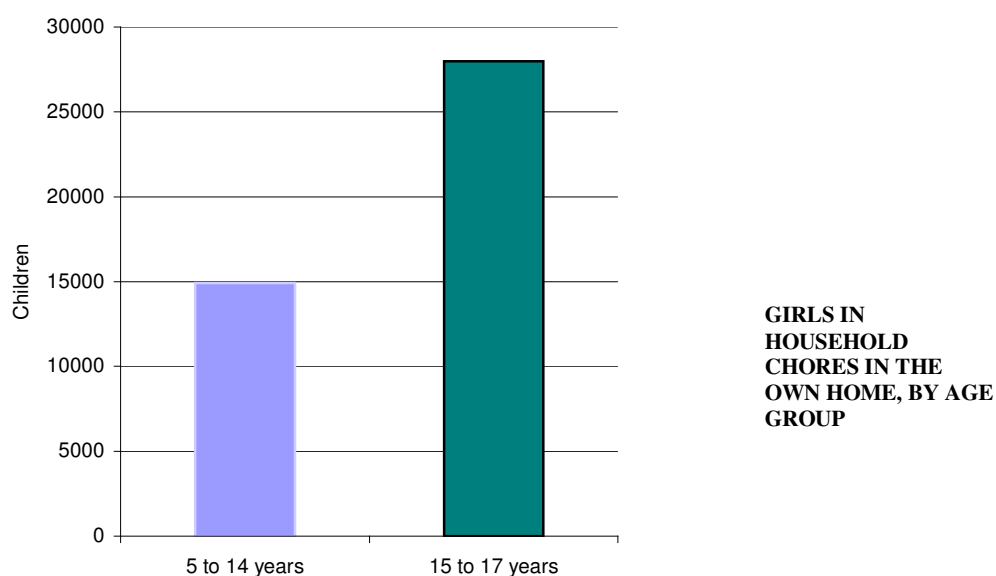
5 to 14 years old

In cities, they mainly care for younger brothers and sisters or other family members, or clean, sweep, clean up or do similar chores. Most of them simply declare that they dedicate themselves to “household chores”. In rural areas, a greater differentiation by sex is observed: females basically do the same chores as in urban areas, whereas males mention activities that are more closely related to agriculture, mainly the caring of animals or of the family garden.

15 to 17 years old

Among adolescents, the chores differ more along sex lines. In urban zones, males are more dedicated to the caring of brothers, sisters and family members; females work more in chores proper of the house (washing, cooking, cleaning, caring of younger brothers and sisters), and mothers take care of their children. In rural areas, males almost exclusively dedicate their time to family agricultural labour, whereas females and adolescent mothers do household chores.

Female children of 5 to 14 years also assume these responsibilities.



“We cannot continue supporting the costs of postponing further the investments in girls and boys, or to make them when they become adults. Neither can we wait until they are in secondary school, as this can be too late to intervene.”
James Heckman, 2001 Nobel Prize in Economics 2000

Chores in the own home by geographic zone

Like those children and adolescents from 5 to 17 years engaged in work activities, those that do home chores live mainly in urban zones (76.6%). Notwithstanding, this phenomenon has a greater incidence in rural zones, especially in the case of females. In rural zones, 2.5% of females from 5 to 17 years old are dedicated to chores in their own home, in contrast to 1.3% in urban areas.

It is possible that the lower educational level of the heads of households in rural zones with respect to those in urban areas, added to the culture that is proper to the countryside, which traditionally channels adolescents towards household labour rather than to continue their studies, leads girls to choose work in their own homes to a larger degree than in urban areas.

According to the survey results, the main reasons of rural females for doing household chores in the own home is that “they want to do it” or because “they consider that this is the role that they have to carry out”, in contrast to urban women, whose most frequent reason is “because their parents have to work”.

In rural areas the work of mothers that traditionally are at home is complemented. It is important to mention that the rate of participation of rural females in employment is only 22.4%, lower than that of urban zones, which is of 41.8%. However, they can work more intensely, because not being “employed” does not preclude that they work exhausting double shifts, as homemakers and unpaid family workers.

In urban zones, on the other hand, it can be observed that girls must replace the mothers in housework and caring for brothers and sisters. In this case, there are not only cultural problems, but also those of lack of access to childcare systems that are compatible with the needs of women that work, regardless of whether they have a spouse or not.

LOW PRE-SCHOOL COVERAGE FALLS ON GIRLS

The low coverage of pre-school education and childcare leads to the fact that in urban areas girls replace their working mothers in these responsibilities, instead of studying.

In poorer sectors, this reality has strong implications for the future of many girls that have to stay at home during long hours, without possibilities of socialising or even acquiring an education.

Hours spent on household chores

As has been mentioned before, girls in household chores in the own home, work at least 21 hours per week in these activities, the equivalent of half a work shift. Of them, 76.5% dedicate

less than 49 hours to chores, while 23.5%, corresponding to more than 9 thousand girls, work longer than this shift.

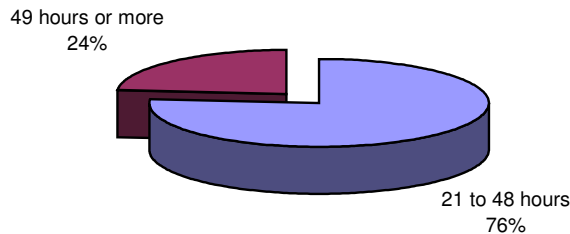
This reality is worrying, since the long shifts dedicated to chores become a serious impediment to going to school. This is especially true for children from 5 to 14 years old, who represent 16.5% of the children that work 49 hours or more in own household chores.

On the average, these children and adolescents do household chores

during 38 hours per week. This number is larger, for logical reasons, for adolescent mothers or for those that are married or live with a mate. Subtracting these, the average hours for household chores for males and females is 32 hours per week (close to 4.5 hours daily).

Average hours worked per week in own household chores, by sex and age (21 hours or more per week)

Sex	Average hours per week		Total
	5 to 14 years	15 to 17 years	
Male	37.2	30.6	33.7
Female	27.3	34.6	31.6
Adolescent mothers, married or living with mate	40.6	58.7	56.8
Total	30.3	42.0	37.9



HOURS PER WEEK DEDICATED TO OWN HOUSEHOLD CHORES

ADOLESCENT PREGNANCY: A PROBLEM TO BE FACED

There is an important population of adolescent mothers, 26.0% of females in this group, who are engaged in own household chores. That represents 24 thousand adolescents less than 18 years old. Of these, 15.8% are married or living with a partner.

This phenomenon contributes to their abandoning the school system, thus restarting the vicious circle of poverty.

It is surprising that more than 42 thousand girls between the ages of 15 to 17 are spending so much time in activities of caring for brothers and sisters, cleaning house, cooking and caring for elder family members. According to their age, this time should be spent studying. It is also surprising that in this group there are some females of less than 15 years of age that in the end are responsible for running the household.

Among the diversity of reasons for this, are the disintegration of the family unit, illnesses and addictions that invalidate either the head of family or the mother and, especially, the head of the household abandoning the female mate, who then must take on responsibilities of maintenance of the family, thus perpetuating the situation as the daughters are impeded from studying.

CHAPTER 3

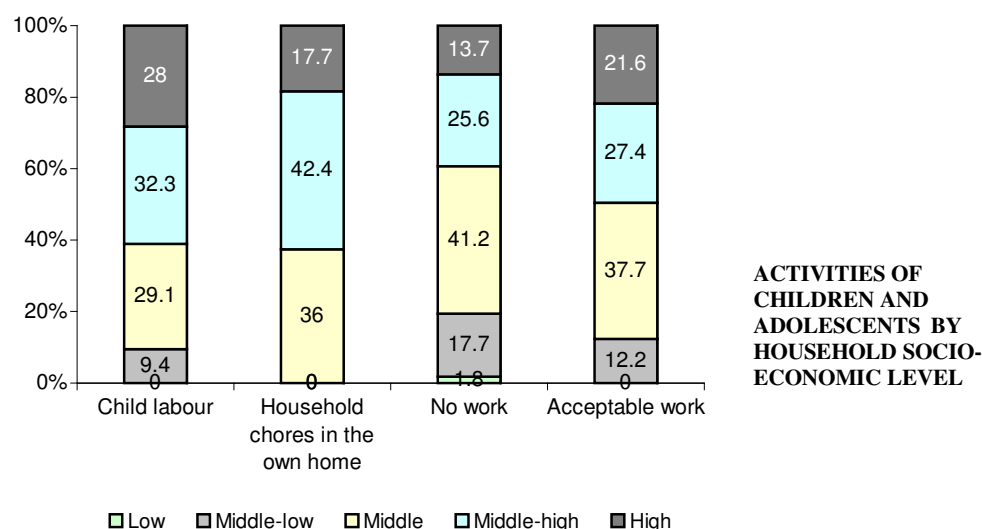
HOUSEHOLDS AND POVERTY

3. HOMES AND POVERTY

Belonging to the poorest

Poverty is one of the causes traditionally associated with child labour. In the case of Chile, this tendency is confirmed. Low, low-middle and middle poverty levels show a much

higher proportion of child labour and household chores than the other levels. Only 13.7% of children and adolescents that do not work are found in the lower levels of the scale, while in the higher levels this situation is not present.



To the contrary, 28% of children and adolescents involved in child labour come from lower classes, 32.3% from the middle-low level, 29.1% are found in the middle and only 9.4% in the middle-high level.

socio-economic level is high in the lower levels. 73.3% of surveyed households in the low, middle-low and middle levels face great difficulties to offer a good quality of life to their children.

The more pronounced the household poverty level, the higher the probability that the children and adolescents will be involved in child labour and own household chores (21 or more hours). As can be observed in the graph above, the correlation between poverty and

The permanent nature of an unequal distribution of income among households in Chile, which is reflected in the stratification observed before, has important implications for the quality of life of the children and adolescents.

While it is true that poverty in Chile has been reduced from 33.3% of households during the 80's, to 16.6% in the year 2000, an unequal distribution does persist.

Hence, for many families, child and adolescent work represents a good,

and sometimes, only alternative to obtaining higher incomes in the immediate future, and that allows them to subsist. For other family groups, the seclusion of the daughters is the only way for the mothers to be able to work outside of the home.

Household composition

As is characteristic of child labour, the absence of one of the parents from the home is indicative of social and economic problems. Habitually, the abandonment on the part of the male head of household, not only of their wives or partners, but also of all obligations to provide allowance, care and affection to the children, is another cause for children to go to work at an early age.

Maybe in the higher income levels the separation of parents does not imply the abandonment of these responsibilities, but in the poorer

sectors, most often separation is equivalent to the total disappearance or abandonment of the head of the household.

Mothers who are head of household cannot take over all roles: hence, female children replace them in the house (34.3% of female children and adolescents that live in households with female heads are in charge of domestic chores) and the male children seek incomes outside of the home (28.3% of male children and adolescents in homes with female heads).

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL

In order to determine the socio-economic reality, the survey used the PRINCALS Method (Principal Components Analysis by means of Alternating Least Squares). This allowed the classification of households through the use of variables related to dwelling, number of persons per room in the dwelling, average income and education level and type of work of the head of home. The last three variables were considered to be the most relevant.

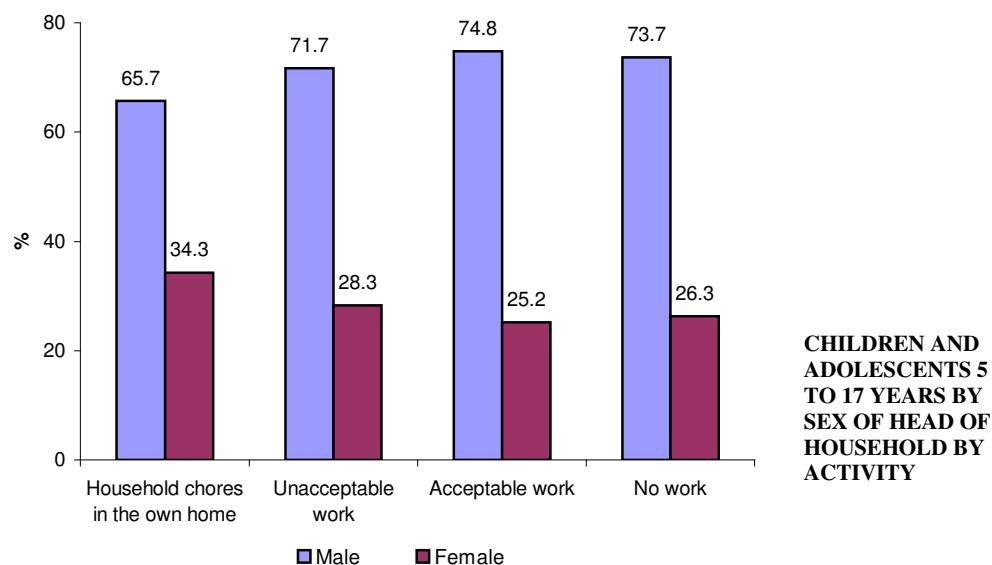
Therefore, the poorer households would have, among others, less income, heads of household with lower educational levels, more precarious occupations and higher degrees of crowding in the dwelling.

The above mentioned stratification corresponds to the distribution of income in Chile resulting from the CASEN survey, which reveals that:

- 7.9% of households belong to the lower levels (approximately the first decile or indigents, according to CASEN).
- 19.5% belong to the middle-low level (poor households or quintile I).
- 45.9% belong to the middle level (Quintile III and lower part of IV)

All of the above represent 42.3% of the income of the households.

- 23.9% belong to the middle-high level (part of the IV and quintile V), equivalent to 68% of the national income.
- 3% belong to the higher income level ("extreme wealth").



Programmes such as *Chile Solidario*, whose objective is to re-insert the poorest in a comprehensive manner and assure equality of opportunities, constitute a new generation of policies that should allow the overcoming of strong social and familial anomies, as

well as improve the situation of children. In fact, one of the conditions to access the programme is to maintain the children in school, which is also a pre-requisite for the *Subsidio Unico Familiar* (Family Only Subsidy).

CHAPTER 4

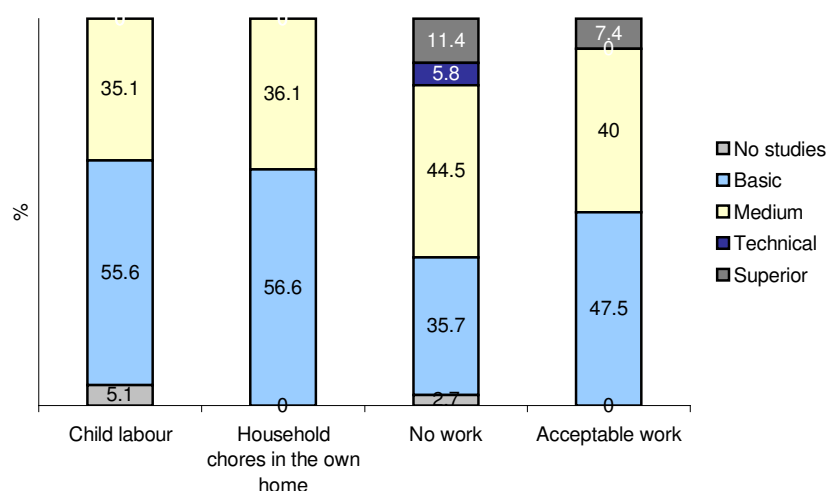
THE EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE

4. THE EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE

Education of the head of household

According to the survey, more than half of the children and adolescents in child labour and household chores in the own home belong to households where the head has not finished secondary education. To the contrary, those homes in which children and adolescents are not engaged in these activities have higher levels of study.

Once again, the correlation is clear and direct, proving that children and adolescents that do household chores in the own home or child labour live in households in which the head has low levels of education



CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS 5 TO 17 YEARS OLD, BY EDUCATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, ACCORDING TO ACTIVITY

The positive relationship between the educational level of the head of household and the quality of life of children and adolescents is high. Chile is improving its educational level, as demonstrated by the difference between the results from the Census of 1992 and that of 2004.⁴ Notwithstanding, in these cases, the educational levelling programmes for

female heads of household and for workers that are implemented by the *Chile Califica Programme* (Chile Qualifies Programme), turn out to be fundamental to narrowing the gaps for adult people that never had the opportunity to study, and whose perspective as to the importance of education will change, with positive effects for their children.

⁴. The Census of 2002 shows an increment from 41.1% to 50.3% of the instruction level of the population in basic education, 33.1% to 36% in middle education and 9% to 16% in higher education, with respect to the Census of 1992.

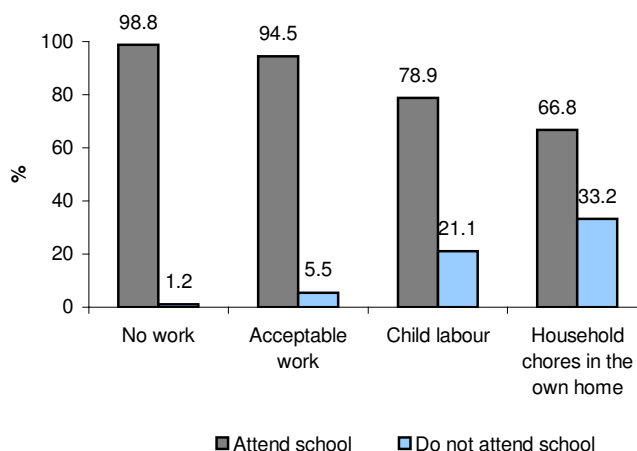
Education of children and adolescents engaged in child labour and household chores in the own home

Children and adolescents engaged in child labour, as well as girls dedicated to household chores in the own home, subtract part of their educational time and energy to devote to these activities. In some cases, they stop going to classes, with the consequent retardation in their studies. In other cases, tiredness does not allow them to

assimilate the knowledge, and they desert from the educational system, thus reducing their future opportunities.

Fully 21.1% (22.334 cases) of children and adolescents in child labour do not go to school, compared to 1.2% (37.284) of those that do not work.

CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS ACCORDING TO ASSISTANCE TO SCHOOL AND ACTIVITY



The children, adolescents and adolescent mothers engaged in household chores in the own home are those that present the main problems of school desertion, since 33.2% of them (13.697 children and adolescents) are out of the educational system.

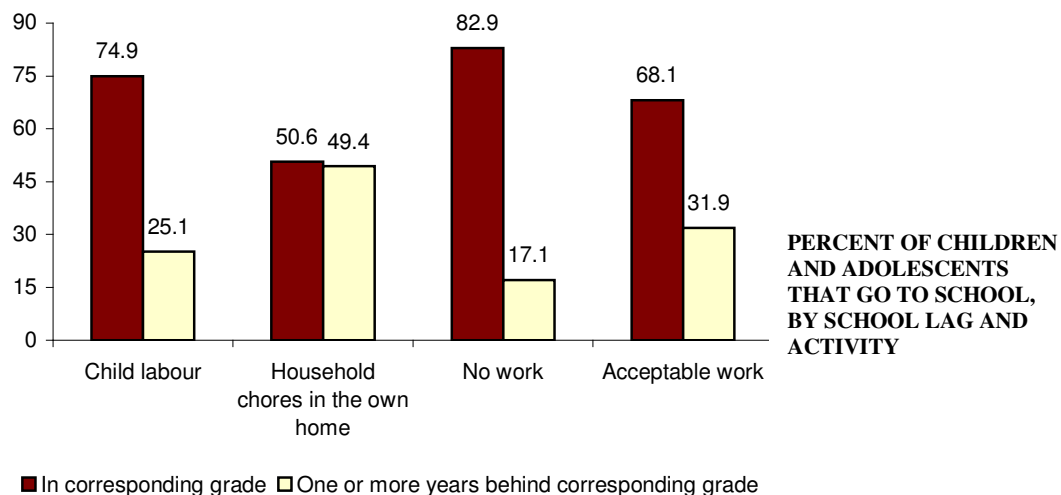
In conclusion, it is observed that the children and adolescents that help in household chores in the own home

find themselves in a situation that is especially vulnerable with respect to education, remaining marginalised from future opportunities that may be available to them.

An important part of them have already left school, and among those that still remain, many are regularly absent from classes or are not in the grade that corresponds to their age.

The results of the survey show that the children and adolescents that are involved in child labour, show higher degrees of school lag than those that do not work. However, once more it is the children and adolescents that suffer damages in their opportunities for an education, and who show higher school

lag. Gender discrimination operates from an early age, since only in 50.6% of children and adolescents that are responsible for household chores in the own home are in the school grade that corresponds to them, and is well known, females represent the great majority of this percentage.

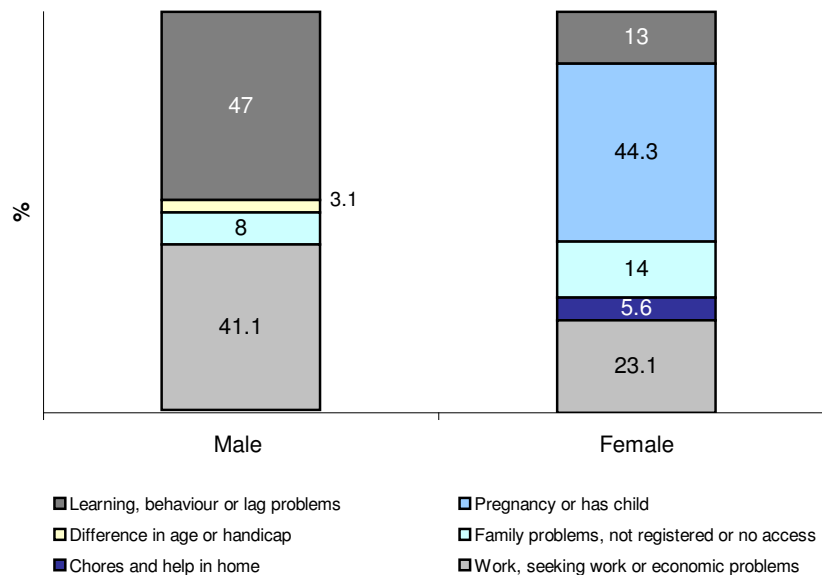


Causes for not attending school

In the case of children and adolescents involved in child labour and of those that are responsible for household chores in the own home, the reasons for their not attending school can be clearly distinguished by sex. In the case of males, the reasons are mainly

economic (41.1%) and related to behaviour or learning problems (47%). Among females, these causes refer more to pregnancy and maternity, and secondarily to working or looking for work.

**REASONS FOR
CHILDREN AND
ADOLESCENTS
IN CHILD
LABOUR OR
HOUSEHOLD
CHORES IN THE
OWN HOME NOT
ATTENDING
SCHOOL**



Some of them do not go to school because of lack of motivation (they stay asleep, they are not challenged, they do not feel the desire to go). Others do not go because of economic reasons

related to the household (there is not enough money) or because of behaviour problems or poor performance at school.

AND THEY ALL WANTED TO BE PROFESSIONALS...

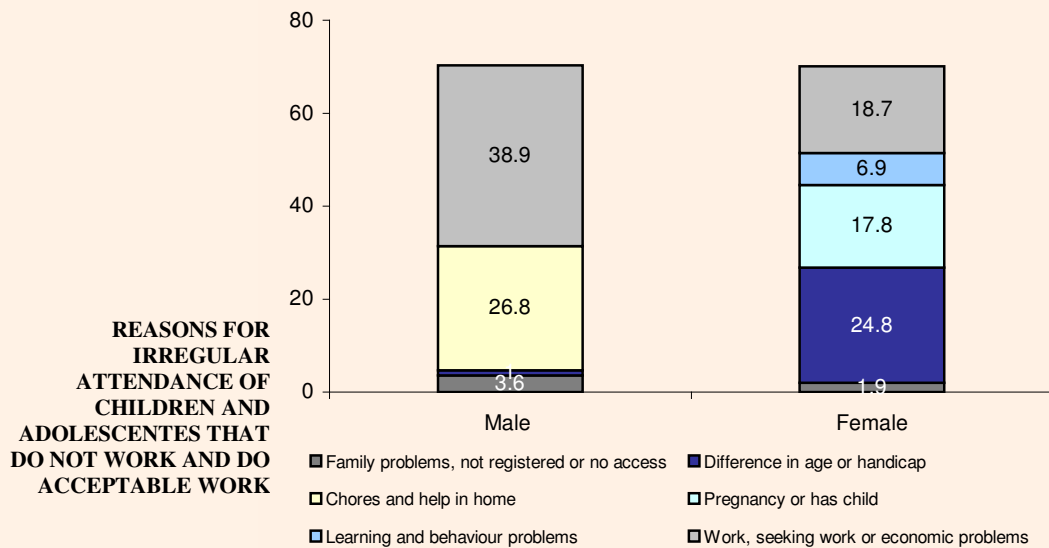
Fully 71.6% of the children and adolescents surveyed would like to be university certified professionals.

There are no great differences between the desires to study on the part of the group that is involved in child labour, that of females that are engaged activities in the own home for 21 or more hours, and those that do no work.

The aspirations of children and adolescents do not relate to their own reality; unfortunately, the option of a technical level education does not appear interesting, since less than 20% of them considered this alternative.

RETENTION PROBLEMS IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Among children and adolescents that do not go to school there are not only those with problems that stem from work-related activities or household chores in their home. There is also a high percentage of handicapped or sick children of both sexes, and persons that due to behavioural or learning problems cannot be retained in the school system.



CHAPTER 5

THE DARKER SIDE

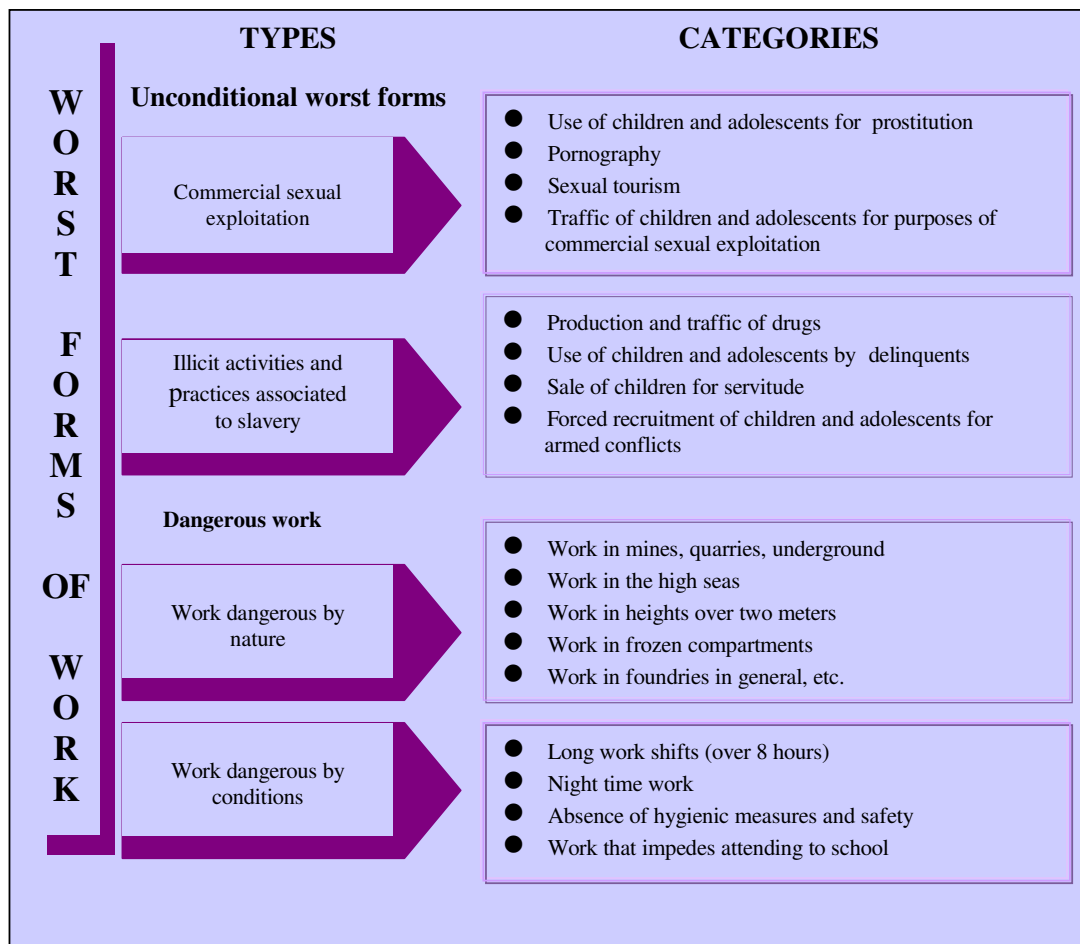
5. THE DARKER SIDE

Worst forms of child labour

The countries that signed Convention N° 182 of ILO committed to adapt to their reality the concepts related to the worst forms of child labour. These are used to typify the registration system of

these activities carried out by children and adolescents.

In Chile, a first approximation of these concepts is the following:



Registry system of worst forms of child labour

Between June 2003 and May 2004, the Data Base registered 715 cases of worst forms of child labour. The greater part corresponds to males (68.1%), whose ages fluctuate between 15 and 18 years. More than half of these children and adolescents (52.6%) do not go to school. Mainly, they are engaged in work that is dangerous by conditions (38.2%), especially those that impede them from going to school, work shifts above eight hours and night time work.

Work that is dangerous by its very nature affects 25.2%, and includes the use of machinery, tools and equipment that require specialised training and experience. Also, work that requires lifting, locating and manual loading is considered in this category.

Another type of work detected is child commercial sexual exploitation (22.9%), which is more frequent among females. The registry shows cases of prostitution, sexual tourism and the use of children in pornography. The use of children and adolescents in illicit activities, such as the production and traffic of drugs, is registered at 9.7%. The remaining 4.1% falls under the category of "others".

REGISTRY: THE MOST VIABLE OPTION TO SISTEMATISE THESE CASES

The system of registry of the worst forms of child labour does not offer representative data, but rather it detects a situation and typifies it, allowing discovery of situations that habitually would remain hidden. This system, which is being applied in Chile for the first time, sprung from a joint initiative of SENAME, the Ministry of Labour and ILO, and was first implemented in 2003 in five regions of the country. As of 2004, it will be extended to include the entire country.

¿HOW DOES THE REGISTRY SYSTEM WORK?

SENAME centralises in a data base the information that is provided by the Chilean police and the Investigative Police, emanating from the official documentation that mandated their intervention in situations that involved children and adolescents. Also included are cases detected in inspections conducted by the Ministry of Labour at various companies. Other cases that reach SENAME and that appear in the files of children and adolescents that access the different programmes of this institution are also included.

This information every semester at the web site www.trabajoinfantil.cl .

Profile of children and adolescents in worst forms of child labour ⁵

These children and adolescents come from poor families that need of their income for subsistence. Sometimes they have an unstable home, where there is no one to care for them or protect them or give them affection and formation. Commonly, they suffer physical ill treatment, abandonment and negligence. Their family groups experience extreme situations: alcoholism of the head of family, family violence and others.

Those that are engaged in illegal activities are, generally, poor. Notwithstanding, the income that they obtain generally is not contributed to the family group, but rather is used in own consumption (jeans, shoes, drugs, alcohol) and they only make small contributions to the household. For these children, the mother is a fundamental figure, not so the head of household, from whom they feel somewhat removed. At home, transgressing behaviour is not sanctioned, such as the absence from classes. They get involved in delinquent activities, mainly led there by family or friends.

They want to get out of their condition, which is reflected in their desires for the future: "Improve myself, get ahead, finish my studies, be another person, try to work" (Sebastian).

Those that are immersed in commercial sexual exploitation belong to families that do not carry out their economic and affective functions of protection. There are also cases in which the mother or

family members actually deal in commercial sex. Others have been driven from the home and commercial sex becomes a form of survival in the streets. In general, they have few friends and they relate to them through the consumption of drugs and alcohol. They do not tell of their situation to anybody for fear of rejection. They only identify themselves as victims of exploitation when adults, such as pimps or clients, use physical abuse.

The children consider their activity as damaging to their physical integrity. They would like to change their lifestyle, but need support from institutions or persons that love them. "I will continue to go to a foundation and seek self-realisation in what I would like to study" (Manuel).

Those that engage in work that is dangerous because of conditions, generally form part of families that protect them and take care of their affection and economic needs, but show weaknesses in the normative function. Because of this they are not successful in impeding the abandoning of the school system nor the "bad companies" of their children.

These children and adolescents show interest in joining their peer group and imitate the activities that go on in the streets, this being more important than their families. Their income is used for personal consumption, with voluntary contributions, not significant, to the family budget.

This group does not desire the change its lifestyle and value working in the streets, as these girls and boys feel that there they can develop their skills and can obtain the money needed to satisfy their desires for consumption. They declare that they will stay in the activity until it ceases being lucrative. They suggest institutional exits, such as: "In two years more do the (military) service" or "have a something sure to hold on to".

Those that do work that is dangerous by its nature commonly belong to biparent nuclear families, are covered in their needs of care and protection and they feel part of that group. They work to contribute to the subsistence of the

household, in jobs that are considered to be family occupation. There are cases in which the girls and boys deliver all of their income to an adult in charge that is unable to work. The role of the peers is traditional, as referent on which to pour emotions proper to their stage of development.

For these children and adolescents, work represents a value in itself and they project themselves to adult life in the activity in which they are engaged, but with improved working conditions. An example of this is Luis, for whom the activity that he does is his only horizon and his aspiration is to change cities: "I would like to work further South, to fish, it is better".