

CHILD LABOUR: IS THERE A ROLE FOR PRIMARY HEALTH CARE?

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Introduction

- Child labour is an important health and social problem around the world, affecting almost 15% of the world's children (215 million).
- In Brazil alone there are over 1.6 million child labourers from 5 to 14 years of age (PNAD, 2009), and some who start working even before they turn 5 years old.

O'Donnell O, Rosati F, van Doorslaer E. *Child Labour and Health: Evidence and Research Issues*. Rome: Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Project, 2002.

Accelerating Action Against Child Labour. Geneva: ILO, 2010.

Intergenerational consequences

- In addition to a wide range of physical, psychological and social harms caused by child labour, early entrance into the labour market is associated with low education and income that persists into adulthood, when children start families of their own.

Benvegna L, Gastal Fassa A, Facchini L, Wegman D, Mor Dall'Agnol M. Work and behavioural problems in children and adolescents. *International Journal of Epidemiology* 2005. doi:10.1093/ije/dyi187

Kassouf AL, McKee M, Mossialos E. Early entrance to the job market and its effect on adult health: evidence from Brazil. *Health Policy and Planning* 2001; 16(1):21-28.

Child labour is illegal

- As in many countries around the world who have ratified the conventions of the International Labour Organization (ILO), children are mandated by law to attend school until the age of 16 years and child labour is illegal in Brazil before the age of 16 years
 - ▣ (in many countries the cut-off is 15 years).

Ministerio do trabalho e emprego. Protecao integral para crianas e adolscentes – Fiscalizacao do trabalho saude e aprendizagem. Florianopolis, Brazil: Ministerio do trabalho e emprego, 2000.

Yet enforcement is difficult

- It is increasingly apparent that while ratifying international treaties and passing legislation to protect children is an important first step, there is little association with the presence of these laws and a reduction in child labour or an increase in school attendance.

Boockmann, B. (2010). "The Effect of ILO Minimum Age Conventions on Child Labor and School Attendance: Evidence From Aggregate and Individual-Level Data." World Development **38**(5): 679-692.

Therefore programs are needed

- To assure that children do not engage in child labour, more specific policies and programs are needed so that laws and regulations can have a real impact on child well-being.

Herman A. *Report on the Youth Labour Force*. Washington DC: US Labour Office, 2000.

Brazil is the “poster child”

- National commission for the eradication of child labour (CONAETI)’s national action plan
- Social protection (CCT) programs
 - ▣ Eradication of Child Labour program (PETI),
 - ▣ Bolsa Escola program and
 - ▣ Bolsa Familia program

Plano Nacional de Prevenção e Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil e Proteção ao Trabalhador Adolescente. Brasília, Brazil: Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego, 2004.

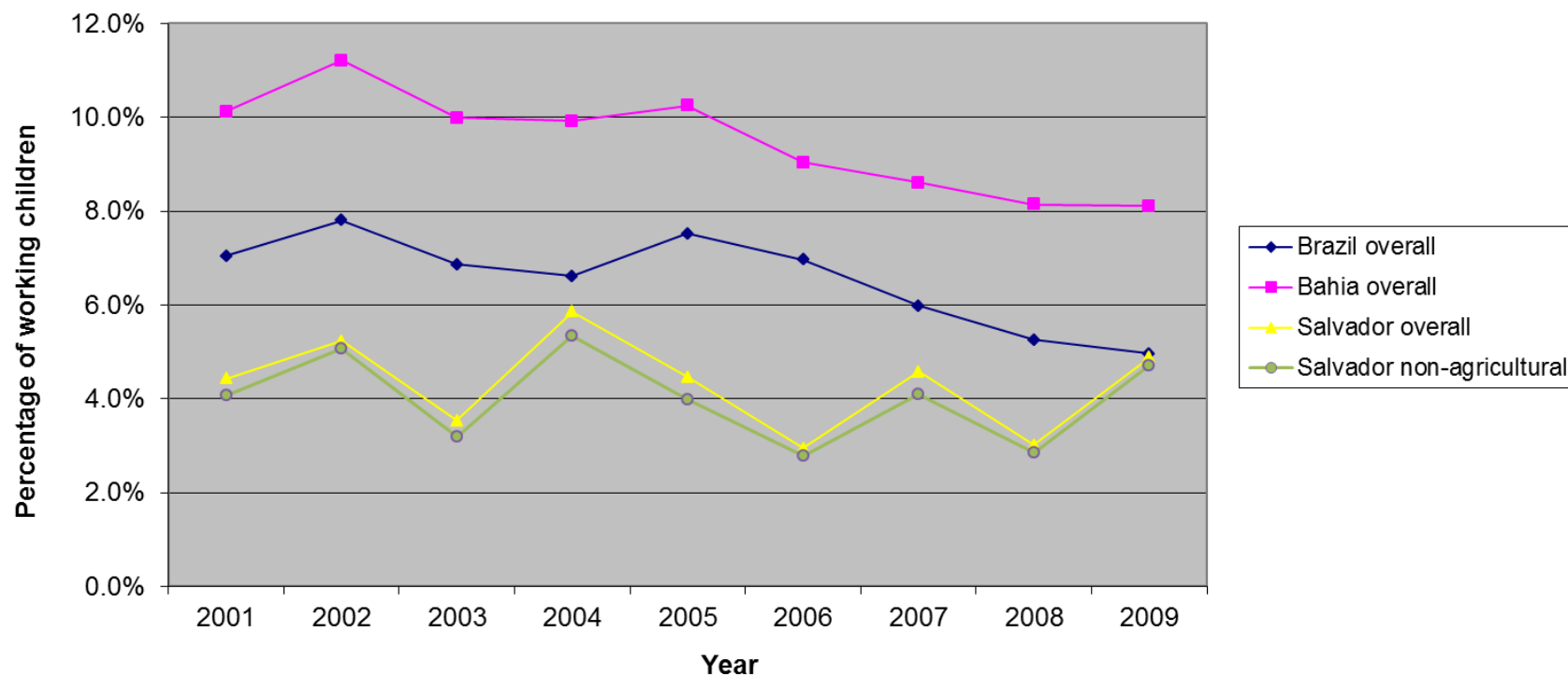
Evidence of progress

- While these various programs have been rolled-out, scaled-up and integrated between 1996 and 2006, there has nonetheless been a clear reduction in child labour rates according to national survey data (PNAD).
 - ▣ 4.1 million (12.8%) in 1992
 - ▣ 2.8 million (8.8%) in 1998
 - ▣ 2.1 million (6.5%) in 2002

Plano Nacional de Prevenção e Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil e Proteção ao Trabalhador Adolescente. Brasília, Brazil: Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego, 2004.

Overall decline in child labour

Overall rates of child labour among children 5-14 years in Brazil, Bahia and Salvador from 2001 to 2009 (PNAD, 2009)



A look at recent data (PNAD, 2009)

Table 1. Reduction in child labour among children 5 to 14 years from 2002 to 2009 (PNAD)

Region	Number of child labourers in 2002	Rates of child labour in 2002	Number of child labourers in 2009	Rates of child labour in 2009	Absolute reduction	Relative reduction
BRAZIL						
All sectors						
5-9 years	336.000	2,0%	150.000	1,0%	-186.000	0,45
10-14 years	2.261.000	13,5%	1.487.000	8,5%	-774.000	0,66
Total	2.597.000	7,8%	1.637.000	5,0%	-960.000	0,63
Agricultural sector						
5-9 years	251.000	1,5%	112.000	0,7%	-139.000	0,45
10-14 years	1.245.000	7,4%	708.000	4,1%	-537.000	0,57
Total	1.496.000	4,5%	820.000	2,5%	-676.000	0,55
Non-agricultural sector						
5-9 years	85.000	0,5%	38.000	0,2%	-47.000	0,45
10-14 years	1.015.000	6,1%	779.000	4,5%	-236.000	0,77
Total	1.100.000	3,3%	817.000	2,5%	-283.000	0,74

Progress is slower in urban areas

- While there have been impressive improvements, with almost 1 million fewer child labourers throughout Brazil between 2001 and 2009 (PNAD, 2009), progress has been most marked in the agricultural sector where rates of child labour have decreased by almost half, compared to only one quarter in non-agricultural sector.

The data for Bahia (PNAD, 2009)

Table 1. Reduction in child labour among children 5 to 14 years from 2002 to 2009 (PNAD)

Region		Number of child labourers in 2002	Rates of child labour in 2002	Number of child labourers in 2009	Rates of child labour in 2009	Absolute reduction	Relative reduction
BAHIA							
	All sectors						
	5-9 years	44.000	3,1%	21.000	1,6%	-23.000	0,48
	10-14 years	275.000	19,1%	203.000	13,7%	-72.000	0,74
	Total	319.000	11,2%	224.000	8,1%	-95.000	0,70
	Agricultural sector						
	5-9 years	35.000	2,5%	13.000	1,0%	-22.000	0,37
	10-14 years	184.000	12,8%	112.000	7,6%	-72.000	0,61
	Total	219.000	7,7%	125.000	4,5%	-94.000	0,57
	Non-agricultural sector						
	5-9 years	9.000	0,6%	8.000	0,6%	-1.000	0,89
	10-14 years	91.000	6,3%	91.000	6,2%	0	1,00
	Total	100.000	3,5%	99.000	3,6%	-1.000	0,99

No improvement in urban Bahia

- In the less affluent North of the country, the rates of child labour are higher than for Brazil overall (11.2% vs 7.8% in 2002)
- Over two-thirds of the cases of child labour in Bahia occur in the agricultural sector, most often in rural areas
- Progress in combatting child labour in these areas have been somewhat slower, yet on par with the rest of Brazil
- However, there has been little or no progress reducing child labour in the non-agricultural sector – which are mostly in the large urban centres and favellas

The data for Salvador (PNAD, 2009)

Table 1. Reduction in child labour among children 5 to 14 years from 2002 to 2009 (PNAD)

Region	Number of child labourers in 2002	Rates of child labour in 2002	Number of child labourers in 2009	Rates of child labour in 2009	Absolute reduction	Relative reduction
SALVADOR*						
All sectors						
5-9 years	2.000	0,7%	3.000	1,0%	1.000	1,50
10-14 years	28.000	9,8%	27.000	8,3%	-1.000	0,96
Total	30.000	5,2%	30.000	4,9%	0	1,00
Agricultural sector						
5-9 years	1.000	0,3%	0	0,0%	-1.000	0,00
10-14 years	2.000	0,7%	1.000	0,3%	-1.000	0,50
Total	3.000	0,5%	1.000	0,2%	-2.000	0,33
Non-agricultural sector						
5-9 years	2.000	0,7%	3.000	1,0%	1.000	1,50
10-14 years	27.000	9,4%	26.000	9,1%	-1.000	0,96
Total	29.000	5,1%	29.000	4,7%	0	1,00

Pockets of vulnerability are growing

- Salvador is a large urban metropolis in the state of Bahia with approximately 2.8 million inhabitants
- There has been a 50% increase in child labour among very young children under 10 years of age working in the non-agricultural sector
- Data should be interpreted with caution due to the relatively small sample size (600,000 children ages 5-14 years in Salvador versus 2.8 million in Bahia and 33.2 million in Brazil) which likely explains the wide variation from year to year in Salvador

Study rationale

- While there has been overall progress in combatting child labour in Brazil over the last decade and the Brazilian success story is being used as a model for similar programs elsewhere in Latin America and worldwide, more research is needed to better understand what can be done to combat child labour in the non-agricultural sector, particularly in large urban centres where rates of child labour may even be on the rise among the very young and most vulnerable children

Study objectives

- To better understand the life course of child labourers in Salvador including:
 - the determinants and timing of child labour,
 - protective factors leading children to stop working,
 - the larger family, community and social context.
- To use these research findings to make evidence-based recommendations for prevention and social protection for these groups of vulnerable children who fall through the gaps in existing services

Methods

- A qualitative study of a case series of very young child labourers under 10 years of age was carried out to better understand in depth the life situation of child workers, what circumstances led them to work and what protected them from working.

Cohort study sample

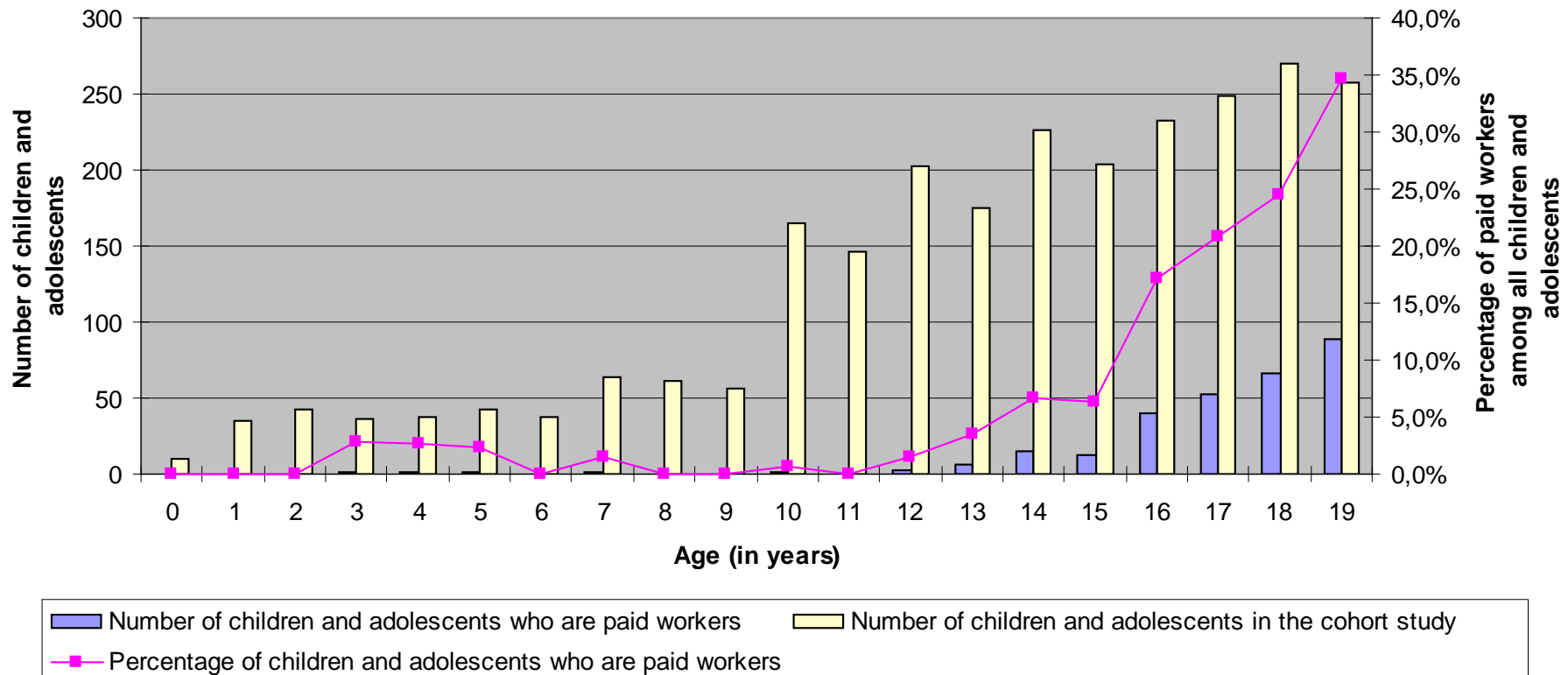
- Cases of child labour were identified from a community-based longitudinal cohort study on workers' health conducted in the city of Salvador.
- A random cluster area sampling technique was used to select a sample of 2,515 households.
- This cohort of 2,515 households was followed every 2 years over a 10-year period, from 2000 to 2008.
- Data was collected using face-to-face and telephone interviews and recorded the current occupational status of every household member.

Santana V, Maia P, Carvalho C, Luz G. Non-fatal occupational injuries: gender and job contract differences. *Cad. Saúde Pública* 2003;19(2):481-493.

Sample for secondary analysis

- Out of an overall cohort of over 11,000 inhabitants of Salvador who participated in the longitudinal study, there were fewer than 500 children under 10 years of age.
- Of these, there were 3 child workers under 5 years of age and 4 child workers 5-9 years of age who were included in the case series.
- Although under-reporting of child labour is a real possibility, this number reflects census data estimates of about 1% of children

Table 1. Prevalence of child and adolescent paid workers by age in 2000 (N=2551)



Data sources

- For each of the 7 cases of child labour, the files of the entire household were retrieved for all 5 phases of the study (2000 to 2008).
- Each file contained the summary data on current employment for each member of the household (confirming that this was indeed a case of child labour) as well as all of the individual questionnaires completed by household members ages 10 to 65 years.

Sample household summary

45

Blumira

Universidade Federal da Bahia
Instituto de Saúde Coletiva - ISC
Programa Integrado de Saúde Ambiental e do Trabalhador
Pesquisa: "ACIDENTES DE TRABALHO"

Nº FAMÍLIA
1106
ÁREA
09

Ficha de Família FASE 1

BLOCO A - IDENTIFICAÇÃO DO DOMICÍLIO Você poderia me informar o seu...

Data da Entrevista: 28/08/00 Início da entrevista: 14:10:00h Nome do Entrevistador: [redacted] Nome do Entrevistado: [redacted] Apellido: [redacted]

Endereço (Rua ou Avenida): Rua Monte Carmo de Minas N.º 53 Apto. [redacted] Telefone: [redacted] Bairro: 5ª. Vila de Brotas

Referência: [redacted] Endereço de um familiar ou referente: [redacted] Telefone do familiar: [redacted]

Você tem algum familiar que resida próximo que você pode caminhar até à casa dele? ☒ 0. Não ☐ 1. Sim

BLOCO B - LISTAGEM DE MORADORES POR FAMÍLIA
Agora eu gostaria que você me desse alguns dados sobre todas as pessoas que moram nesta casa, incluindo alguma empregada(o) doméstica, que durma neste domicílio se houver...

Nº	Pre-nome de todos os moradores	Sexo M/F	Idade	Parentesco	Tem trabalho pago?	Toma conta da casa?	Está procurando emprego nos últimos 30 dias?	Sub-projeto	Qual o horário na residência?	Costuma ficar em outro local? Qual o endereço?	Tel. p/contato	Controle da entrevista individual
01	[redacted]	F	55	Mae	N	S	N	3	0 DIA TODA	—	—	OK.
02	[redacted]	F	28	Filha	S	S	N	3	A NOITE 19:00h	—	—	OK.
03	[redacted]	M	23	Filho	S	N	N	3	NOITE	—	—	OK.
04	[redacted]	F	07	neto	S	N	N	—	NOITE	—	—	OK.
05												
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07												
08												
09												
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11												
12												
13												
14												

OBSERVAÇÕES:
Sub-projeto 2 - Idade entre 10 e 21 anos.
Sub-projeto 3 - Idade entre 22 e 65 anos.

Sample questionnaire

Universidade Federal da Bahia
Instituto de Saúde Coletiva - ISC
Programa Integrado de Saúde Ambiental e do Trabalhador
Pesquisa: "ACIDENTES DE TRABALHO"

Nº FAMILIA: 1106 ÁREA: 09 IND: 01

Ficha do Adulto e Adolescente (FIA) FASE 1

Data da Entrevista: 29/08/00 Pré-nome do Entrevistador: Helbardia Pré-nome do Entrevistado: [redacted]
 Local da Entrevista: Residência Início da entrevista: 17:20 h

BLOCO 1 - CARACTERÍSTICAS SOCIO-DEMOGRÁFICAS *Pré começar, você poderia me dizer qual a sua...*

1. Situação conjugal? <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Solteiro(a) <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Casado(a) <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Consensual <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 4. Divorciado(a) / Separado(a) <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Viúvo(a) <input type="checkbox"/> 99. Outra Esp: _____	2. Onde você nasceu? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1. Salvador..... <i>Siga para Questão 5</i> <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Região Metropolitana de Salvador (RMS) <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Interior da Bahia <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Outro estado <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Outro país <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe 3. Quanto tempo reside nessa cidade? ____ anos ____ meses <i>Se mais de cinco anos siga para Questão 5</i>	4. Por que resolveu mudar para essa cidade? <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Por causa da escola <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Por causa do emprego <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Porque se casou <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Procurando melhores condições de vida <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Por motivo de doença sua ou da família <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Sugestão de um amigo ou familiar <input type="checkbox"/> 7. Por razões familiares <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe <input type="checkbox"/> 99. Outro Esp: _____
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Etnicidade

5. Qual a sua cor (auto-referida)? Esp: <u>Parda</u> 6. Qual a cor do entrevistado (pelo entrevistador)? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1. Negro <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Asiático <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Branco <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Índio <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Mulato <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Moreno 7. Qual a sua religião? <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Católica <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Umbanda <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 2. Protestante <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Sem religião..... <i>Siga para Questão 10</i> <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Espírita <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe..... <i>Siga para Questão 10</i> <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Candomblé <input type="checkbox"/> 99. Outra Esp: _____	8. Você pratica sua religião? <input type="checkbox"/> 0. Não <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1. Sim <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe 9. Você tem alguma atividade/função na sua religião? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 0. Não <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Sim <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe 10. Você já foi barrado em clubes, shoppings, bloco de carnaval ou hotéis? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 0. Não <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Sim <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe 11. Se positivo, você atribui isso à sua cor? <input type="checkbox"/> 0. Não <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Sim <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe 12. Você acha que sua cor dificultaria a obtenção de empréstimo ou crédito financeiro? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 0. Não <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Sim <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe 13. Você já foi vítima de preconceito racial? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 0. Não <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Sim <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe 14. Você já teve dificuldade de conseguir trabalho por causa da sua cor? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 0. Não <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Sim <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe <input type="checkbox"/> 88. Não se aplica 15. Você aprovaria o casamento de alguém de sua família com uma pessoa de outra cor? <input type="checkbox"/> 0. Não <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1. Sim <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe
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BLOCO 2 - ESCOLARIDADE

1. Qual o seu grau de instrução? <input type="checkbox"/> 0. Analfabeto <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Alfabetizado <input type="checkbox"/> 2. 1º grau (1ª a 8ª série) incompleto <input type="checkbox"/> 3. 1º grau completo <input type="checkbox"/> 4. 2º grau (colegial) incompleto <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 5. 2º grau completo <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Superior incompleto <input type="checkbox"/> 7. Superior completo <input type="checkbox"/> 8. Pós-graduação <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe 2. Você está estudando? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 0. Não..... <i>Siga para Bloco 3</i> <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Sim <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Nunca estudou..... <i>Siga para Bloco 3</i> <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe..... <i>Siga para Bloco 3</i>	3. Qual o tipo da sua escola? <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Pública <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Privada <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Filantrópica <input type="checkbox"/> 99. Outra Esp: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe 4. Qual o turno que você estuda? <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Matutino <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Vespertino <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Noturno <input type="checkbox"/> 99. Outra Esp: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> 9. Não sabe	5. Você recebe algum auxílio para estudar? <input type="checkbox"/> 0. Não..... <i>Siga para Bloco 3</i> <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Sim 6. De que tipo? <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Bolsa de estudo <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Alimentação <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Estágio escolar (a família recebe ajuda) <input type="checkbox"/> 99. Outro Esp: _____
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Data extraction

- Responses to the household summary sheet and all of the questionnaires were read and synthesized into a narrative reconstructing the history of the household from the perspective of the working child, starting with the year 2000 and adding to the narrative with the data that had been collected every 2 years until 2008.

Sample narrative reconstruction

- In 2000, Joao is 11 months old living in a one-room apartment with his young parents.
- They live in a neighborhood where there are serious problems with crime, drug-trafficking and a lack of parks and green spaces.
- Joao's mother Eridette is 24 years old and looks after the home. She is from the interior of Bahia, having moved to Salvador when she was 14 years old after completing primary school to find work as a house cleaner.

Sample narrative reconstruction

- Joao's father, Daniele, is 23 years old. He is black, was born in Salvador and did not finish elementary school. He started working at age 17 years. He now works 2 jobs. He is a porter for a condominium and in addition he washes cars in the condominium garage. He works 4 days a week, 12 hour days for which he is paid 239 Reais (\$140) per month. He already has 3 children including Joao.

Sample narrative reconstruction

- In 2002, Eridette has separated from Daniele and has moved out of the household. Joao is now 3 years old and is doing paid work.
- Daniele has a new female partner, Ana Rita, who has moved in and is taking care of the household. She also did not complete elementary school and started working when she was 12 years old.

Sample narrative reconstruction

- In 2004, Joao is 5 years old and has moved out of the household to live with his mother in Valenca (a small fishing town across the bay). There is no further news about Joao or his mother thereafter.
- Joao's father Daniele continues to work at the condominium. He has little conflict at home or at work. Ana Rita is also working now as a kitchen assistant in a business. She works 6 days a week, 10 hour days and earns 150 Reais (\$88) per month.

Data analysis

- A narrative analysis was used to analyze the case histories of the child labourers.
- All reconstructed case histories were analyzed by two different researchers who noted similarities and differences among cases and recorded emerging themes. These themes were then compared and any inconsistencies were discussed.

Flick U. Introduction to Qualitative Methodology. 4th ed. SAGE, 2009.

Triangulation

- There was triangulation of data analysis using 2 different researchers to analyze the data, as well as triangulation of data sources.
- In addition to the case histories reconstructed from the cohort study questionnaires, attempts were also made to recontact each of the families of the child workers to arrange face-to-face or telephone interviews. However, all families were lost to follow-up except for one, who declined the interview.

Results – Summary characteristics

Table 2. Characteristics of child labourers under the age of 10 years							
	Case 211	Case 1522	Case 2487	Case 2549	Case 368	Case 609	Case 1867
Child factors							
Gender	Male	Male	Female	Male	Female	Female	Male
Age in 2000	11 months	18 months	2 years	4 years	5 years	5 years	7 years
Age at starting paid work	3 years	4 years	4 years	6 years	7 years	7 years	9 years
Working outside the home	No	No	No	Home in mornings	Home in evenings	Home in mornings	Home in evenings
Living with both parents when working	No, mother moved out	No	No	No	No	No	Yes, father moved home
Still living in the same household in 2008	No, moved to join mother	Yes	No, moved with mother	Yes	No, moved to join mother	No, moved with mother	Yes
Maternal factors							
Age in 2000	24 years	26 years	41 years	36 years	Unknown	28 years	37 years
Marital status in 2000	Consensual relationship	Separated	Single	Separated	Unknown	Separated	Single
Place of birth (urban/rural)	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Unknown	Rural	Rural
Colour	Moreno	Moreno	Mulato	Moreno	Unknown	Moreno	Mulato
Highest level of education	Completed primary school	Completed high school	Completed university	Incomplete university	Unknown	Completed high school	Incomplete primary school
Continuing to study	No	No	No	Yes, part-time	Unknown	Yes, part-time	Yes, part-time
Financial assistance to study	n/a	n/a	n/a	No	Unknown	No	No
Age at starting work	14 years	23 years	20 years	11 years	Unknown	16 years	14 years
Type of employment in 2000	Unemployed	Unemployed	School teacher	Chemistry lab technician	Unknown	Police sergeant	Unemployed
Salary in 2000	\$0	\$0	\$412/month	\$176/month	Unknown	\$253/month	\$0
Living in household when child was working	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Salary when the child was working	Unknown	\$0	\$353/month	\$441/month	Unknown	\$253/month	\$0
Paternal factors							
Age in 2000	23 years	27 years	Unknown	Unknown	28 years	Unknown	34 years
Marital status in 2000	Consensual relationship	Separated	Unknown	Unknown	Single	Unknown	Separated
Place of birth (urban/rural)	Urban	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Urban	Unknown	Unknown
Colour	Black	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Moreno	Unknown	Unknown
Highest level of education	Incomplete primary school	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Completed high school	Unknown	Unknown
Continuing to study	No	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	No	Unknown	Unknown
Financial assistance to study	n/a	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	n/a	Unknown	Unknown
Age at starting work	17 years	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	12 years	Unknown	Unknown
Type of employment	Condominium porter	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Self-employed	Unknown	Unknown
Salary in 2000	\$140/month	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	\$294/month	Unknown	Unknown
Living in household when child was working	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Salary when the child was working	\$140/month	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	\$294/month	Unknown	\$0
Household factors							
Number of rooms	1	2	2	2	2	2	0
Number of persons living in the household	3	2	3	4	4	6	4
Nuclear family living in the household	Both parents and 1 child	Mother and 1 child	Mother and 1 child	Mother and 1 child	Father and 1 child	Mother and 1 child	Mother and 3 children
Extended family living in the household	No	No	No	Yes, aunt	Yes, aunt and grandmother	Yes, aunt's family	No
Domestic worker employed in the household	No	No	Yes, live in	Yes, live in	No	Yes, live in	No
Salary of domestic worker	n/a	n/a	\$59/month	\$59/month	n/a	\$59/month	n/a
Household has a car	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Household has a telephone	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Household has a DVD / VCR	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Household receives government subsidy	No	Yes, \$117/month	Yes, \$82/month	No	No	Yes, food pension	No
Community factors							
Neighborhood	Eng Velho Federacao	Aguas Claras	Cabula	Eng Velho Brotas	Pituacu	Fazende Grande	Lobato
High rates of crime and drug trafficking	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Availability of parks and green spaces	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Availability of public transport and street lighting	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Characteristics of cases

- Both males and females
- Those under 5 years stayed at home
- Those 5-9 years spent time outside the home
- Child labourers were living with only one parent when they started working, often the mother, but sometimes the father
- Intermittent work – did not last > 2 years

Characteristics of mothers

- Ages 24-41 years
- Urban and rural
- Schooling ranging from not having completed elementary school to university degree
- Some had started working at 11-14 years old, others only started working in their twenties.
- Some were unemployed and other working, salaries ranged from \$0-500 per month
- **All single or separated from their husband or male partner when their child started to work**

Characteristics of fathers

- Limited information available
- Ages 23-34 years
- Black or Moreno
- From Salvador
- Some did not complete primary school and others completed high school
- They ranged from being unemployed or self-employed to working for a company and their earnings ranged from \$0 to \$294 per month.

Household characteristics

- Less than 5 people in the household
- Generally the child lived with the mother but in two cases, the child lived with the father temporarily until they could later move in with the mother
- Some lived with their extended family – an aunt or a grandmother – and others had a live-in domestic worker to help out, often having moved recently from the countryside, earning only \$59 per month, and unable to see their own children due to work
- None of the households owned a car, and only some had even a telephone or VCR.
- A couple of the households received a government subsidy ranging from \$82 to \$177 per month.

Community characteristics

- The cases lived in a variety of neighbourhoods throughout the city of Salvador.
- Some of these neighbourhoods had high rates of crime and drug-trafficking and others not. Some had good street lighting and access to public transportation and others not. Few had parks and green spaces where children could play.
- Rarely was there concern about racism or discrimination despite a high proportion of visible minorities in the North of Brazil.

Exploring the determinants

- What were the determinants of child labour?
 - ▣ Parental unemployment?
 - Not in most cases
 - ▣ Extreme poverty?
 - Most households earn \$4-15/d
 - ▣ Degraded neighbourhoods?
 - No more than usual
 - ▣ Parents were child workers?
 - Not all, none <10 yrs
 - ▣ Young and uneducated parents?
 - No, >22 yrs and educated except from rural areas

Instability as a main theme

- The child labourers in this study live in households with a range of characteristics.
- The main similarity that they share is that their families suffer from instability – parents moving out of the home, and sometimes later moving back in again. New partners moving in. Children moving out to go live with their mother. Entire families moving to another city.
- This instability makes children vulnerable, particularly young children under 10 years old

Single mothers

- Instability leads to single mothers having to:
 - Find a new place to live
 - Find a new job or source of income and
 - Find someone to look after their child while they work
- In most cases they are able to seek out various sources of formal and informal support to assist them including:
 - Support from fathers
 - Support from government
 - Support from extended family
 - Support from hired help / nanny

Support from fathers

- Sometimes, after a breakup, the mother is unable to look after the child on her own from the very beginning and the child lives for a time with the father while the mother finds a new place to live and a way to support herself and her child as an independent unit.
- However, during this transition period, the children are particularly vulnerable to becoming engaged in paid work. In one case a new wife had moved into the home and in another the father lived with his mother and sister.

Support from government

- Some of the single mothers received monthly stipends or a food pension from the government in the range of \$3-4 per day.
- In one case, the additional income allowed the mother to stay home full-time and look after her child rather than work. In another case, the mother was able to hire a domestic worker to help look after the home while she worked and continued her studies part-time.
- While this additional income is helpful, it was not enough to prevent their children from working.

Support from extended family

- Many single mothers turn to their extended family for support, particularly female family members such as grandmothers and female cousins, but especially their sisters.
- Living with their extended family can serve the dual purpose of increasing the household income and sharing responsibility for child rearing. As well, when moving in with the extended family, it also provides a safe place to live.
- In one case, a single mother and child moved in with her sister's family and later when the sister's marriage ended, they moved back in with the single mother who was now able to reciprocate.

Support from hired help

- In one case, a 41-year-old mother had no extended family to turn to and was earning a good enough salary (\$8 a day) as a teacher to be able to hire a domestic worker (paid \$2 a day) to look after the home and her 2-year-old child while she worked 4 days a week, 10 hour days.
- In 2000, the hired help was 19 years old and had moved from the interior of Bahia 4 months prior to find work in the city. She did not complete elementary school since she had started working as a farm worker at the age of 9 years. By 2002, she has left and there is a new domestic worker from Salvador, who is also 19 years old, did not complete elementary school and is single with 1 child. By 2004, she has also left this job.

Layers of vulnerability

- The low salaries of the domestic workers who have often recently arrived from the countryside to find work and have left behind children of their own illustrates the complex layers of vulnerability that exist with the poor and vulnerable single mothers in urban settings being assisted by the even poorer and more vulnerable women from the countryside, who are sometimes themselves single mothers as well.

Education as a strategy

- Some of the single mothers were continuing their education, often part-time while working, as a strategy to regain some stability and to be better able to look after the needs of the household for the future now that they have become the sole provider for the family.
- None of these women had any financial assistance to continue their education, and at school there were often problems with violence, drugs and poor scholastic materials.
- Nonetheless, in two cases, furthering their education had impressive results on their income and job stability over time.

Regaining stability?

- There were 5 main pathways for the child workers and their families:
 - ▣ Family reconciliation
 - ▣ Living in the new home the mother has built
 - ▣ Moving out of the household to live with the mother
 - ▣ Moving with the mother who has secured work
 - ▣ Moving with the mother who has lost work
- Most of these involved moving and even those remaining in the household did not necessarily benefit from greater family stability

Family reconciliation

- In two cases, the fathers renewed the relationship with the mother and moved back into the household after a certain period of time.
- This family reconciliation was not always associated with greater stability for the child.
- In one instance, it was when the unemployed father moved back home that the child started working, and years later, the father left again.
- In another instance however, the child stopped working when the father moved back. In this case the father had a steady job and good income which not only led to the increased prosperity of the household, but also allowed the mother the choice of whether to work or look after the home.

Female head of household

- In one case, the mother who worked in the chemical plant and continued her education in the evenings succeeded in building a new and stable home for herself and her child.
- She even helped her housekeeper to go back to school part-time to get her high school diploma.
- Once her own child was old enough to be in school, the sister moved out and they no longer needed a housekeeper. They live with a young cousin age 20 years who both works and studies.
- They are still living in the same place 2 years after the completion of the study.

Moving out to join mother

- Both cases who were initially living with their fathers and doing paid work after the break-up their parents, later moved out of the household to join their mothers who were living in another city.
- It can be hypothesized that the mothers had a stable enough situation to now look after their child, although there is little or no information available on the follow-up of these children.

Moving up in the world

- In one case, the single mother who earned a very good salary as a police sergeant, was able to move with her child into their own place and no longer rely on the goodwill and support of her sister to help them.
- Ironically, some years later, after the sister breaks up from her husband, the single mother is able to reciprocate the support that she has received and takes in her sister and her sister's child.

Moving back to family

- In the final case, the single mother who had been a school teacher and had no close family in Salvador lost her job.
- While there is no further information on this household after 2006, with no income she would not be able to afford a housekeeper, nor could she keep paying for the home expenses, and so the mother likely moved back to live with her extended family or to pursue other work opportunities elsewhere.

In-depth interviews

- Perhaps not surprisingly, in light of the significant instability in these families, all but one of the cases was lost to follow-up only 2 years after the end of the longitudinal study.
- The mother of the one case who was still living at the same address declined an interview.

Discussion

- Despite the impressive success of conditional cash transfer programs in combating child labour in Brazil and throughout Latin America over the last two decades, progress in the non-agricultural sector has been slow and rates of child labour among the youngest and most vulnerable children under the age of 10 years is even on the rise in large urban centres such as Salvador da Bahia in the North of Brazil.

The end of child labour: Within reach. Geneva: International Labour Organization, 2006

Empirical evidence

- This study provides empirical evidence of the complex and inter-related determinants of child labour among very young children drawn from a community-based longitudinal cohort study of a random sample of 2,515 households from the city of Salvador who were followed over a 10 year period.

More than poverty

- The findings of our research indicate that, contrary to popular belief, this is not a simple issue of poverty, nor of young parents with low educational attainment, but rather a more complex problem relating to family instability and gaps in formal support structures.

Fetuga B, Njokama F, Olowu A. Prevalence, types and demographic features of child labour among school children in Nigeria. *BMC International Health and Human Rights* 2005, 5:2.

Facchini L, Gastal Fassa A, Dall'Agnol M, Santos Maia M. Child labor in Pelotas: occupational characteristics and contribution to the economy. *Ciencia et Saude Coletiva* 2003; 8(4): 953-961.

Marital instability

- Previous research in other contexts in Latin America and in other low and middle-income countries around the world have also identified marital instability and single motherhood as important determinants of child labour.

Taylor, L. R., M. B. Mulder, et al. (2005). "Dangerous Trade-offs: The Behavioral Ecology of Child Labor and Prostitution in Rural Northern Thailand." Current Anthropology **46**(3): 411-31.

Psacharopoulos G. Child labor versus educational attainment
Some evidence from Latin America. *J Popul Econ* 1997; 10:377–386.

Loss of stability

- Our research findings which provide follow-up of cases over a 10-year period illustrate in greater depth how families with young children who experience parental separation not only lose a father figure, but there is also loss of:
 - ▣ The family home,
 - ▣ Child care assistance,
 - ▣ Household income, and
 - ▣ Social support

A time of transition

- Our findings show how single mothers need to rapidly react to this crisis situation by finding:
 - ▣ A new home
 - By themselves
 - With extended family
 - ▣ A regular source of child care
 - Using hired help
 - Through extended family
 - Temporarily through the father
 - ▣ A steady source of income
 - From work
 - From government stipends

Improving prospects

- More than government subsidies, the single strategy that most improved the work prospects and stability of single mothers in this study was continuing their education which greatly increased their income and job stability over a relatively short period of time, particularly among those who already had a fairly advanced level of education.
- Also effective in restoring the stability of the household was when the spouse and primary provider moved back home again.

Persistent instability

- However, whereas some households of child workers appeared to regain a sense of stability when a spouse moved back home or when a mother completed her education and secured a very well-paying job in the formal sector with benefits, this did not occur in all cases, and for other children, the initial instability persisted over time.

Study limitations

- Although this qualitative study had to rely solely on written sources of information since there were high rates of loss to follow-up among households with working children, the results of the research are nonetheless supported by previous research findings in this area.

Finding supported by literature

- Child labour is considered a “normal” way of life in Northeast Brazil due to a depressed local economy, adult unemployment, economic niches and cheap child labour
- Children in single-mother households have lower social support, poorer health, and smaller material resources
- They are less likely to attend school and are more likely to work, raising concerns about the inter-generational transfer of poverty

Findings supported by literature

- Pregnancy is often the main reason for women to stop working and in later years many are unable to find jobs with hours of work that can be combined with family commitments.
- For single mothers with pre-school aged children, child care costs are an important barrier to work
- Intermittent employment is a characteristic of child labour which must be recognized to capture levels of child employment adequately

What can be done?

- It has previously been suggested that targeting benefits to children of single-mothers in urban areas would reach a greater proportion of children at risk of child labour and poor school outcomes, thus confirming the main findings of this study.

Arends-Kuenning, M. and S. Duryea (2006). "The effect of parental presence, parents' education, and household headship on adolescents' schooling and work in Latin America." Journal of Family and Economic Issues **27**(2): 263-286.

Sakellariou, C. and A. Lall (2000). "Child labour in the Philippines: Determinants and effects." Asian Economic Journal **14**(3): 233-253.

Population approach

- However, adopting a population-based and integrated approach rather than a high-risk approach may have even greater and more far-reaching effects on the entire population.

Rose G. Sick individuals and sick populations. *Int J Epidemiol* 1985; 14: 32-38.

Magalhães de Mendonça MH. The challenge of health care provision for children and adolescents as part of equitable public policies. *Cad. Saúde Pública* 2002; 18(Suplemento):113-120.

Parental benefits

- For instance, for mothers with infants under 1 year of age, it is important to provide parental benefits as it has been shown that maternal employment in the first year of life can have detrimental effects on the cognitive and behavioral development of children regardless of gender or poverty status.

Baydar N, Brooks-Gunn J. Effects of Maternal Employment and Child-Care Arrangements on Preschoolers' Cognitive and Behavioral Outcomes: Evidence From the Children of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. *Developmental Psychology* 1991;27(6): 932-945.

More than money

- Mothers would want their children to continue the socio-educational after-school program of PETI even if they no longer received the cash stipend.

de Lisieux Quesado Fagundes T et al. Relatoria da Pesquisa Qualitativa de Avaliacao do PETI – Produto 03. Belo Horizonte: Herkenhoff & Prates, 2009.

Strategies that support families

- Provided by primary health care
 - ▣ Home visitation programs for families
 - Prevent child maltreatment
 - Identify hidden cases of child labour
 - ▣ Confidential reporting of work-related harm
 - To monitor rates of injuries, disease, death
 - ▣ Provision of health care services
 - ▣ Education and referral to other support services
- Beyond primary health care
 - ▣ Universal child care
 - ▣ Vocational training for parents

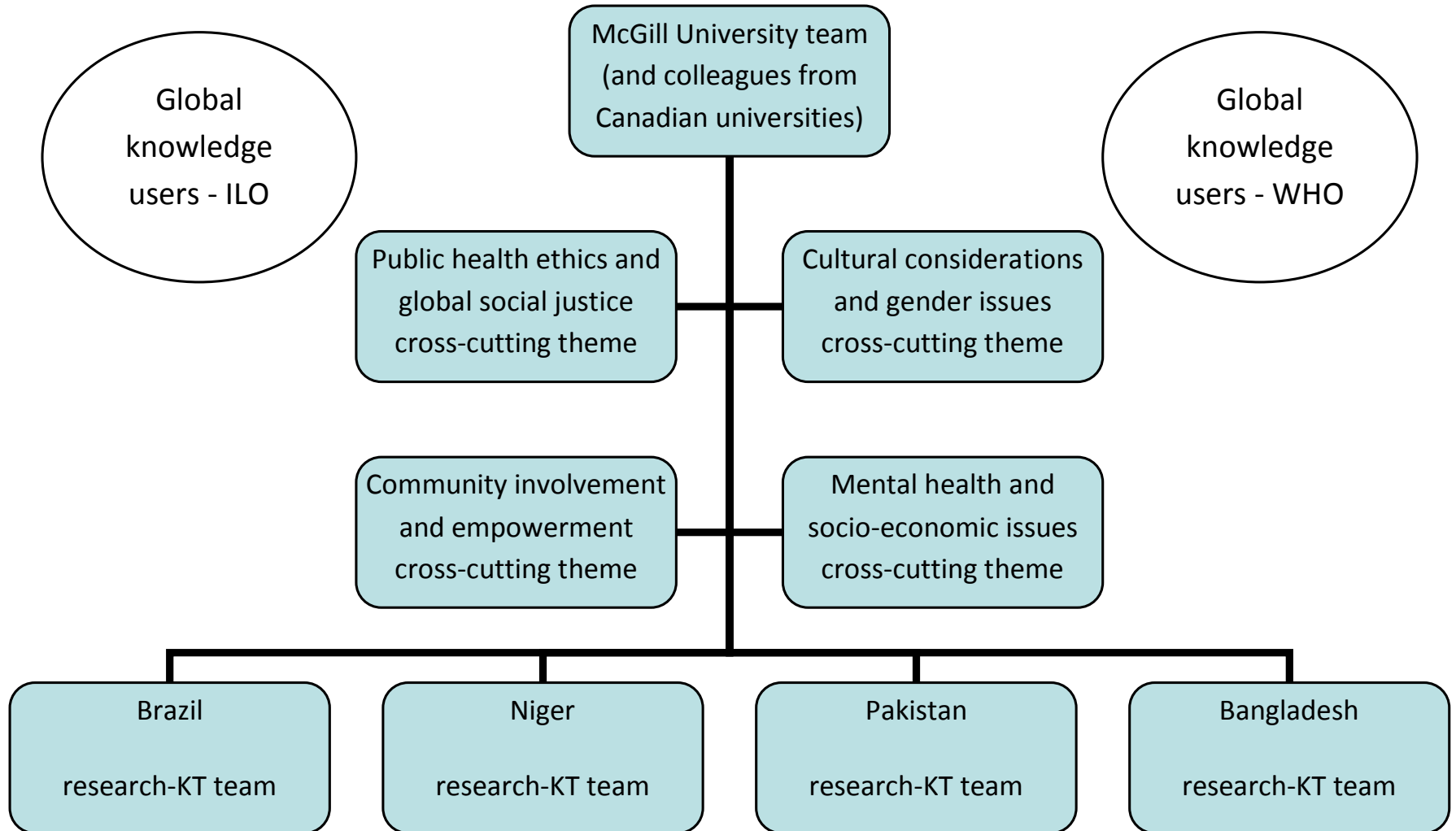
Getting at a hidden problem

- Identifying cases of child labourers is challenging since child labour is illegal in Brazil and there can be negative repercussions for reporting child labour to the authorities (e.g. losing government financial benefits for non-compliance, fear of being separated from one's children, etc.).
- Therefore, identifying vulnerable children through primary health care in a confidential way, building a relationship of trust that opens the door to providing health care, education, support and referral to additional services beyond the health sector has tremendous potential as an effective intervention to tackle child labour.

The CLEAR collaboration

- Child Labour Evidence to Action Research Group
 - ▣ Based in Department of Family Medicine at McGill
 - ▣ Main focus is to develop and test interventions delivered through primary health care to tackle child labour and the social determinants of health
 - ▣ 4 main country research sites in low and middle income countries which already have established researchers and research infrastructure
 - ▣ An interdisciplinary team in Canada and internationally with wide range of expertise
 - ▣ Knowledge end users at local, national and global levels to promote knowledge translation into practice

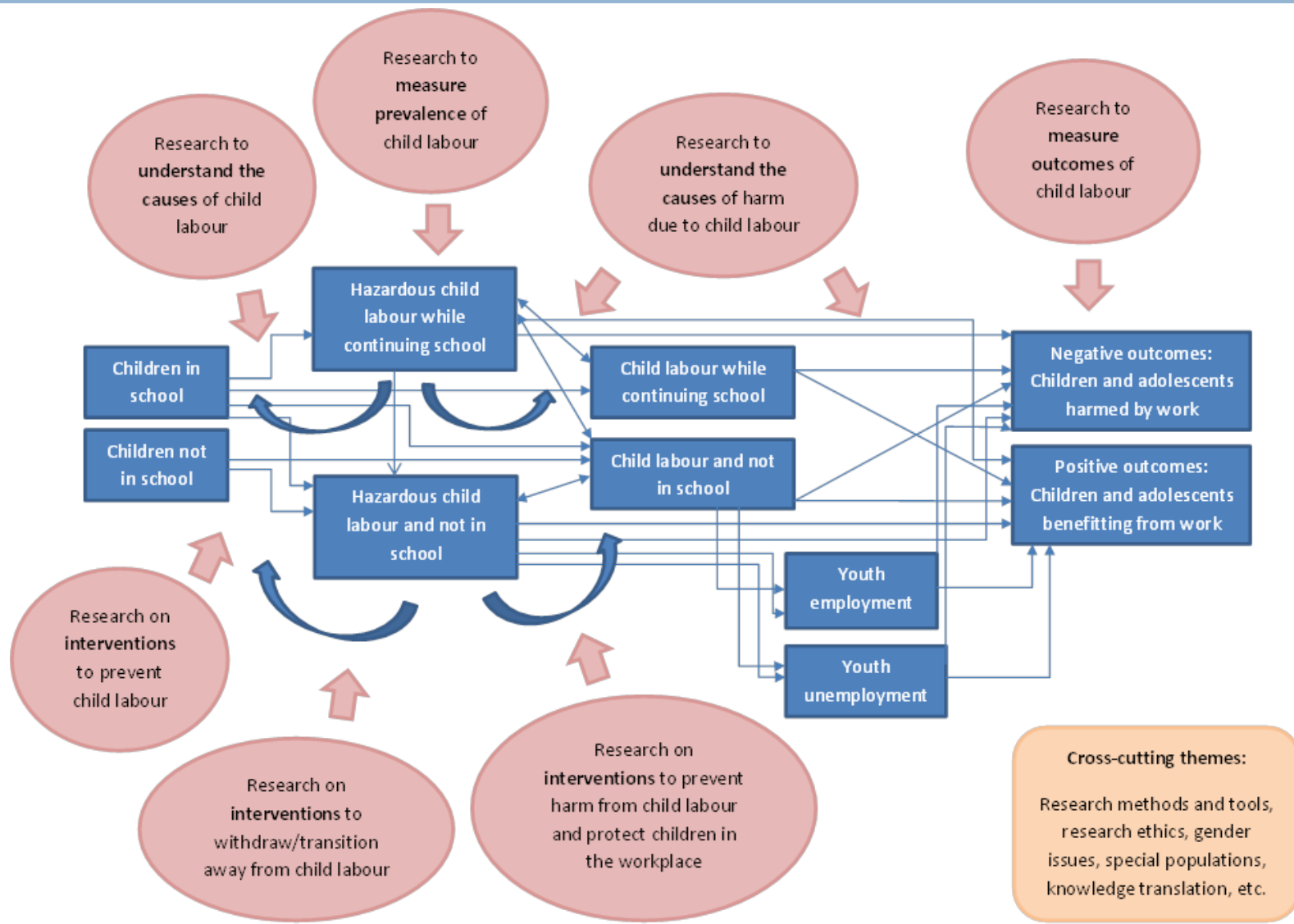
Organigramme



Main research questions

- What works in practice to:
 - PREVENTION: Prevent child labour, and in particular, the most hazardous forms of child labour?
 - PROTECTION: Reduce the physical, psychological and social harms associated with child labour?
 - WITHDRAWAL/TRANSITION: Help working children to transition back to school or to more decent work?
- How do these interventions work?
- Can they be made more effective?
- Can they be transferred across diverse contexts?
- Can adverse consequences be avoided?

Intervention research



For more information

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