



**Understanding Children's Work**  
An Inter-Agency Research Cooperation Project

Understanding Children's Work Programme Country Report Series

# Understanding children's work in Zambia

*Report on child labour*

May 2009

# **Understanding children's work in Zambia**

## **Country report**

**May 2009**

Understanding Children's Work (UCW) Programme

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As part of broader efforts toward durable solutions to child labor, the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the World Bank initiated the interagency Understanding Children's Work (UCW) programme in December 2000. The programme is guided by the Oslo Agenda for Action, which laid out the priorities for the international community in the fight against child labor. Through a variety of data collection, research, and assessment activities, the UCW programme is broadly directed toward improving understanding of child labor, its causes and effects, how it can be measured, and effective policies for addressing it. For further information, see the programme website at [www.ucw-project.org](http://www.ucw-project.org).

# **Understanding children's work in Zambia**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The current report was developed under the aegis of the Understanding Children's Work (UCW) programme, a research co-operation initiative of the International Labour Organization, UNICEF and World Bank. It is the product of a collaborative effort involving the Central Statistical Office, MLSS, other concerned Government ministries, local research institutes, the UCW programme secretariat and the ILO/IPEC, UNICEF and World Bank Zambia country offices. The 2005-2006 Labour Force Survey Child Labour module is the primary dataset. Data extracted from the Education Management Information System (EMIS) is also utilised alongside both quantitative and qualitative data from special studies on child trafficking, CSEC, CDL and CL in agricultural households.

The report provides an overview of the child labour phenomenon in Zambia – its extent and nature, its determinants, and its consequences on health and education. The report also addresses the national response to child labour, and policy options for its elimination. The analysis considers the economics as well as the social determinants of child labour and follows a cross-sectoral approach, especially in the identification of determinants and strategic options. Particular attention is given to the links between child labour and schooling, and to importance of child labour as a constraint to Education For All.

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### *Introduction*

1. Child labour constitutes a key obstacle to achieving universal primary education and other Millennium Development Goals in Zambia. It not only harms the welfare of individual children, but also slows broader national poverty reduction and development efforts. Children forced out of school and into labour to help their families make ends meet are denied the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills needed for gainful future employment, thereby perpetuating the cycle of poverty.
2. The current report provides an overview of the child labour phenomenon in Zambia – its extent and nature, its determinants, and its consequences on health and education. The report also addresses the national response to child labour, and policy options for its progressive elimination. Particular attention is given to the links between child labour and schooling, and to the importance of child labour as a constraint to Education For All. The report is the product of a collaborative effort involving the Central Statistical Office, Ministry of Labour and Social Security, other concerned Government ministries, local research institutes, the UCW programme secretariat and the ILO/IPEC, UNICEF and World Bank Zambia country offices.

### *Children's involvement in work*

3. Children's involvement in work is very common in Zambia. An estimated 47 percent of children aged 7-14 years, over 1.2 million children in absolute terms, were economically active in the 2005 reference year. Seventy-five percent working children are also in school, about four percentage points less than the school attendance of non-working children. Children's work is concentrated overwhelmingly in family agriculture. Almost 96 percent of total economically-active 7-14 year-olds work in agriculture, and a similar proportion work for their families without wages.
4. Zambia's level of child economic activity places it in the mid-range of countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa region where data are available. But nine of the 13 countries achieving lower levels of children's work than Zambia have done so despite also having lower levels of per capita income, underscoring the significant scope for policy intervention against child labour in the Zambian context.
5. Aggregate estimates of children's involvement in work in Zambia mask important differences by residence, region, age and sex.
  - *Residence.* Children's involvement in economic activity is largely a rural (agriculture sector) phenomenon. Children living in cities and towns are considerably less likely than their rural counterparts to engage in economic activity, at every age and for both sexes

- *Region.* Sub-national data point to large regional differences in children's work, underscoring the need for the geographic targeting of child labour elimination efforts. The Northern and Eastern provinces feature the highest levels of economic activity, at 79 and 77 percent respectively. In Copperbelt and Lusaka, by contrast, less than one in 10 children are economically active.
  - *Gender.* There is surprisingly little difference in the time use patterns of boys and girls in rural or urban areas in the 7-14 years age group. The share of boys and girls aged 7-14 years in economic activity and in school (or in both or in neither) are almost equal.
  - *Age.* Child economic activity rises sharply with age, but numbers of even very young working children are far from negligible. Some 65,557 (20 percent of) five year-olds and 69,385 (23 percent of) six year-olds are already at work in economic activity. These extremely young working children constitute a particular policy concern.
6. Economic activity is not the only form of work that children can perform. An even larger proportion of children are engaged in non-economic activities, and specifically household chores. An estimated 57 percent of 7-14 year-olds was engaged in housekeeping activities or household chores in own parents' or guardians home during the 2005 reference year. Involvement in household chores tends to start earlier than economic activity and is very time-intensive.
7. Calculating children's total work by simply combining involvement in economic and non-economic activity yields an estimate of total work involvement of 74 percent of Zambian 7-14 year-olds, 1.91 million children in absolute terms. Girls' work involvement using this combined measure exceeds that of boys at almost every age, highlighting that using economic activity alone as the measure of work understates girls' work involvement relative to that of boys.

### *Child labour*

8. The Zambia Employment of Young Persons and Children (EYPC) Act (No.10 of 2004) regulates the employment of children and young persons. The Act states that no "child"<sup>1</sup> shall be employed in any "industrial undertaking"<sup>2</sup> (art. 4.1) or in any "covered worksite"<sup>3</sup> (art. 4A.1) but, the

<sup>1</sup> Article 2 states that "In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires "child" means a person under the age of fifteen years.

<sup>2</sup> Article 3 of the Act states that "industrial undertaking" includes particularly- (a) mines, quarries and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth; (b) industries in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed, including shipbuilding, and the generation, transformation and transmission of electricity or motive power of any kind; (c) construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair, alteration or demolition of any building, railway, tramway, harbour, dock, pier, canal, inland waterway, road, tunnel, bridge, viaduct, sewer, drain, well, telegraphic or telephonic installation, electrical undertaking, gas work, waterwork or other work of construction, as well as the preparation for or laying the foundations of any such work or structure; (d) transport of passengers or goods by road or rail or inland waterway, including the handling of goods at docks,



latter provision notwithstanding, states that a child aged between thirteen and fifteen years may be lawfully engaged in “light work”<sup>4</sup> (art. 4A.2). The EYPC Act also provides for the prohibition on the employment of young persons in any type of employment or work that constitutes a worst form of child labour (art. 17B).<sup>5</sup> The specific types of hazardous work constituting worst forms were agreed during Tripartite Labour Law Reform discussions and are contained in a draft statutory instrument released in 2006.<sup>6</sup>

9. Therefore, for a complete estimate of child labour in accordance with national legislation, it is necessary to look at all working children with the exception of those in the relevant age range in light work, as well as young persons in worst forms of child labour. Child labour based on these criteria is common in Zambia. Over 1 million children below the absolute minimum working age of 12 years are at work in economic activity, and an additional 225,000 (13-14 year-old) children in non-light economic activity are below the minimum age for this type of work. Putting these groups together yields an estimate of 1.3 million 5-14 year-olds in child labour, 41 percent of this age group.

10. It should be stressed that this is a lower-bound estimate, as it does not include involvement in what ILO terms “unconditional worst forms” of child labour, which are beyond the scope of standard household surveys. This child labour estimate also does not include children in non-economic activity, as national legislation does not deal with this category of work.

11. Children’s involvement in hazardous work is also widespread. An alarmingly high number of working 5-17 year-olds – over 1.4 million in absolute terms – was exposed to loud noise, dust/fumes/gas, dangerous tools, heavy loads or extreme temperatures in the workplace during the 2005 reference year. Smaller, but by no means negligible, numbers of

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quays, wharves, and warehouses, but excluding transport by hand; (e) cordwood cutting; but does not include commercial or agricultural undertakings.

<sup>3</sup> Article 2 of the Act states that “covered worksite” means any public or private undertaking and includes any commercial, agricultural or domestic worksite and any undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed.

<sup>4</sup> Article 4A.2 cites specifically light work (a) which is not likely to be harmful to that child’s health or development; and (b) is not prejudicial to that child’s-(i) attendance at an institution of learning; (ii) participation in vocational orientation or training approved by a competent authority or that child’s capacity to benefit from the institution received.

<sup>5</sup> Article 2 of the EYPC Act, consistent with ILO Convention 182, states that “worst form of labour” includes- (a) all forms of slavery and all practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children and young persons, debt bondage, serfdom, forced and compulsory labour and forced or compulsory recruitment of children and young persons for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child or young person for prostitution, production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child or a young person for illicit activities, such as the production and trafficking of illegal drugs; and (d) work that by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children or young persons;

<sup>6</sup> The draft Order states that “No child shall be employed in any of the under listed hazardous activities or branch thereof, including an undertaking in which only members of the family are employed.” The listed hazardous activities are as follows: (a) excavation/drilling; (b) stone crushing; (c) block/brick making; (d) building; (e) roofing; (f) painting; (g) tour guiding; (h) selling/serving in bars; (i) animal herding; (j) fishing; (k) working in tobacco and cotton fields; (l) spraying of pesticides, herbicides and fertiliser application; (m) handling farm machinery; and (n) processing in industries.

children were exposed to other serious hazards such as chemicals (7,000), high heights (1,600) and underground work (800). Particularly concerning is the fact that young children appear no less likely to be exposed to hazardous work than their older counterparts (not shown).

### *Impact of children's work*

12. Involvement in work appears to interfere both with children's ability to attend school and to perform effectively once there, underscoring the importance of child labour as a barrier to achieving Education For All. The attendance of working children lags behind that of their non-working counterparts at every age. School life expectancy provides another measure of children's ability to attend and persist in school. Working students can expect to remain in education for fewer years at every age than non-working students; among children in their first year of the primary cycle, i.e., seven year-olds, the difference in school life expectancy is almost 1.5 years.

13. Working children attending school also lag behind their non-working counterparts in terms of grade progression. The gap in grade progression already appears at age nine years, and widens steadily thereafter. By the end of the first school cycle, working children are one full grade behind their non-working counterparts. This result points to the difficulty that working children face in keeping up in the classroom with children that are not burdened with work responsibilities, and constitutes one indication of the human capital cost associated with children's work.

14. Children's levels of educational attainment and literacy are generally low, at least in part due to the exigencies of work. Almost 10 percent of 9-17 year-olds, over 280,000 in absolute terms, have never attended school. A further 149,000 children from this age group with past schooling experience (but not currently enrolled) are unable to read and write. These figures underscore the importance of expanding and accelerating on-going efforts in the area of remedial education, as children with little or no schooling will be in a weak position in the labour market, at much greater risk of joining the ranks of the unemployed and the poor.

### *Understanding why children work*

15. As most primary school-aged children (excluding those that live on their own) exercise little control over their time allocations, determining why children work requires investigating why parents choose to engage their children in work rather than sending them to school or leaving them idle at home. Multivariate analysis permits an identification of some of the factors influencing household decisions relating to children's time use; key results are summarized below:

- *Child age and sex.* The analysis shows that the probability of a child working increases with age. The available information is insufficient to provide a precise idea of the relative importance of the two most probable reasons for this, i.e., the rising opportunity cost of schooling as a child grows older, or the lack of access to schooling at the post-primary level. Parents' decisions concerning whether to involve their children in school or work do not appear strongly influenced by gender considerations in Zambia.
- *Education of household head.* The effect of an increase of parents' education levels on the reduction of child labour is strong and positive. Holding income and other factors constant, children from households where the head has basic education are almost seven percentage points less likely to work full-time, and five percentage points more likely to attend school full-time, than children from households where the head is illiterate.
- *Household income.* Economic considerations appear to play an important role in decisions concerning children's work and schooling. Moving from the lowest to the second lowest income quintile, for example, reduces the probability of a child working full-time in economic activity by more than four percentage points and raises the likelihood of him or her attending school full-time by about eight percentage points. The results underscore that children's earnings or productivity play an important role in household survival strategies among low-income families.
- *Place of residence.* Children's living location has a strong influence on their time use, highlighting the importance of targeted, area-specific approaches to reducing child labour and raising school attendance. Holding other factors constant, children living in cities and towns are seven percent less likely to be working full-time, and 28 percentage points more likely to be in school full-time, compared to their counterparts living in the countryside. The likelihood of school attendance and child labour also depends to a large extent on the province where they live.
- *School quality.* With the exception of pupil to teacher ratio (which was only marginally significant), none of the quality indicators tested was significant to schooling and work decisions (the other variables tested were pupil to class ratio, teacher to class ratio, and textbook to pupil ratio). This result should, however, be interpreted with caution. It might be the product of data shortcomings, or of the inadequacy of the variables used as proxies for school quality in the Zambia context.
- *Exposure to shocks.* Socio-economic shocks are common in Zambia and their impact on children's involvement in work and schooling is therefore of considerable policy interest. Results of the multivariate analysis indicate that shocks have a strong influence on child labour and school attendance, particularly among low income households. These

results suggest that child labour forms an important part of a poor household's strategy for dealing with risk, making them less vulnerable to sudden losses of income arising from individual or collective shocks.

- *Orphanhood.* Zambia suffers very high child orphan rates and understanding how orphanhood affects children's involvement in school and child labour is therefore another area of particular policy interest. Estimation results suggest that orphans are at significantly greater risk of being denied education, with the effect largest for children who have lost both parents. Links between orphanhood and work, however, are ambiguous.

### *Accelerating progress towards eliminating child labour: a discussion of policy options*

16. Achieving Zambia's time-bound objectives for eliminating child labour requires a policy response targeting three broad groups: (1) children at risk of involvement in child labour; (2) children already harmed by exposure to child labour; and (3) children in the worst forms of child labour requiring immediate, direct action.

17. Empirical analysis conducted for this study, as well as policy experience in Zambia and elsewhere, points to a number of general strategies for reaching these groups. Mechanisms to reduce social risk are particularly important to preventing children from entering child labour, and to stopping children already in work from moving to more hazardous forms or leaving school prematurely. A pilot social cash transfer (SCT) scheme begun in the Kalomo district of Zambia offers one potential route forward in this context. The scheme, since expanded into an additional four districts (Monze, Kazungula, Chipata and Katete), provides regular cash transfers to incapacitated households with "limited self-help potential"; those headed by older persons taking care of orphans are a particular target.

18. Remedial schooling and other "second chance" learning opportunities are important to overcoming work-related damage to children's welfare. Experience in Zambia points to the important potential of community schools in this context. The number of community schools in the country grew to an estimated 3,000 in 2004, with an estimated total enrolment of approximately 500,000. Many of the students are AIDS orphans who have lost either one or both of their parents and live in household too poor to send these children to government schools. Many are also older children with little or not previous schooling experience. Some of the schools used the SPARK syllabus – Skills, Participation, Access, and Relevant Knowledge – designed to provide 9-16 year-olds with a complete primary education in only four years, as opposed to the seven years required for the national curriculum.

19. Immediate, targeted measures are needed to remove and rehabilitate children in unconditional worst forms of child labour, including children in

conditions of commercial sexual exploitation, children in mining, stone crushing and construction, children in conditions of slavery and child victims of trafficking. Mechanisms are also needed for the identification and follow-up of child labour in particular sectors, for example children in agriculture, who form the biggest number of child labourers in Zambia, and children in domestic child labour, a form of child labour that is widespread among girls. A network of community child labour committees, working with the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, is one possibility in this context.

20. Achieving sustainable reductions in child labour also requires a supportive national political, legal and institutional environment. Political commitment is needed to ensure that child labour is mainstreamed into broader development plans and programmes. A review of core national planning documents suggest that there remains little official recognition of child labour as a constraint to UPE/EFA and to broader national development goals. The *Zambian national Social Protection Strategy (2006-2010)* for example, makes no reference to child labour at all, while the *Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP)* identifies child labour elimination as one of the eight focal areas for the MLSS, but puts forth only a limited set of interventions towards this end. Labour legislation consistent with international child labour standards is necessary both as a statement of national intent and as legal and regulatory framework for efforts against child labour. As child labour is an issue that cuts across sectors and areas of ministerial responsibility, progress against it requires that institutional roles are clearly delineated, and that effective coordination and information-sharing structures are in place.

21. In summary, "prevention" measures are needed both to reduce the flow of vulnerable children into child labour and to stop children already in work from moving to worse forms or leaving school, while "second chance" measures are needed to avoid large numbers of children entering adulthood in a disadvantaged position, permanently harmed by early work experiences. "Direct action" is needed to identify and withdraw the children in unconditional worst forms, a group facing immediate and severe threats to survival, safety and development. The effective implementation of both prevention and protection measures requires political commitment, reliable information, an appropriate legal and regulatory framework, functioning coordination structures, capable institutions and a mobilised society, i.e., an "enabling environment".



## 1. INTRODUCTION

22. Child labour constitutes a key obstacle to achieving universal primary education and other Millennium Development Goals in Zambia. It not only harms the welfare of individual children, but also slows broader national poverty reduction and development efforts. Children forced out of school and into labour to help their families make ends meet are denied the opportunity to acquire the knowledge and skills needed for gainful future employment, thereby perpetuating the cycle of poverty.

23. The current report was developed under the aegis of the Understanding Children's Work (UCW) programme, a research co-operation initiative of the International Labour Organization, UNICEF and World Bank. It is the product of a collaborative effort involving the Central Statistical Office, MLSS, other concerned Government ministries, local research institutes, the UCW programme secretariat and the ILO/IPEC, UNICEF and World Bank Zambia country offices. The 2005-2006 Labour Force Survey Child Labour module is the primary dataset. Data extracted from the Education Management Information System (EMIS) is also utilised alongside both quantitative and qualitative data from special studies on child trafficking, CSEC, CDL and CL in agricultural households.

24. The report provides an overview of the child labour phenomenon in Zambia – its extent and nature, its determinants, and its consequences on health and education. The report also addresses the national response to child labour, and policy options for its elimination. The analysis considers the economics as well as the social determinants of child labour and follows a cross-sectoral approach, especially in the identification of determinants and strategic options. Particular attention is given to the links between child labour and schooling, and to importance of child labour as a constraint to Education For All.

25. Three related objectives are served by the report: (1) to improve the information base on child labour, in order to inform policy and programme design; (2) to promote policy dialogue on child labour and accelerated progress towards national child labour reduction targets; and (3) to build national capacity for regular child labour data collection and analysis. The report will specifically feed into the ILO/IPEC Support Project for Zambia, the aim of which is to help the Government of Zambia to put in place a national time-bound programme (TBP) for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour, as provided for under the Fifth National Development Plan.

26. The remainder of the report is organised as follows. Section 2 briefly reviews the national context, and specifically major socio-economic factors underlying the child labour phenomenon in the country. Section 3 presents descriptive data on the extent of child involvement in work and child labour, broken down by age, sex, residence and region. Section 4 examines key characteristics of children's work, including the sectors where child workers are concentrated, the intensity of work and its hazardousness. Section 5 analyses the consequences of children's work on the education and health. Section 6 looks at major determinants child labour and schooling, making use of a simple economic model of household behaviour. Section 7 outlines the national response to child labour, on the levels of both legislation and policy.

Section 8 looks at strategic options for accelerating and strengthening national action against child labour.



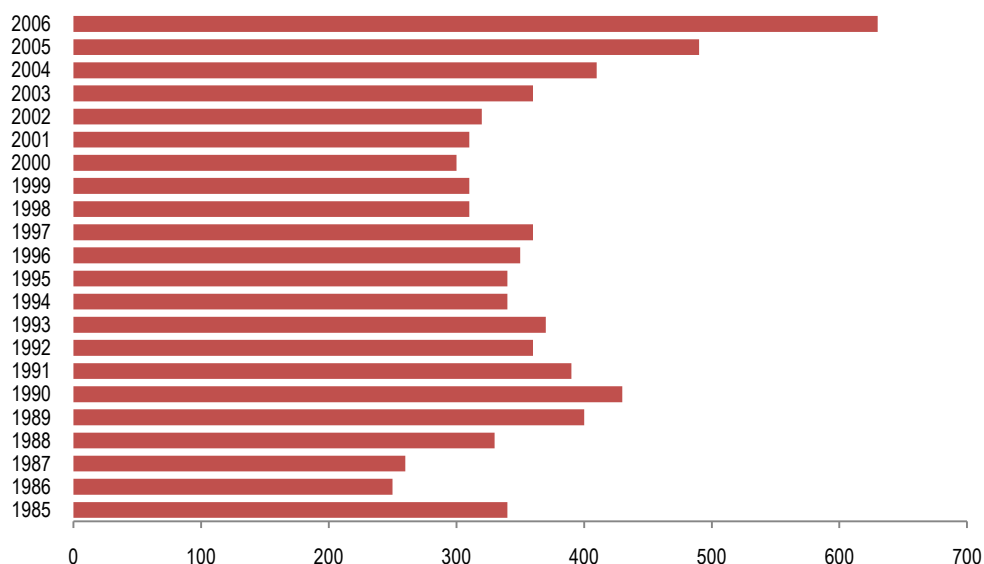


## 2. NATIONAL CONTEXT

### 2.1 Country overview

27. Zambia is a landlocked country surrounded by eight neighbouring countries (Congo DR, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia and Angola). The country's land surface area of 752,614 square kilometres is made up of three main topographic features: a mountainous range, high plateau and low valley areas. Zambia and Zimbabwe to the south share a man-made lake at Kariba which was built to generate hydro-electric power. Along the border area with Congo DR to the north lies a long mineral rich stretch especially of copper, cobalt and emeralds called the Copperbelt. The country's vegetation is mainly savannah with areas of tropical grassland and woodland consisting of a variety of grass and tree species. Several seasonal flood areas exist in flat swampy and marshy plains such as the Kafue flats, the Bangweulu and Lukanga swamps.

Figure 1. GNI per capita, 1985-2006, Atlas method (current US\$)



Note: GNI per capita (formerly GNP per capita) is the gross national income, converted to US dollars using the World Bank Atlas method, divided by the mid-year population.

Source: World Bank World Development Indicators

28. Improved economic management has contributed to economic growth at an annual average rate of 4.5 percent since 2000 - the best sustained performance in several decades (Figure 1). Provided that sound economic management is maintained, the Zambian economy is expected to grow by

six percent annually over the medium-to-long term. In March 2005, Zambia was evaluated as having reached the completion point under the enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, triggering an external debt cancellation of \$3.9 billion over a period extending to 2023. Zambia is also expected to be eligible for additional multilateral debt relief as a result of having reached HIPC Completion. Considering that during most of the 1990s interest payments on foreign debt service were higher than public spending on human development, debt relief will have a potentially far-reaching impact on the country's development prospects.

29. Zambians on average have better access to health, education, and safe water than many of their neighbours, and social development trends appear to be again moving in the right direction after a deterioration during the 1990s. The country's development challenges are nonetheless daunting: poverty is widespread, aggravated by rapid population growth; the HIV/AIDS infection rate is 17 percent, which is higher than the Sub-Saharan African region average, and numbers of AIDS orphans are growing; schools are overcrowded and student learning achievement is low; 45 percent of the population live without sustainable access to an improved water source; gender inequality is high; 18 percent of children die before their fifth birthday and 23 percent of young children are malnourished. Zambia ranks 166<sup>th</sup> out of 177 countries on the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI, 2006). While the country has made progress towards achieving some of the Millennium Development Goals, attaining many of the specific targets will be difficult (Table 1).

**Table 1. Zambia and the Millennium Development Goals: an overview**

<b>Goal 1: Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger</b>	
Target 1: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than \$ 1 per day	Poverty dropped from 59% in 1990 to 46% in 2002/3. The goal of 29% poverty rate is judge likely, thanks to a strong supportive environment.
Target 2: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger.	Proportion of people living in extreme hunger rose from 25% in 1990 to 28% in 2002/3. Notwithstanding this worsening, the 12.5% target is considered likely, as the supportive environment for eradicating hunger in Zambia has received tremendous boost in the past years.
<b>Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education</b>	
Target 3: Ensure that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.	The net enrolment in Primary Education has dropped from 80% to 76% in 2003 and rose to 78% in 2004. The girls enrolment rate rose from 69% in 1990 to 75% in 2003. The achievement of the Universal Primary education is considered a real option.
<b>Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women</b>	
Target 4: Eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005	The ratio of girls to boys in primary, and secondary education was 0.95 and 0.84 respectively in 2004. The target is considered likely to be achieved.
<b>Goal 4: Reduce child mortality</b>	
Target 5: Reduce by two-thirds between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate.	The under-five mortality was 191 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1992 and markedly declined to 168 deaths per 1,000 live births during 2001-2002. This is one of the targets that Zambia has the potential to achieve, because of conducive and supportive environment.
<b>Goal 5: Improve Maternal Health</b>	
Target 6: Reduce by three-quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio	The MMR rose from 649 per 100,000 live births in 1996 to 729 in 2002. The target of 162 MMR is considered unlikely
<b>Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases</b>	
Target 7: Have halted by 2015, and began to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS	Epidemiological Sentinel Surveillance system (ESS) done in 22 sites in 1994, 1998 and 2002 reported mean HIV prevalence rates of 20%, 18.6%, and 19.1% respectively. The 19% MDG target is almost achieved.
Target 8: Have halted by 2015, and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases	The new malaria cases (per 1000) rose from 255 in 1990 to 377 in 1999; the malaria fatality rates (per 1000) rose from 11 in 1990 to 48 in 2002. The incidence of tuberculosis also rose from 297 per 100,000 people in 1990 to 680 in 2004.
<b>Goal 7: ensure environmental sustainability</b>	
Target 9: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources	Zambia has a serious problem with deforestation. The percentage of land covered by forest reduced from 59.8 in 1992 to 45 in 2003. The percentage of land protected to maintain biological diversity slightly increased in the same period from 38.8 to 39.6. At the present rate of deforestation, Zambia risks having her forests wiped out in the next two decades.
Target 10: Halve by 2015 the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water	Progresses are being recorded in terms of access to improved water sources: in 2003, about 53 percent of the population had access to an improved water sources or to safe drinking water. Zambia has potential to reach the target of halving the proportion of the population with access to improved water sources.
Target 11: Halve by 2015 the proportion of people without sustainable access to basic sanitation	Access to proper sanitation has been lagging behind that of water. Due to definition problems <sup>1</sup> , comparable data for the previous years are absent and it is difficult to determine the actual trend. In 2003, 65 percent of all Zambians use their own pit latrines (57 percent in rural and 80 percent in urban areas)

Sources: Millennium Development Goals – Zambia Status Report 2005, Government of the Republic of Zambia and the United Nations Country Team

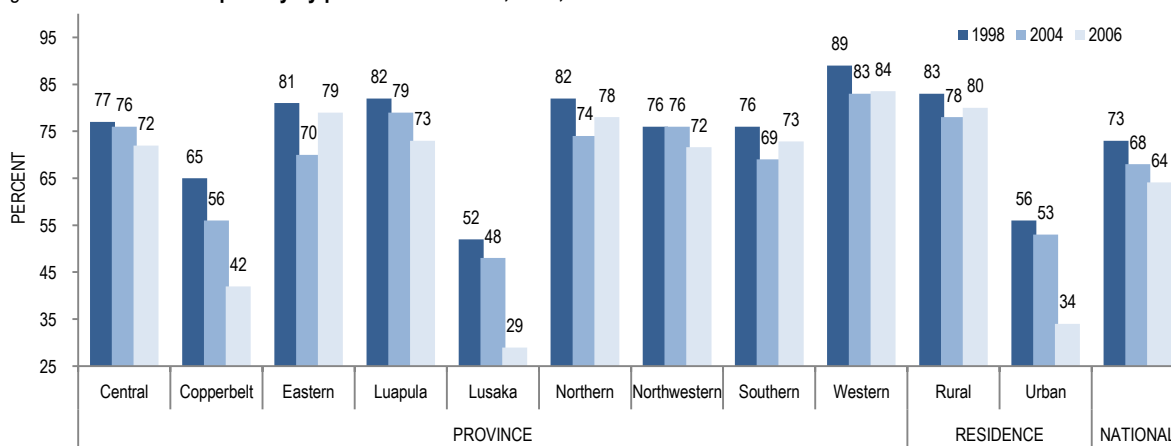
<sup>1</sup> UN definition for “access to improved sanitation” as used in the target on sanitation captures 51 percent of all Zambians who use own pit latrines. Whether, or not these facilities are “correctly constructed and properly maintained” as qualified by this UN definition, cannot be determined from the data presented by CSO.

## 2.2 Poverty

30. The causes of child labour are multiple and overlapping. While all of the development challenges listed above play a role, poverty, and as explained in the subsequent sections, vulnerability to poverty, are especially important – children are often forced to work because their survival and that of their families depend on it. Child labour may form part of a household's strategy for dealing with social vulnerability, making them less vulnerable to losses of income arising from shocks such as the loss of a primary breadwinner due to HIV/AIDS. Children forced out of school and into labour to help their families make ends meet are in turn denied the opportunity to accumulate the human capital needed for gainful future employment, thereby perpetuating the cycle of poverty.

31. The latest evidence points to continued progress in reducing poverty in Zambia, but poverty levels remain very high. According to the 2006 Living Conditions Monitoring Survey (LCMS V), almost 64 percent of the population lived below the “moderate” poverty line (i.e., unable to meeting the monthly cost of all basic needs) and 51 percent lived below the “extreme” poverty line (i.e., unable to meet the cost of the monthly food basket) during the 2006 reference year. The comparable levels in 1998 were 73 percent and 58 percent, respectively. Poverty is increasingly a rural rather than urban phenomenon: in 2006, 80 percent of rural residents lived below the moderate poverty line against only 34 percent of urban residents.

Figure 2. Incidence of poverty by province in Zambia, 1998, 2004 and 2006



Source: Central Statistical Office of Zambia, National Trends in Poverty: 1991 – 2006, <http://www.zamstats.gov.zm/>

32. Non-monetary aspects of living standards corroborate these results. Estimates based on LCMS IV indicate that 56 percent of households could not afford three meals per day in 2004. Only 45 percent of population had access to improved sanitation, and the percentage fell to 32 percent in rural areas. The proportion of rural households with access to safe water was only 39 percent in the reference year (85 percent in urban households).

About 16 percent of households in the country had access to electricity, and 56 percent of households relied on firewood for cooking and 27 percent on charcoal. The latter figures are of particular relevance for child labour, for children (and in particular girls) are commonly tasked with fetching water and collecting fuel wood.

## 2.3 Education

33. Child labour and children's education are also closely linked. Parents may involve their children in labour rather than school because the school is inaccessible, is too costly, or is of poor quality and therefore not seen as being worth the investment of their children's time. Indeed, there is broad consensus that the single most effective way to stem the flow of school age children into work is to extend access to school and improve its quality, so that families have the opportunity to invest in their children's education and it is worthwhile for them to do so. With no access to affordable and quality education, children are left to work, too often in dangerous and exploitative conditions. Zambia's efforts to achieve Education For All (EFA) and the progressive elimination of child labour are therefore inextricably linked.

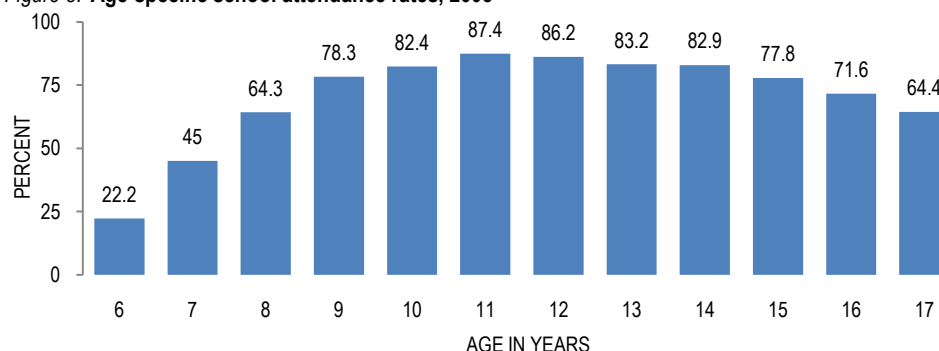
34. Enrolment in basic education<sup>2</sup> has grown rapidly in recent years in Zambia, though achieving universal primary enrolment remains a challenge. From 2000 to 2004, enrolment in grades 1-7 increased by 39 percent, and enrolment in grades 1-9 increased by 40 percent. During a period when the school-age population is estimated to have been growing by two percent annually, enrolment was increasing by about nine percent annually. The substantial increase in enrolments shown in these Ministry of Education statistics, collected from schools, are corroborated by the results of household surveys. These surveys indicate that enrolment among 7-13 year-olds (the official age group for primary education) increased from 68 percent in 1998 to 75 percent in 2002-03 and remaining at 75 percent in 2006.<sup>3</sup> Progress in expanding secondary level enrolment, however has been much slower. The gross enrollment ratio for grades 10-12 stood at only 16 percent in 2004.

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<sup>2</sup> Following the long-term policy document "Educating Our Future" (1996), the structure of pre-tertiary education has been in transition in Zambia, from the old system of 7 years of primary education and 5 years of secondary education, to the current system of 9 years of "basic education" (of which Grades 8 and 9 are "upper basic"), followed by 3 years of "high school". The rationale for the change was that, in a country where secondary education was offered mainly in boarding schools, it would be more feasible to meet the objective of enabling all Zambian children to complete a minimum of 9 years of education, if these 9 years were offered at local "basic" schools. Accordingly, the former primary schools are being expanded, with the construction of additional classrooms for Grades 8-9, to become "full basic" schools. However, due to limited capacity for Grade 8 enrollment, there is "capacity control" on entrance to Grade 8, on the basis of the Grade 7 completion examination. (World Bank, *Zambia Education Sector Public Expenditure Review (Volume I)*. Report No. 36552-ZM, June 20, 2006.)

<sup>3</sup> LCMS 1998, LCMS 2002-03 and LFS 2005, respectively.

Figure 3. Age-specific school attendance rates, 2005



Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

35. Though the increase in basic enrolment extends to all groups, differences in enrolment by residence (rural or urban), province, parents' educational attainment, and wealth, persist. In brief, enrolment rates are relatively higher among urban and male children, and among children with educated parents and children from better-off families. Enrolment rates are relatively higher in the four provinces lying along "the line of rail" through the middle of Zambia – Copperbelt, Central, Lusaka, and Southern. Enrolment is highest in Copperbelt province, and second highest in Lusaka province. Enrolment rates are relatively lower in the five provinces in the eastern and western "wings" of the country.

36. Two factors are most important in explaining the rapid growth in enrolment. First, on the "supply side", each year about 900 new classrooms are completed by the Government with support from development partners. Some of these are for expansion of existing schools, while others are completely new schools in previously unserved areas. The number of schools offering basic education increased from 5,324 in 2000 to a total of 7,256 in 2005. Second, in 2002, the Government announced a policy of free education in grades 1-7, set out in a circular issued by the Ministry of Education. The circular prohibited fees for students in these grades, and also stated that school uniforms could not be compulsory.

37. The network of community schools in Zambia has also expanded rapidly, from 883 in 2000 to 2,129 in 2005, thus making an important contribution to overall gains in schooling access.<sup>4</sup> These schools, run by local community-based organizations, meet the basic learning needs of some of the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups of children in a local environment. Many of the students are AIDS orphans who have lost

<sup>4</sup> This total for community schools included only those community schools that submitted the annual school census forms; it is estimated that the actual number of community schools is well over 3,000. Source: *Education Sector National Implementation Framework 2008 – 2010: Implementing the Fifth National Development Plan*. Ministry of Education, Government of the Republic of Zambia, Lusaka, October 2007.

either one or both of their parents and live in household too poor to send these children to government schools. The teachers are mainly from the community, and are often untrained and unpaid. Some of the schools used the SPARK syllabus – Skills, Participation, Access, and Relevant Knowledge – designed to provide 9-16 year-olds with a complete primary education in only four years, as opposed to the seven years required for the national curriculum. Others use the national curriculum, centred on seven subjects for seven years of education, or a combination of the SPARK syllabus, the national curricula and locally-relevant topics.<sup>5</sup>

38. Although official age of entry into grade 1 is seven years, many Zambian children enter at age eight years or older (indeed, the net grade 1 intake ratio is only 42 percent<sup>6</sup>). In urban areas, children may be discouraged from entering at age seven due to unavailability of spaces, while in sparsely populated rural areas, children may enter later when they are able to walk long distances more easily. The question of the percentage of children who ultimately attend school (even if starting late) can be assessed through age-specific enrollment rates.<sup>7</sup> As can be seen in Figure 3, the estimated age-specific enrolment rate peaks at age 11 years at 87 percent, suggesting that *entry* into the education system is not yet close to being universal.

39. The objective of the education process is, of course, learning, not merely enrolment, and on this dimension Zambia has not been performing well at the basic school level. In the most recent National Assessment of Learning Achievement (at Grade 9, in 2003), the average scores on this multiple-choice test were only 35 percent in English and 39 percent in mathematics. Girls performed about the same as boys in English, but slightly lower in mathematics. In tests of learning achievement at Grade 6 that were consistent across fourteen African countries, Zambia ranked thirteenth in reading, and twelfth in mathematics. To address the situation, the education specialists who prepared the very first National Assessment report (2000) recommended that the Ministry of Education: (a) mobilize more inputs of teachers and instructional materials; (b) extend the duration of the teaching day in Grades 1-4; (c) extend initial literacy in Zambian languages throughout the country; and (d) ensure that only trained teachers work with the lower grades.

## 2.4 HIV/AIDS crisis

40. Zambia is one of the countries worst-affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. An estimated 17 percent of the population is HIV-positive,

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<sup>5</sup> *Educating children out of the system: the community schools movement in Zambia*, report commissioned by UNICEF, undated.

<sup>6</sup> The ratio of seven-year-olds in grade 1 to the number of seven-year-olds in the population.

<sup>7</sup> Defined as the percentage of the single-year age-group enrolled in school, regardless of the grade attended.

severely compromising the country's social and economic development prospects. A large proportion of Zambian children must grow up in the absence of one or both birth parents. In all, over one-fifth (21 percent) of children aged 5-14 years of age, 678,480 in absolute terms, are either "single" (i.e., one parent deceased) or "double" (i.e., both parents deceased) orphans (Table 2). An additional six percent of children in this age group are living separately from their parents. Zambia's orphan rate ranks alongside that of Zimbabwe as highest in the Sub-Saharan Africa region (Figure 4). AIDS is the largest single factor behind this high orphan rate, responsible for more than one out of every two (57 percent) orphan cases.

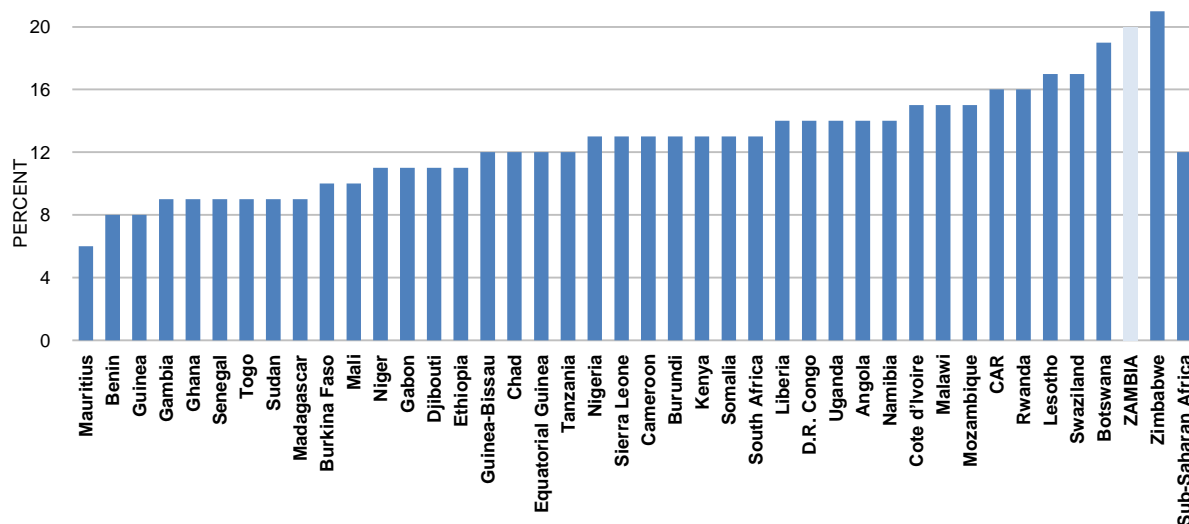
Table 2. Orphanhood status, children aged 5-14 years, by residence and sex

Residence and sex		Non-orphans		Single orphans		Double orphan	Total
		Living with parents <sup>(a)</sup>	Not living with parents <sup>(b)</sup>	Maternal orphan	Paternal orphan		
Residence	Urban	68.9	6.3	3.2	16.2	5.5	100
	Rural	74.6	6.5	2.6	12.2	4.2	100
Sex	Male	73.5	5.8	2.9	13.2	4.6	100
	Female	71.8	7.0	2.8	13.8	4.6	100
Total		72.7	6.4	2.8	13.5	4.6	100

Notes: (a) Both parents are alive and at least one parent lives in the household with child; (b) Both biological parents are alive, but neither mother nor father lives in the household with child

Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

Figure 4. Orphans as a percentage of all children, Sub-Saharan Africa region



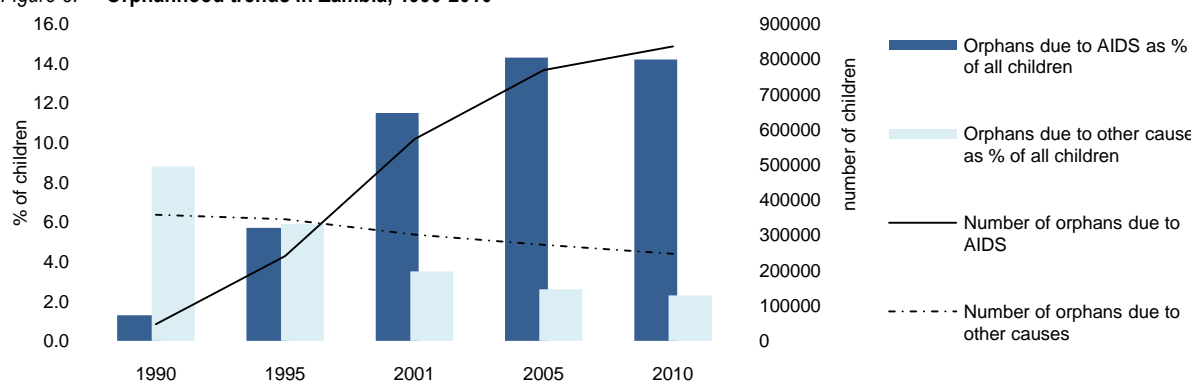
Source: UNICEF and UNAIDS, *Africa's orphaned and vulnerable generations: children affected by AIDS*. United Nations Children's Fund, August 2006.

41. Figure 5 illustrates the rise in orphanhood since 1990, both in absolute terms and as a proportion of the overall child population. The figure also illustrates that this rise was driven entirely by HIV/AIDS. Indeed, in the



absence of AIDS, orphanhood would have fallen slightly during the 1990-2001 period in both absolute and proportionate terms, due to improvements in the mortality rates of adults during the traditional child-bearing years. UN projections indicate that orphan numbers will continue to rise through to 2010, albeit at a decreasing rate, again driven entirely by AIDS.

Figure 5. Orphanhood trends in Zambia, 1990-2010



Source: UNAIDS, UNICEF and USAID, *Children on the Brink 2002: A Joint Report on Orphan Estimates and Program Strategies*, July 2002.

42. Both child labour and education are linked with the country's HIV/AIDS crisis, as discussed further in later sections of this report. Many children orphaned by the disease must perform some form of work to support themselves and/or their families, interfering with or precluding schooling. The worst off are forced onto the street, where they become involved in prostitution or other harmful and exploitative forms of work. Some sources put the street children population in the country as among the highest in the world.<sup>8</sup>

43. The AIDS crisis is also placing a large burden of education provision. The Ministry of Education reported that 1,331 teachers died as a result of AIDS in 1998, and studies have reported an HIV prevalence rate of up to 40 percent among teachers. Teacher training colleges are unable to produce sufficient new graduates to meet the shortfall of teachers attributable to deaths from AIDS, let alone meet the additional human resource requirements required under a universal education scheme.<sup>9</sup> Teacher absenteeism, much of it due to teachers' own ill health, or to attending funerals, is also significant in Zambia, and this reduced productivity of infected teachers is threatening the realisation of the MDGs quality targets.

<sup>8</sup> Human Rights Report on Trafficking in Persons at: <http://www.protectionproject.org/report/zambia.doc>

<sup>9</sup> *Education Sector National Implementation Framework 2008 – 2010: Implementing the Fifth National Development Plan*. Ministry of Education, Government of the Republic of Zambia, Lusaka, October 2007.

### 3. CHILDREN'S INVOLVEMENT IN WORK

44. This section looks at the time use patterns of children in Zambia, focusing in particular on the extent of children's involvement in work (See Box 1 on terminology) and schooling. The analyses in this and the remaining sections is based on data from the 2005 Zambia Labour Force Survey (ZLFS 2005), a nationally representative household-based survey designed to study the participation in and characteristics of the Zambian labour force. The survey contained a specific module on the work and other time uses of children aged 5-17 years, including children's involvement in economic activity and household chores, working hours, workplace hazards and ill health.

#### Box 1. Children's work and child labour: A note on terminology

Terminology and concepts used for categorising children's work and child labour (and in distinguishing between the two) are inconsistent in published statistics and research reports, frequently creating confusion and complicating cross-country and longitudinal comparisons. In this study, "**children's work**", is used broadly to refer to all productive activities performed by children. Productive activities, in turn, are defined as all activities falling within the general production boundary, i.e., all activities whose performance can be delegated to another person with the same desired results. This includes production of all goods and the provision of services to others within or outside the individual's household.

The study distinguishes between two broad categories of children's work – economic activity and non-economic activity. The definition of "**economic activity**" used in the study derives from the System of National Accounts (SNA) (rev. 1993), the conceptual framework that sets the international statistical standards for the measurement of the market economy. It covers all market production and certain types of non-market production, including production of goods for own use. "**Non-economic activity**" is defined as any productive activity falling outside the SNA production boundary. It consists mainly of work activities performed by household members in service to the household and its members.

The term "**child labour**" is used to refer to the subset of children's work that is injurious, negative or undesirable to children and that should be targeted for elimination. It can be either economic or non-economic in nature, though most published estimates refer only to the former. Three main international conventions – the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), ILO Convention No. 182 (Worst Forms) and ILO Convention No. 138 (Minimum Age) – provide the legal definition of child labour and a framework for efforts against it. There is not yet an agreed international statistical definition of child labour. In general however, it is the impact of work on children rather than its technical classification that is most important in determining whether or not work constitutes child labour. The specific statistical definitions employed to measure child labour are discussed in Section 3.

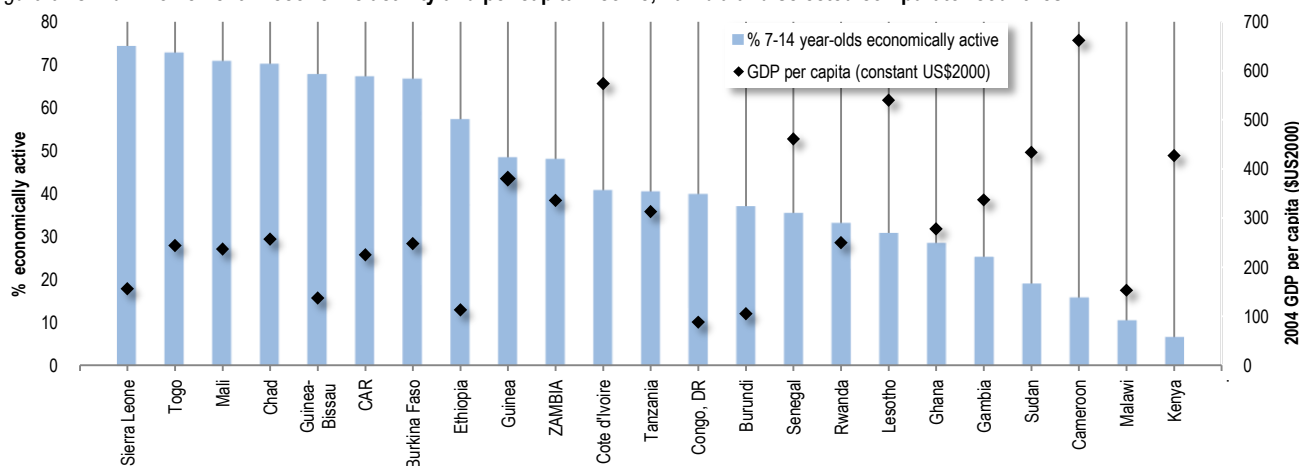
#### 3.1 Involvement in economic activity

45. Children's involvement in work is commonplace in Zambia. An estimated 47 percent of children aged 7-14 years, over 1.2 million children in absolute terms, were economically active in the 2005 reference year. Some 866,000 children under the age of 12 years were at work in economic activity, the absolute minimum working age specified by the country upon ratification of ILO Convention No. 138 (Minimum Age) in 1976, and 715,000 children aged less than 10 years were economically active. These very young child workers constitute a particular policy concern, as they are most vulnerable to workplace abuses, and most at risk of work-related ill-health or injury. They are also most affected by compromised education.

46. Zambia's level of child economic activity places it in the mid-range of countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa region where data are available (Figure 6). However, as survey methodologies and exact reference periods differ, such cross-country comparisons are indicative only. The country fares less well in comparison with other SSA countries when income levels are taken

into account. Nine of the 13 countries achieving lower levels of children's work than Zambia have done so despite also having lower levels of per capita income. The existence of countries doing better with fewer resources underscores the significant scope for policy intervention against child labour in the Zambian context. All but one of the nine countries with higher levels of children's work than Zambia, on the other hand, have substantially lower levels of per capita income.

Figure 6. Child involvement in economic activity and per capita income, Zambia and selected comparator countries

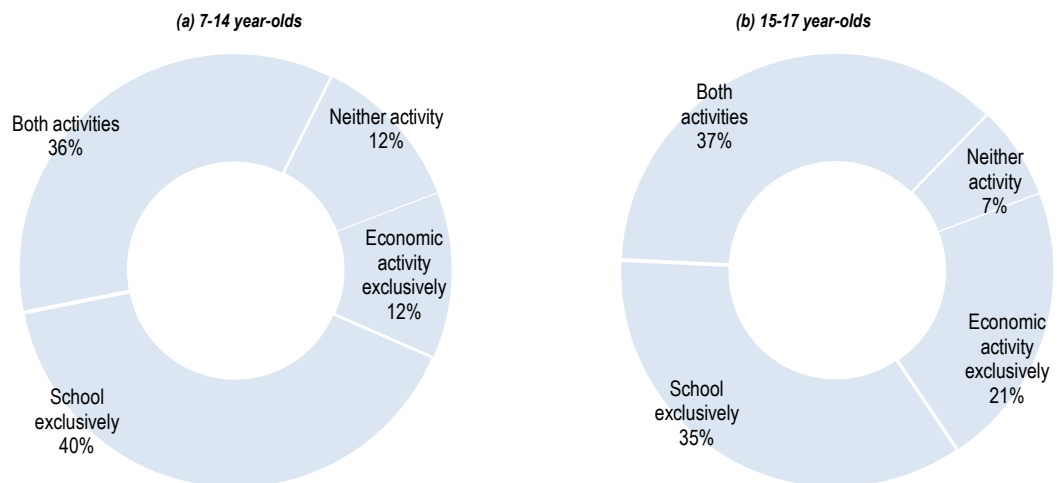


Notes: Estimates of child economic activity relate to different reference years and are derived from different survey instruments; cross-country comparisons are therefore indicative only. Sources: (1) GDP per capita estimates: World Development Indicators. (2) Child involvement in economic activity: UCW calculations based on (a) Labour Force Survey 2005 (Zambia); Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2000 (Sierra Leone, Togo, Chad, Guinea-Bissau, CAR, Guinea, Cote D'Ivoire, Congo DR, Burundi, Senegal, Rwanda, Lesotho, Gambia, Sudan); (b) Enquête prioritaire 1998 (Burkina Faso); (c) Child Labour Force Survey 2001 (Ethiopia); (d) SIMPOC Child Labour Survey 2000 (Ghana); (f) Enquête Nationale sur le travail des enfants, 2005 (Mali); (g) Enquête camerounaise auprès des ménages II 2001 (Cameroon); (h) Demographic and Health Survey 2004 (Malawi); (i) SIMPOC Integrated Labour Force Survey 1999 (Kenya).

47. Most working children attend school. Indeed, 75 percent working children are also in school, about four percentage points less than the school attendance of non-working children. Work therefore appears to interfere with children's ability to attend school in the Zambian context, although the effect is not large. Evidence presented later on in this report indicates that work involvement is also associated with higher levels of repetition, suggesting that working students are disadvantaged in the classroom. Children's levels of educational attainment and literacy are generally low, at least in part due to the exigencies of work. Almost 10 percent of 9-17 year-olds, over 280,000 in absolute terms, have never attended school. A further 149,000 children from this age group with past schooling experience (but not currently enrolled) are unable to read and write. These figures underscore the need for "second chance" learning opportunities designed to impart basic skills and knowledge of relevance to the job market and community life.

48. Another way of viewing children's involvement in work and schooling is by disaggregating the child population into four non-overlapping activity groups – children only engaged in economic activity, children only attending school, children combining school and economic activity and children doing neither (Figure 7, Table 3 and Table 4). This disaggregation shows that 36 percent of all 7-14 year-olds work and attend school at the same time, while only 12 percent work in economic activity without also going to school. A further 41 percent of all children aged 7-14 attends school exclusively, while the remaining 12 percent of 7-14 year-olds is “inactive”, i.e., not involved in economic activity or in schooling. Activity patterns differ somewhat for older, 15-17 year-old children: a greater share is in economic activity exclusively and a smaller share is in school exclusively compared or is inactive compared to the 7-14 years age group. Overall school involvement, however, remains very high among 15-17 year-olds.

Figure 7. Distribution of children by activity category, 7-14 years and 15-17 years age groups



Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

Table 3. Child activity status, by age group and sex, 2005 reference year

Activity status	Children aged 7-14 years						Children aged 15-17 years					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Economic activity exclusively	172600	13.3	145414	11.5	318014	12.4	66615	16.7	101055	26.3	167670	21.4
School exclusively	512889	39.6	517416	40.9	1030305	40.3	141441	35.4	134400	34.9	275841	35.2
Both activities	462556	35.7	446202	35.3	908758	35.5	166765	41.8	119592	31.1	286357	36.5
Neither activity	147196	11.4	154644	12.2	301840	11.8	24331	6.1	29522	7.7	53853	6.9
<b>Total eco. active<sup>(a)</sup></b>	<b>635156</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>591616</b>	<b>46.8</b>	<b>1226772</b>	<b>47.9</b>	<b>233380</b>	<b>58.5</b>	<b>220647</b>	<b>57.4</b>	<b>454027</b>	<b>57.9</b>
<b>Total school<sup>(b)</sup></b>	<b>975445</b>	<b>75.3</b>	<b>963618</b>	<b>76.2</b>	<b>1939063</b>	<b>75.8</b>	<b>308206</b>	<b>77.2</b>	<b>253992</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>562198</b>	<b>71.7</b>

Notes: (a) Refers to all children in economic activity, regardless of school status; (b) Refers to all children attending school, regardless of work status.

Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

Table 4. Child activity status, by age group and residence, 2005 reference year

Activity status	Children aged 7-14 years						Children aged 15-17 years					
	Urban		Rural		Total		Urban		Rural		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Economic activity exclusively	14500	1.7	303514	17.8	318014	12.4	30014	9.8	137656	28.8	167670	21.4
School exclusively	647829	76.1	382476	22.4	1030305	40.3	195506	64.1	80335	16.8	275841	35.2
Both activities	83211	9.8	825547	48.3	908758	35.5	39501	12.9	246856	51.6	286357	36.5
Neither activity	105634	12.4	196206	11.5	301840	11.8	40166	13.2	13687	2.9	53853	6.9
<b>Total eco. active<sup>(a)</sup></b>	<b>97711</b>	<b>11.5</b>	<b>1129061</b>	<b>66.1</b>	<b>1226772</b>	<b>47.9</b>	<b>69515</b>	<b>22.7</b>	<b>384512</b>	<b>80.4</b>	<b>454027</b>	<b>57.9</b>
<b>Total school<sup>(b)</sup></b>	<b>731040</b>	<b>85.9</b>	<b>1208023</b>	<b>70.7</b>	<b>1939063</b>	<b>75.8</b>	<b>235007</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>327191</b>	<b>68.4</b>	<b>562198</b>	<b>71.7</b>

Notes: (a) Refers to all children in economic activity, regardless of school status; (b) Refers to all children attending school, regardless of work status.

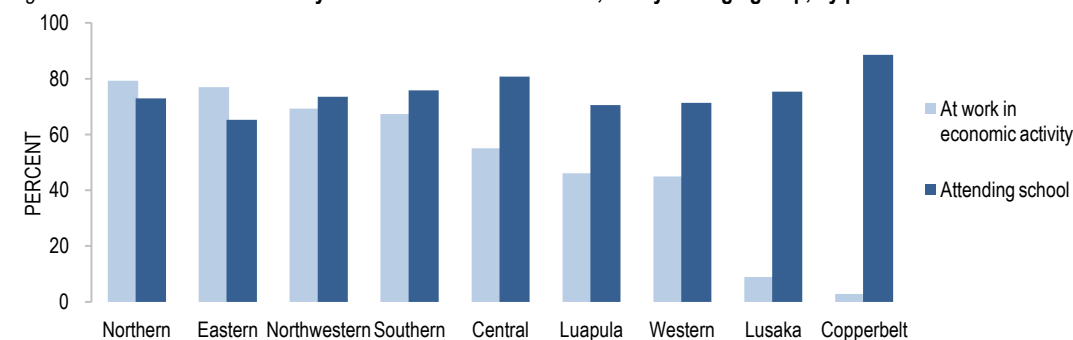
Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

49. Aggregate estimates of children's activities mask important differences by residence, region, age and sex. Tables 3 and 4 illustrate the main patterns (Note that child-, household- and community-related *determinants* of child labour are discussed in Section 7 of this report).

- **Residence.** Children's involvement in economic activity is largely a rural (agriculture sector) phenomenon. Children living in cities and towns are considerably less likely than their rural counterparts to engage in economic activity, at every age and for both sexes (Figure 9). At the same time, urban children are more likely to attend school generally (86 percent versus 71 percent), and much more likely to attend school exclusive of work (76 percent versus 22 percent) (Table 4).
- **Region.** Sub-national data from ZLFS 2005 point to large regional differences in children's work, underscoring the need for the geographic targeting of child labour elimination efforts. The Northern and Eastern provinces feature the highest levels of economic activity, at 79 and 77 percent respectively. In Copperbelt and Lusaka, by contrast, less than

one in 10 children are economically active (Figure 8). These latter two provinces also feature much lower levels of poverty than the rest of the country (Figure 2). Links between child labour and poverty are looked at in more detail in Section 7 of this report. There is less geographic variation in school attendance; at least 70 percent of 7-14 year-olds attend school in all but Eastern province.

Figure 8. Child economic activity and school attendance rates, 7-14 years age group, by province



Source: UCW calculation based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey*, 2005

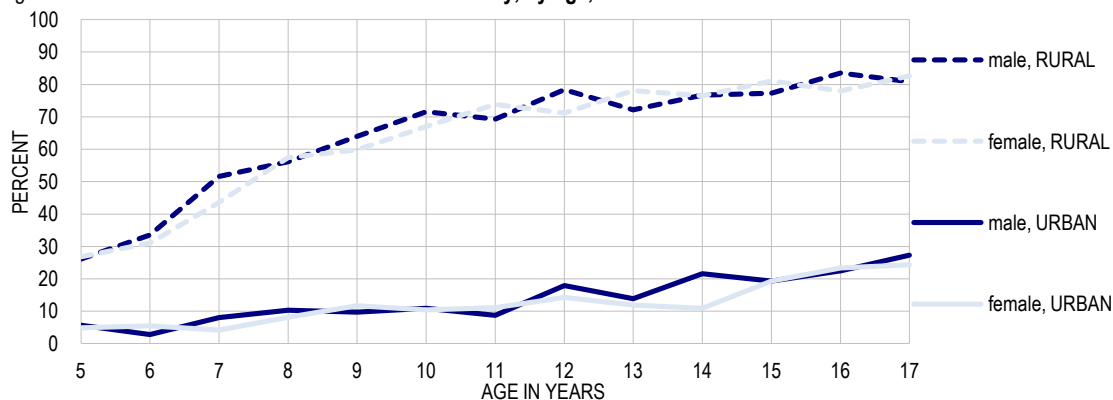
- Gender.** There is surprisingly little difference in the time use patterns of boys and girls in rural or urban areas (Figure 9) in the 7-14 years age group. The share of boys and girls aged 7-14 years in economic activity and in school (or in both or in neither) are almost equal. Other indicators also suggest that the gender plays a relatively minor role in the child labour phenomenon in Zambia. As discussed below, working girls and boys differ little in terms of the nature of their economic activities (i.e., work sector and work modality) and in terms of the amount of time they spend performing them. Girls are more likely than boys to perform household chores, though the differences are not large (see discussion below).

Larger differences by sex emerge among older, 15-17 year-old children. While the overall involvement of boys and girls in economic activity differs little in this age group, girls are much more likely than their male counterparts to have to give up school in order to work: more girls work exclusively (26 percent versus 17 percent), while many more boys combine school and work (42 percent versus 31 percent). Girls' work at this age, therefore, appears especially incompatible with schooling and, concomitantly, especially damaging to their ability to acquire the advanced human capital needed to succeed in the adult labour market.

- Age.** Child economic activity rises sharply with age, but numbers of even very young working children are far from negligible. Around 65,557 (20 percent of) five year-olds, 69,385 (23 percent of) six year-olds and 119,142 (35 percent of) seven year-olds are already at work in

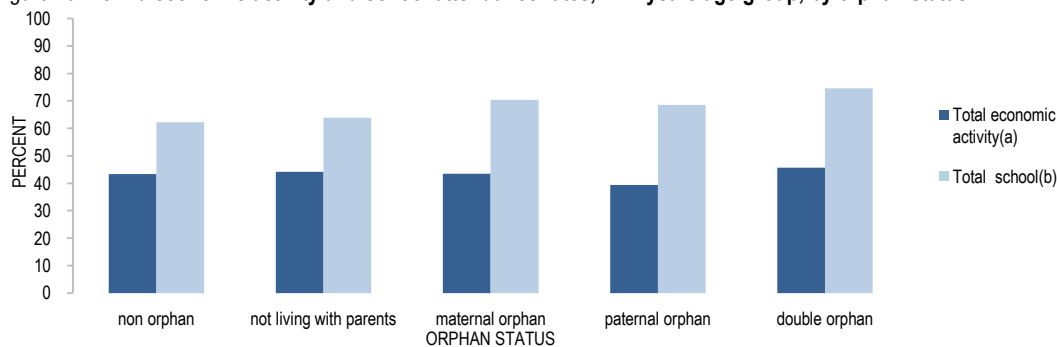
economic activity. Again, these extremely young working children constitute a particular policy concern.

Figure 9. Children's involvement in economic activity, by age, sex and residence<sup>(1)</sup>



Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

Figure 10. Child economic activity and school attendance rates, 7-14 years age group, by orphan status



Notes: (a) Refers to all children in economic activity, regardless of school status; (b) Refers to all children attending school, regardless of work status.

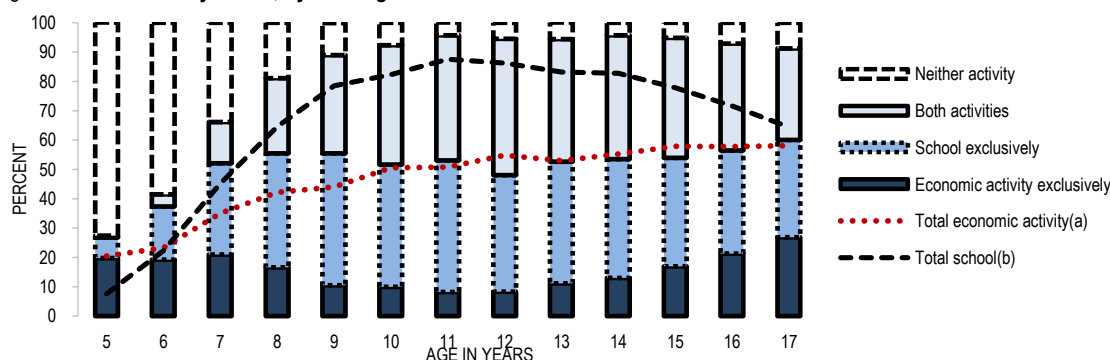
Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

50. As noted above, a substantial proportion of Zambian children have lost one or both of their parents, raising the question of what impact this has on children's time use. Orphans do not appear to be disproportionately represented in the populations of economically-active or out-of-school children (Figure 10), but this does not necessarily mean that there are no causal links between orphan status and children's time use. It is also important to note the vulnerability to child labour begins with illness to the parent. Moreover, ZLFS 2005 did not collect information on street children or other unconditional worst forms of child labour, where worst-off orphans are found. A recent ILO/IPEC rapid assessment concludes that HIV/AIDS has added as much as 23-30 percent to the child labour force,<sup>10</sup> an unknown

<sup>10</sup> ILO/IPEC, *HIV/AIDS and child labour in Zambia: a rapid assessment*. Paper no. 5, Geneva-Lusaka, August 2002.

number of whom are orphans working or begging on the streets in the country's major urban centres. Orphanhood as a possible cause of child labour and denied schooling is explored further in Section 7 of this report.

Figure 11. Child activity status, by child age



Notes: (a) Refers to all children in economic activity, regardless of school status; (b) Refers to all children attending school, regardless of work status

Source: UCW calculation based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

51. Figure 11 illustrates children's "transitions" from inactivity to school and work during the period from age 5-17 years. Many Zambian children start working at a very early age and enter school late, both with adverse consequences for their development. About 23 percent of children are already economically active at age six years, and over half of all children are economically active by the age of 10 years. Involvement in economic activity reaches 55 percent at age 14 years and 58 percent at age 17 years. Less than half of children (45 percent) are enrolled in school at age seven years, the first year of primary schooling, pointing to high levels of late entry. School attendance rises (i.e., late entrants exceed early drop-outs) for subsequent age cohorts, peaking at 88 percent at age 11 years, one year prior to the formal end of the primary cycle. Thereafter, attendance slowly declines as children begin leaving school and taking on full-time work responsibilities. The share of children still in school at age 17 years is still higher than the share of children working at this age. Once in school, then, most children appear to stay there well beyond the primary cycle. Levels of child "inactivity" are high among young children but decline steadily across the 5-14 years age spectrum. At age 14, only four percent of children are neither in school nor at work in economic activity. Beyond age 14, inactivity begins to slowly rise again, as more children assume full-time domestic responsibilities within their own households.

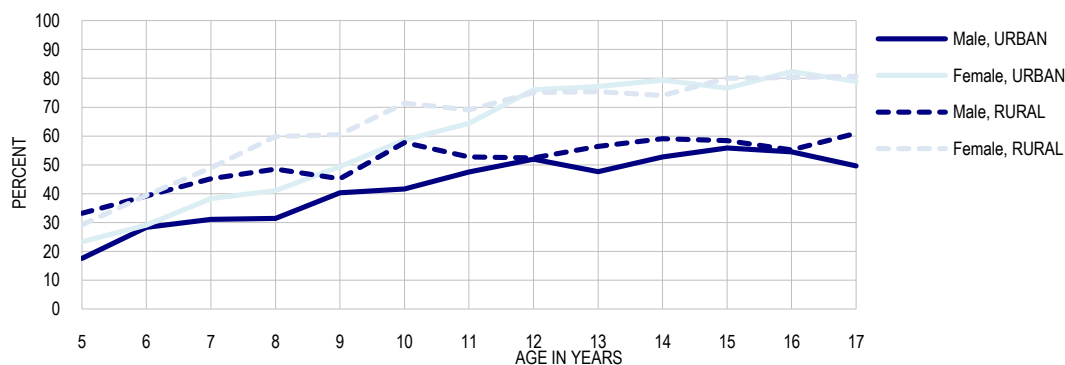
### 3.2 Involvement in non-economic activity

52. Economic activity is not the only form of work that children can perform. An even larger proportion of children are engaged in non-



economic activities, and specifically household chores. This form of work falls outside the international System of National Accounts (SNA) production boundary and is typically excluded from published estimates of child labour (see Box 1 on terminology). An estimated 57 percent of 7-14 year-olds was engaged in housekeeping activities or household chores in own parents' or guardians home during the 2005 reference year.<sup>11</sup> Involvement in household chores tends to start earlier than economic activity and is very time-intensive, as discussed below. Girls are much more likely to perform household chores than boys, and ignoring this form of work therefore biases estimates of children's work in "favour" of boys. Performing household chores is more common among rural children than among children living in towns or cities (Figure 12), not surprising given the better coverage and closer proximity of basic services in urban areas.

Figure 12. Children's involvement in *non-economic activity*, by age, sex and place of residence<sup>(1)</sup>



Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia *Labour Force Survey*, 2005

53. Considering household chores adds another layer of complexity to the discussion of children's time use, as children may perform chores in combination with school, economic activity or in combination with both (Figure 13). This more complex – but also more complete – picture of children's activities is depicted in Figure 14. The most striking finding when children's activities are looked at in this way is the large group of children performing both economic activity and household chores *and* attending school. Almost one-quarter of all 7-14 years combine these three activities, with obvious consequences on their time for study, rest and leisure. An additional seven percent children performs double work duty (i.e., economic activity and household chores) without attending school. Double work duty is particular common among girls and children residing in rural areas (not shown). Only 19 percent of children are able to attend

<sup>11</sup> Due to missing values, the estimate for involvement in household chores was calculated by combining questions Q4 (Section VI) and Q9-Q17 (Section VIII) in the ZLFS 2005 questionnaire. The former question referred to the week prior to the survey date, while the latter questions referred to the day before the survey date; the estimate, therefore, should be interpreted with caution.

school unencumbered by any form of work responsibilities. About seven percent of Zambian children are apparently completely inactive, i.e., not attending school or performing any form of work.

Figure 13. Children's time use

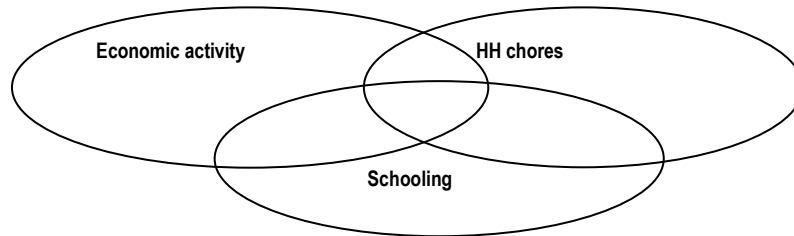
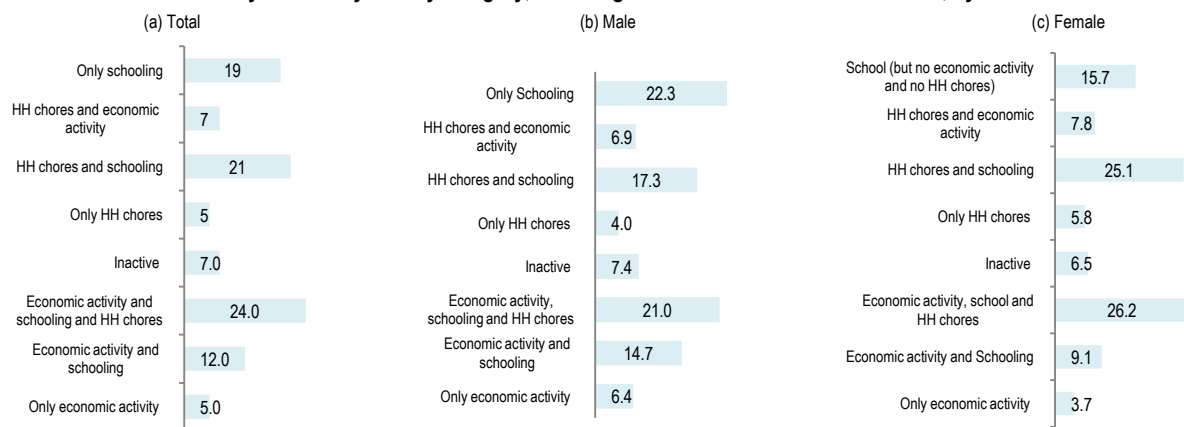


Figure 14. Distribution of 7-14 year-olds by activity category, including involvement in household chores, by sex<sup>(a)</sup>



Notes: Includes all children indicating having spent time in household chores during the reference week.

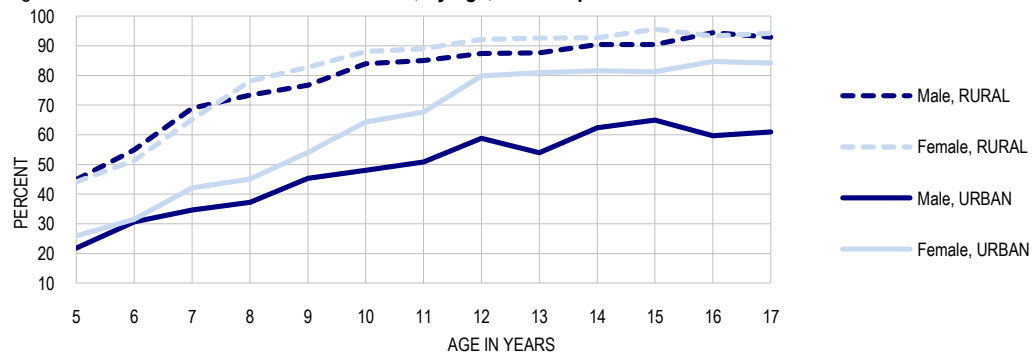
Inactive refers to children neither in economic activity, nor in household chores nor attending school

Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

54. Children's involvement in economic and non-economic activities need to be combined for a measure of children's total participation in work. Developing such a combined measure, however, is not straightforward, as it requires decisions concerning how a unit of time in non-economic activity should be weighted vis-à-vis a unit of time in economic activity. This remains an area of some debate, as underlying it is the question of whether housework has similar implications on child welfare as work in economic activity.<sup>12</sup> This point is developed further in the discussion on child labour below.

<sup>12</sup> In line with the international definition of employment, one hour spent on economic activity during the reference week is widely used as the threshold for classifying a child as economically active. But, a similar statistical standard for housework unfortunately does not yet exist. As housework is very common for both boys and girls, and some housework is considered a normal and even beneficial part of childhood in most cultures, the one hour per week threshold would seem too low for measuring

Figure 15. Children's total work involvement, by age, sex and place of residence<sup>(1)</sup>



Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

55. Figure 15 provides estimates of children's total involvement in work by simply combining involvement in economic and non-economic activity as defined in the ZLFS 2005 survey questionnaire, i.e., children performing some form of economic activity during the week prior to the survey and/or some time on non-economic activity in the day/week prior to the survey.<sup>13</sup> Seventy-four percent of Zambian 7-14 year-olds, 1.91 million in absolute terms, was involved in some form of work using this measure in the 2005 reference year.

56. Girls' work involvement using this combined measure exceeds that of boys at almost every age, with differences by sex particularly pronounced in urban areas (Figure 15). This again underscores that using economic activity alone as the measure of work understates girls' work involvement relative to that of boys. The high prevalence of girls performing dual roles in the economic and non-economic sections of labour, often coupled with schooling, has obvious life-cycle implications, and merits attention in the National Gender Policy and other policy instruments.

housework involvement. But further research is needed on how time on housework affects health and education outcomes in order to determine what the appropriate time threshold should be.

<sup>13</sup> Again, due to missing values, the estimate for involvement in household chores was calculated by combining questions Q4 (Section VI) and Q9-Q17 (Section VIII) in the ZLFS 2005 questionnaire. The former question referred to the week prior to the survey date, while the latter questions referred to the day before the survey date; the estimate, therefore, should be interpreted with caution.

## 4. CHILD LABOUR

57. This section looks at the extent to which children's work constitutes "child labour", i.e., the extent to which work is injurious, negative or undesirable to children,<sup>14</sup> information critical for policy design and targeting purposes. Lower-bound estimates of child labour are presented based to the extent possible on national child labour legislation. This section also looks at involvement in worst forms of child labour, drawing on a variety of information sources.

### 4.1 Child labour incidence

58. The Zambia Employment of Young Persons and Children (EYPC) Act (No.10 of 2004) regulates the employment of children and young persons, as discussed in more detail in Section 8.1 of this report. The Act states that no "child"<sup>15</sup> shall be employed in any "industrial undertaking"<sup>16</sup> (art. 4.1) or in any "covered worksite"<sup>17</sup> (art. 4A.1) but, the latter provision notwithstanding, states that a child aged between thirteen and fifteen years may be lawfully engaged in "light work"<sup>18</sup> (art. 4A.2). The EYPC Act also provides for the prohibition on the employment of young persons in any type of employment or work that constitutes a worst form of child labour (art. 17B).<sup>19</sup> The specific types of hazardous work constituting worst forms

<sup>14</sup> Implicit in this distinction is the recognition that work by children *per se* is not necessarily injurious to children or a violation of their rights. Indeed, in some circumstances, children's work can be beneficial, not harmful, contributing to family survival and enabling children to acquire learning and life skills. Three main international conventions – the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), ILO Convention No. 182 (Worst Forms) and ILO Convention No. 138 (Minimum Age) – define child labour and provide a framework for efforts against it.

<sup>15</sup> Article 2 states that "In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires "child" means a person under the age of fifteen years.

<sup>16</sup> Article 3 of the Act states that "industrial undertaking" includes particularly- (a) mines, quarries and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth; (b) industries in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed, including shipbuilding, and the generation, transformation and transmission of electricity or motive power of any kind; (c) construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair, alteration or demolition of any building, railway, tramway, harbour, dock, pier, canal, inland waterway, road, tunnel, bridge, viaduct, sewer, drain, well, telegraphic or telephonic installation, electrical undertaking, gas work, waterwork or other work of construction, as well as the preparation for or laying the foundations of any such work or structure; (d) transport of passengers or goods by road or rail or inland waterway, including the handling of goods at docks, quays, wharves, and warehouses, but excluding transport by hand; (e) cordwood cutting; but does not include commercial or agricultural undertakings.

<sup>17</sup> Article 2 of the Act states that "covered worksite" means any public or private undertaking and includes any commercial, agricultural or domestic worksite and any undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed.

<sup>18</sup> Article 4A.2 cites specifically light work (a) which is not likely to be harmful to that child's health or development; and (b) is not prejudicial to that child's-(i) attendance at an institution of learning; (ii) participation in vocational orientation or training approved by a competent authority or that child's capacity to benefit from the institution received.

<sup>19</sup> Article 2 of the EYPC Act, consistent with ILO Convention 182, states that "worst form of labour" includes- (a) all forms of slavery and all practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children and young persons, debt bondage, serfdom, forced and compulsory labour and forced or compulsory recruitment of children and young persons for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child or young person for prostitution, production of pornography or for pornographic

were agreed during Tripartite Labour Law Reform discussions and are contained in a draft statutory instrument released in 2006.<sup>20</sup>

59. Therefore, for a complete estimate of child labour in accordance with national legislation, it is necessary to look at all working children with the exception of those in the relevant age range in light work, as well as young persons in worst forms of child labour. Child labour based on these criteria is common in Zambia. As shown in Table 5, almost 1.3 million 5-14 year-olds are in child labour, 41 percent of total children in this age range.<sup>21</sup> Young persons aged 15-17 years are not considered in the estimate because, as Section 4.2 makes clear, available data cover only a very few of the hazardous work types identified as worst forms in Zambia. It should be stressed that even for the 5-14 years age range, this is a lower bound estimate, as it does not include involvement in what ILO terms “unconditional worst forms” of child labour, which are beyond the scope of standard household surveys. This child labour estimate also does not include children in non-economic activity, as national legislation does not deal with this category of work (see Box 2).

**Table 5. Lower-bound estimate of child labour involvement, children aged 5-14 years, by sex and residence**

Sex and residence	Children aged 5-12 years in economic activity		Children aged 13-14 years in eco. activity <i>excluding</i> those in light eco. activity <sup>(a)</sup>		Total in child labour, children aged 5-14 years <sup>(b)</sup>	
	% of total age group	No.	% of total age group	No.	% of total age group	No.
Male	41.2	546,453	43.4	115,732	<b>41.6</b>	<b>662,185</b>
Female	39.5	508,000	39.8	108,928	<b>39.5</b>	<b>616,928</b>
Rural	55.0	976,519	61.0	207,207	<b>56.0</b>	<b>1,183,726</b>
Urban	9.3	77,934	8.7	17,453	<b>9.2</b>	<b>95,387</b>
Total	40.4	1,054,453	41.6	224,660	<b>40.6</b>	<b>1,279,113</b>

Notes: (a) As the conditions for light work set out in Article 4A.2 of the Employment of Young Persons and Children (EYPC) Act are difficult to translate into statistical terms, the definition of light work used in ILO/IPEC global estimates is used as a proxy for light work in generating the child labour estimate. Light work is defined for the purposes of the ILO/IPEC global estimates as non-hazardous work performed for less than 14 hours per week. The 14-hours threshold for light work is supported by ILO Convention No. 33, as well as research looking at the link between economic activity and schooling. (b) Does not include children in so-called “unconditional worst forms” of child labour, a group that is beyond the scope of standard household surveys.

Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia *Labour Force Survey*, 2005.

performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child or a child or a young person for illicit activities, such as the production and trafficking of illegal drugs; and (d) work that by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children or young persons;

<sup>20</sup> The draft Order states that “No child shall be employed in any of the under listed hazardous activities or branch thereof, including an undertaking in which only members of the family are employed.” The listed hazardous activities are as follows: (a) excavation/drilling; (b) stone crushing; (c) block/brick making; (d) building; (e) roofing; (f) painting; (g) tour guiding; (h) selling/serving in bars; (i) animal herding; (j) fishing; (k) working in tobacco and cotton fields; (l) spraying of pesticides, herbicides and fertiliser application; (m) handling farm machinery; and (n) processing in industries.

<sup>21</sup> As the conditions for light work set out in Article 4A.2 are difficult to translate into statistical terms, the definition of light work used in ILO/IPEC global estimates is used as a proxy for light work in generating the child labour estimate. Light work is defined for the purposes of the ILO/IPEC global estimates as non-hazardous work performed for less than 14 hours per week. The 14-hours threshold for light work is supported by ILO Convention No. 33, as well as research looking at the link between economic activity and schooling.

**Box 2. Non-economic activity and the estimation of child labour**

Non-economic activity also can adversely affect children's welfare, and could therefore also technically fall within the definitions of child labour set out in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and ILO Convention No. 182. The question arises, however, of the appropriate time threshold for classifying non-economic activity as child labour. This, in turn, requires information on the relative impact of economic and non-economic activity on children's welfare (e.g., on their health, safety, and ability to attend and benefit from schooling). Data on work-related illness and injury in ZLFS were, however, insufficient to draw concrete conclusions concerning these issues.

*Table B1. Child labour among 5-14 year-olds, considering children in both economic and non-economic activity*

	Sex	% children aged 5-14 years in economic activity <sup>(1)</sup>	% children aged 5-14 years performing non-economic activity for >28 hours per week	% children aged 5-14 years in child labour <sup>(2)</sup>
%	M	41.6	16.5	42.5
	F	39.5	19.7	40.3
	T	40.6	18.0	41.4
No.	M	662,185	47,956	676,817
	F	616,928	51,418	627,730
	T	1,279,113	99,374	1,304,547

Notes: (1) Excluding 13-14 years in light economic activity (see main text). (2) The indicators presented in Table B1 do not explicitly deal with the group of children that combine HH chores and economic activity. A lower combined hours threshold for this group is needed, but further research is needed to justify what this threshold should be.

Source: UCW calculation based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

Table B1 includes estimates of child labour incorporating non-economic activity performed beyond a daily hours threshold of four hours. It indicates that incorporating non-economic activity beyond this threshold would have only a very small upwards effect on child labour. This reflects the fact that (1) non-economic activity, though common, is typically performed at low intensity levels and that (2) most children performing household chores intensively are also involved in economic activity, and therefore have already been included in the child labour calculation.

60. Children involved in worst forms of child labour, as set out in ILO Convention No. 182, are the sub-group of child labourers whose rights are most compromised and whose well-being is most threatened. They therefore constitute the most immediate policy priority. The Government is currently drafting a National Plan of Action (NPA) for the elimination of worst forms of child labour. ILO global publications divide worst forms into two broad categories, hazardous forms<sup>22</sup> and “unconditional worst” forms,<sup>23</sup> each of which is examined below.

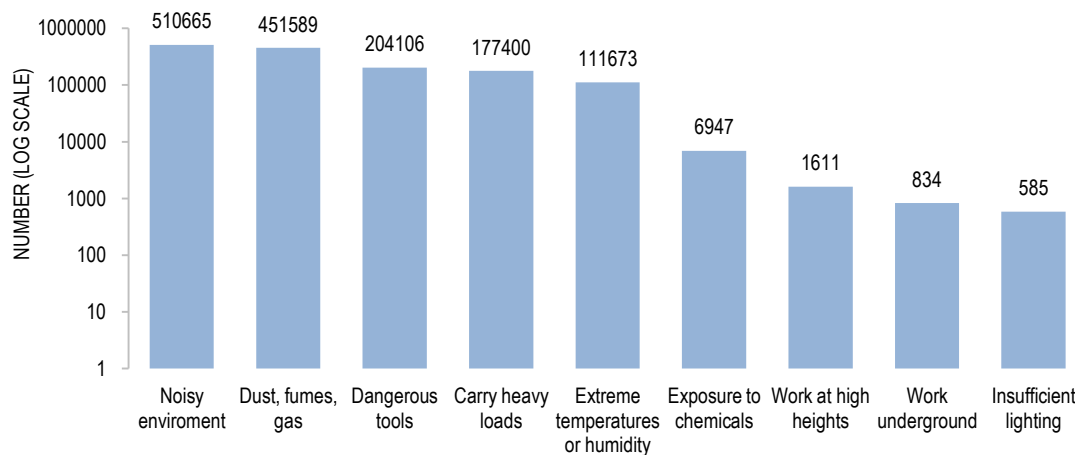
<sup>22</sup> The term hazardous forms refers to Art. 3(d) in ILO Convention No. 182, i.e., “...any activity or occupation which, by its nature or type has, or leads to, adverse effects on the child's safety, health, or moral development.” ILO Convention No. 182 states that the “types of work referred to under Article 3(d) shall be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organizations of employers and workers concerned, taking into consideration relevant international standards, in particular Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation, 1999.”

<sup>23</sup> The term “unconditional worst forms” refers to Art. 3(a)-(c) in ILO Convention No. 182: (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; and (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties.

## 4.2 Hazardous forms of child labour

61. ZLFS 2005 data permit a partial estimate of some 169,000 children aged 5-17 years in the nationally-identified hazardous forms of work or working excessive hours (Table 6).<sup>24</sup> But it should be stressed that this constitutes a significant underestimate of total children in hazardous forms because of under- or non-reporting, and difficulties in matching the national priority list with the standardised three-digit industry and occupation classifications used in the ZLFS 2005 and other similar surveys. Indeed, closer inspection of Table 6 shows that the estimate of involvement in hazardous forms reflects overwhelmingly only one category of child worker, i.e., those working for excessive hours. The ZLFS 2005 dataset contains very few observations for most of the other 14 nationally-identified hazardous forms. Generating reliable quantitative data on hazardous forms is therefore an urgent priority.

Figure 16. Number of children exposed to specific work hazards, 5-17 years age group, by type of hazard



Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

<sup>24</sup> National legislation prohibits work for “long hours” but does not specify specific hours limits for work. The definition of excessive hours used in the the ILO/IPEC global estimates, i.e., work at or beyond a threshold of 43 hours per week, is therefore used for this calculation.

**Table 6. Partial estimates of children involved in the hazardous forms contained in the national list**

Hazardous form	3-digit industry or occupation classification	5-14 years	15-17 years	5-17 years
1. Excavation/drilling +miners and quarrymen	711,713	0	0	0
2. Stone crushing	741, 820	0	0	0
3. Block/brick making	?	?	?	?
4. Building	959	0	416	416
5. Roofing	953	0	0	0
6. Painting	931, 939	0	0	0
7. Tour guiding	591	0	0	0
8. Selling/serving in bars	532	801	1,882	2,683
9. Animal herding	624, 629	3,648	426	4,074
10. Fishing	641, 649	1,515	1,256	2,771
11. Working in tobacco and cotton fields	781(tobacco preparers)	0	0	0
12. Spraying of pesticides, herbicides and fertiliser application	?	?	?	?
13. Handling farm machinery	628	0	0	0
14. Processing in industries	721-732, 749	0	0	0
15. Excessive hours		102,301	57,788	160,089
<b>Partial total in hazardous forms identified in national list</b>		<b>108,265</b>	<b>60,760<sup>(b)</sup></b>	<b>169,025</b>

Notes (a) Priority national hazardous sectors identified in the national list match only imprecisely with the standard 3-digit industry and occupations classifications used in ZFLS 2005. Estimates, therefore, are indicative only. (b) Some children perform both excessive hours and hazardous work. These children are not included in the total to avoid double counting.

Source: UCW calculation based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

62. Another way of assessing involvement in hazardous work is to consider the conditions of work rather than work sector, in accordance with ILO Recommendation No. 190 (Worst Forms of Child Labour).<sup>25</sup> Information from ZFLS 2005 on working conditions suggests much higher levels of hazardous work when it is measured in this way. Indeed, an alarmingly high number of working 5-17 year-olds – over 1.4 million in absolute terms – was exposed to loud noise, dust/fumes/gas, dangerous tools, heavy loads or extreme temperatures in the workplace during the 2005 reference year. Smaller, but by no means negligible, numbers of children were exposed to other serious hazards such as chemicals (7,000), high heights (1,600) and underground work (800). A further 2,100 children<sup>26</sup> reportedly had to work at night during the 2005 reference year, in direct violation of Section 8 of the amended Employment of Young Persons and Children (EYPC) Act.

<sup>25</sup> ILO Recommendation No. 190 states that in determining hazardous types of work, consideration should be given, *inter alia*, to work featuring the following conditions: (a) work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse; (b) work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces; (c) work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; (d) work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health; and (e) work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.

<sup>26</sup> Due to high number of missing observations for the survey question on period of day worked, this figure is undoubtedly an under estimate of total children performing night work.



Particularly concerning is the fact that young children appear no less likely to be exposed to hazardous work than their older counterparts (not shown).

#### 4.3 “Unconditional worst forms” of child labour

63. In Zambia as in most countries, information about children involved in unconditional worst forms of child labour is very scarce. This is due both to the methodological difficulties inherent in investigating them and to their cultural sensitivity. As noted above, ZLFS 2005 and similar household survey are not designed to generate information about children involved in these extreme forms of work. The reports and sources cited below are able to provide only an initial, partial picture of the extent and nature of children’s involvement in unconditional worst forms in Zambia. Further, targeted research utilising specialised survey instruments is needed in order to generate more complete information on this highest-priority group of child labourers.

64. **Child trafficking.** The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) research indicates that Zambia is a country of origin, transit and destination for children trafficked for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation.<sup>27</sup> Child prostitution exists in most urban centres and constitutes the country’s most serious trafficking problem. As a transit country, Zambia enables the onward trafficking of refugees and other vulnerable peoples from Angola, the Great Lakes region<sup>28</sup> and from the Democratic Republic of Congo<sup>29</sup> to South Africa. According to the IOM research, street children from Lesotho are sometimes trafficked by long distance truck drivers to Cape Town, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that children are trafficked on from South Africa, or Botswana, to third countries, such as USA, Israel and Russia.<sup>30</sup> The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) also alleges that there are reports of trafficking of women and children to neighbouring countries for the purpose of forced prostitution, and of kidnapping Zambians by Angolan combatants to perform various forms of forced labour in Angola. Other reports indicate the internal child trafficking is also important.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> IOM (2003) ‘Trafficking in Women and Children for Sexual Exploitation in Southern Africa’, as cited in ILO/IPEC; *Working Paper on The Nature and Extent of Child Trafficking in Zambia*. ILO/IPEC Zambia with funding from the European Commission Delegation, Zambia, April 2007.

<sup>28</sup> IOM, *ibid*.

<sup>29</sup> ‘Child trafficking: Does it exist in Zambia?’, <http://www.allafrica.com>, as cited in ILO/IPEC, *Working Paper on The Nature and Extent of Child Trafficking in Zambia*. ILO/IPEC Zambia with funding from the European Commission Delegation, Zambia, April 2007.

<sup>30</sup> Zambia, ECPAT International database, <http://www.ecpat.net>, as cited in ILO/IPEC, *Working Paper on The Nature and Extent of Child Trafficking in Zambia*. ILO/IPEC Zambia with funding from the European Commission Delegation, Zambia, April 2007.

<sup>31</sup> Anglican Children’s Project: Draft report on human (child) trafficking in Zambia. September 2004. Unpublished.

65. An ILO/IPEC study released in 2007<sup>32</sup> sheds additional light on the nature and causes of the child trafficking problem in Zambia. The study was based on focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews with “key informants”, community groups, children (with and without first-hand experience with trafficking), youth and parents, and covered locations in five separate provinces.<sup>33</sup> The victims of trafficking covered by the research were predominantly Zambian, female, orphans and teenagers. Major risks factors identified included poverty; orphanhood and the consequent breakdown in family support structures; cultural factors including early marriage and children being sent to live with extended family members; and family dysfunction.

66. The most frequently-cited motive for trafficking was the demand for cheap labour in sectors such as domestic labour, agriculture, fishing, working in shops (particularly in DR Congo) and ferrying goods for shop owners. Commercial sexual exploitation was the other primary motive. The promise of schooling, or the chance to earn money for schooling, were among the many ploys used by traffickers to recruit children. Other ploys ranged from the deception of families and children to the voluntary soliciting of help by children from strangers (such as truck drivers etc). Some recruiters offered money or gifts in exchange for children or promises of returning wealth. In other instances, children were trafficked through arrangements between guardians and family members or third parties.

67. The interviews uncovered a long list of potential traffickers from many walks of life. There was very little evidence to suggest that there were trafficking syndicates; rather, it was individuals or groups operating on a more *ad hoc* basis than a syndicate would suggest. Children's parents or relatives and close friends, truck drivers, would be ‘husbands’, business people, or cross-border traders, opportunists, older children and members of the community with outside contacts were all mentioned during interviews as having been involved in trafficking. There was also some mention of individuals using the guise of religion in order to recruit children, often with the promise of attending a religious school. The study stressed that gaps in current legislation coupled with low awareness levels within communities make it very difficult to prosecute traffickers.<sup>34</sup> Other impediments include large border areas with poorly attended immigration posts and a multitude of unknown/unregulated bush paths providing unchecked transit routes for traffickers.

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<sup>32</sup> ILO/IPEC; *Working Paper on The Nature and Extent of Child Trafficking in Zambia*. ILO/IPEC Zambia with funding from the European Commission Delegation, Zambia, April 2007.

<sup>33</sup> The study was conducted in the following places: Central & Lusaka Provinces: Kabwe, Kapiri Mposhi & Lusaka; Copperbelt Province: Chililabombwe, Mufulira & Ndola; Luapula Province: Kashiikishi, Mansa & Mwansabombwe; Northern Province: Kasama, Mpulungu & Nakonde; and Southern Province: Chirundu, Kazungula & Livingstone.

<sup>34</sup> Current legislation does not include a workable definition of trafficking, although the legislation is currently being re-drafted along with a broader trafficking policy; both are currently being assessed by the Attorney General's office.

**68. Child commercial sexual exploitation.** Although reliable quantitative data are lacking, anecdotal evidence points to a rise in child commercial sexual exploitation (CCSE) in recent years, driven by poverty and the HIV/AIDS crisis. The 2004 Country Report on Human Rights Practices<sup>35</sup> produced by the United States Department of State reports that approximately 1,500 cases of child sexual abuse were reported annually, according to police statistics, though it is widely acknowledged that most instances of child sexual exploitation goes unreported. Provisions in the Penal Code dealing with the situation of children forced into commercial sexual exploitation remain incomplete. Most of the provisions under the Penal Code (and under Section 47 of the Juveniles Act) which prohibit the sexual exploitation of children under the age of 18 years (Sections 140, 141 and 144) apply only to girls. Other provisions related to prostitution apply only up to the age of 16 years (sections 138, 142 and 143).

**69.** A detailed assessment of child commercial sexual exploitation was conducted by the Central Statistical Office in 2006.<sup>36</sup> The study covered a total of 2,019 sexually-exploited children aged 5-17 years from 15 districts across all high-risk nine provinces,<sup>37</sup> making it the largest such study ever conducted in the country. Almost two-thirds of the sampled children involved in commercial sexual exploitation were either single or double orphans, underscoring the link between the AIDS crisis and the CCSE phenomenon. The AIDS pandemic has seriously weakened traditional extended family support mechanisms, and forced many orphaned children onto the streets to fend for themselves. The 2006 study also pointed to close link between commercial sexual exploitation and household exposure to shock. Almost one-half of the sexually-exploited children came from households experiencing some form of shock,<sup>38</sup> suggesting CCSE might form part of household survival strategies in extreme conditions. In 42 percent of cases, children indicated that their families were aware of their activities. One in five girls interviewed in the study indicated having to perform sex for accommodation, raising concerns about girls in foster homes and working as domestic servants.

**70.** The 2006 study also provided further evidence if it is needed of the extreme nature of the abuse suffered by children in commercial sexual exploitation: they were forced to perform two sex acts per day on average, and 19 percent were forced to perform three sex acts per day; one-quarter had been involved in commercial sexual exploitation for two or more years, and 41 percent indicated being “trapped” in commercial sexual exploitation

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<sup>35</sup> United States Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 2004*. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2004/41633.htm>.

<sup>36</sup> *Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children Survey Report*. Labour Statistics Branch, Central Statistical Office, Lusaka, Zambia, April, 2007.

<sup>37</sup> I.e., provinces that were perceived to have a high incidence of children in commercial sexual exploitation or that were transit points for travellers, and in particular long distance drivers. The nine provinces were: Central, Copperbelt, Eastern, Luapula, Lusaka, Northern, North-Western, Southern, and Western.

<sup>38</sup> I.e., death of primary earner; major illness/injury; crop failure; and drought/floods.

for as long as their captors determined; beatings and other forms of physical abuse accompanied the sexual exploitation in one-quarter of cases; around one-fourth indicated having contracted a sexually-transmitted disease, and seven percent reported being HIV positive; feelings of guilt, fear and depressions were commonplace among girls and boys alike. While most of the children interviewed were older, children as young as five years of age also showed up in the sample in four of the nine provinces covered.

**71. Children in armed conflict.** The 2004 global report of the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers (CSUCS) indicated that there were no reports of underage recruitment in Zambia. But the report further states that it seemed probable that under-18s were serving in the armed forces, given the low rate of birth registration (less than 10 percent of Zambia children are registered at birth) and the possibility for 16 year olds to enlist with parental consent. Armed groups involved in conflicts in neighbouring states may have continued to recruit child soldiers from refugee populations in Zambia.<sup>39</sup> Zambia has not ratified or signed the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict.

**72. Street children.** The presence of very large numbers of street children in Lusaka and other urban centres is an important risk factor to involvement in unconditional worst forms. A variety of sources report that the country's street children population has increased at an alarming rate in recent years, and that absolute numbers of street children in Zambia are now among the highest in the world.<sup>40</sup> A 2002 ILO/IPEC rapid assessment shed light on the harsh conditions faced by these children – malnourishment and health problems are common, as are exposure to violence and other forms of abuse. Many face the risk of involvement in commercial exploitation or other illicit activity, and almost none has the opportunity to attend school. While many street children are orphans, a large number of others work on the street with the full knowledge of their parents or guardians.

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<sup>39</sup> Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers (CSUCS), 2004 Global Report, available at: <http://www.child-soldiers.org>

<sup>40</sup> See, for example: (1) Mulenga, C.: *Orphans, widows and widowers in Zambia: A situational analysis and options for HIV/AIDS survival assistance*. A study conducted for the Ministry of Health's National AIDS Prevention and Control Programme (Lusaka, Dec. 1995); (2) de Burca, R.: *Study to identify individuals and organizations concerned with children in need, their activities and how to increase the benefits accruing to these children within the compounds of Lusaka* (July 1994); (3) ILO and Central Statistical Office (CSO): *Zambia 1999 child labour survey: Country report* (Lusaka, 1999); and (4) UNICEF: *Children orphaned by AIDS: Frontline responses from eastern and southern Africa* (Dec. 1999), as cited in, (5) ILO/IPEC, *HIV/AIDS and child labour in Zambia: a rapid assessment*. Paper no. 5, Geneva-Lusaka August 2002.

## 5. CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN'S WORK

73. This section examines available data concerning the characteristics of children's work, and how these may differ by sex, age, orphanhood status, residence and other characteristics. It will look in particular at two indicators - work sector and work modality – in an attempt to assess the degree to which there is specialisation among sub-groups in the occupations and jobs performed by children. This section will also examine differences by sex in hours worked in economic activity and household chores. Hours worked is an important indicator of work intensity, and provide insight into the possible health and educational consequences of work.

### 5.1 Types of work performed by children

74. Children's work is concentrated overwhelmingly in the agriculture sector. Indeed, almost 96 percent of total economically-active 7-14 year-olds work in agriculture, against 3.6 percent in services and less than one percent in manufacturing. Within the agriculture sector, most working children are involved in the growing of cereals or other crops (80 percent) or in mixed farming (i.e., growing of crops and animal husbandry) (18 percent). (Other sources suggest that children from agricultural households are also involved in work outside the agriculture sector.)<sup>41</sup> There is surprisingly little variation by age or sex in the economic activities performed by children. There are larger differences in the nature of children's economic activity by place of residence. While agricultural work predominates in rural areas, both agricultural and services sector work are important in urban areas.

75. Almost all economically-active children work for their families as unpaid labour, with little variation by age, place of residence or sex (Table 7). In all, 96 percent of child in economic activity work within the family. Most of the remaining economically active children are self-employed (three percent). Very few economically active children (less than one percent) work as paid employees in formal entities. This is important because children in the formal sector are the only ones typically accessible to labour inspection regimes. Inspection capacity, however, is low, and systematic inspections do not occur even in the formal sector (see Section 8). Again, there is very little variation by age and sex, but some differences in work modality by rural or urban residence. Children living in cities in towns are slightly less likely to work for their families, and slightly more likely to be involved in waged work and self employment, compared to their counterparts living in the countryside.

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<sup>41</sup> Central Statistical Office, *Child labour in agricultural households and child domestic workers survey report, 2006*. Lusaka, February 2007.

Table 7. Modality and sector of child economic activity, by child age, sex and place of residence

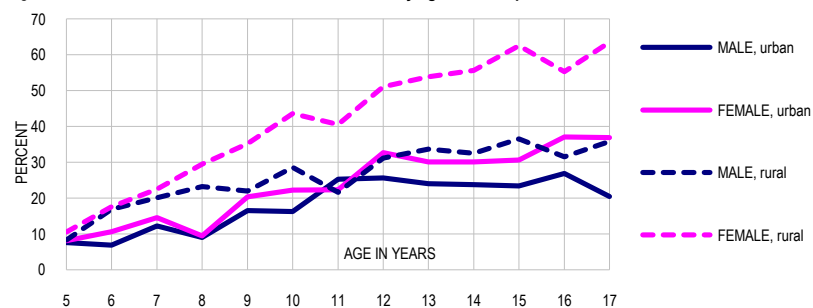
Background characteristic		Modality					Sector				
		Unpaid family worker	Paid employee	Self-employed	Other	Total	Agriculture	Services	Manufacturing	Other	Total
Age	7 years	97.5	0.4	1.7	0.3	100	93.0	5.9	0.7	0.3	100
	8 years	97.7	0.2	1.6	0.5	100	96.4	3	0.6	0	100
	9 years	96.4	0.2	2.9	0.5	100	96.4	3.4	0.2	0	100
	10 years	97.3	0.3	2.1	0.3	100	95.7	3.3	1	0	100
	11 years	95.6	0.9	2.9	0.7	100	96.9	2.7	0.4	0	100
	12 years	96.4	0.7	2.5	0.4	100	95.8	3.7	0.5	0	100
	13 years	95.5	1.5	2.9	0.1	100	95.4	3.8	0.7	0	100
	14 years	94.4	1.1	4.2	0.2	100	95.8	3.6	0.4	0.1	100
Sex	male	96.8	0.7	2	0.5	100	96.2	3.1	0.7	0.1	100
	female	95.8	0.6	3.3	0.3	100	95.3	4.2	0.5	0	100
Residence	rural	96.6	0.6	2.5	0.3	100	97.7	1.6	0.6	0.1	100
	urban	92.9	1.5	4.4	1.2	100	71.8	27.8	0.4	0	100
Total		96.3	0.7	2.6	0.4	100	95.7	3.6	0.6	0.1	100

Source: UCW calculations based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

### Box 3. Children's involvement in water collection

Water collection constitutes a particularly important form of girls' work in rural areas. At the age of seven years, almost one-fourth of rural girls must carry water regularly for their household, rising to one-third by the age of nine years, and to one-half by the age of 12 years (Figure B1). They perform this task for an average of 59 minutes each day, by no means insignificant given the physical exertion required (Table B1). Involvement in carrying water is lower among boys and urban girls, but is nonetheless also common among these groups. Child involvement in water collection is highest in the Northern province, but is also widespread in the other provinces of the country (Figure B2).

Figure B1. Children's involvement in water collection, by age, sex and place of residence<sup>(1)</sup>

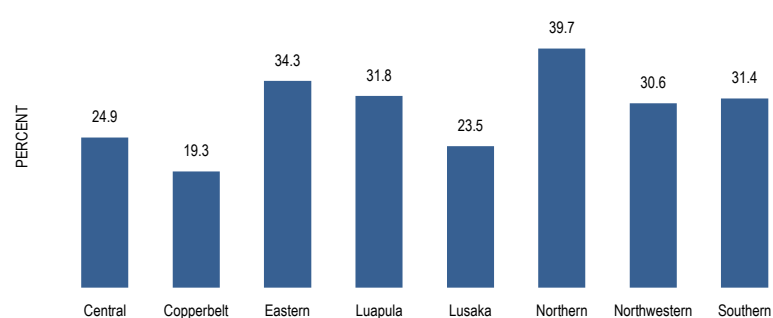


Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

Box 3 (cont'd)

Table B1. Average daily hours of fetching water, by age, sex and residence

Sex and residence		5-14 year-olds	5-17 year-olds
Sex	Male	0.55	0.57
	Female	0.58	0.65
Residence	Rural	0.59	0.64
	Urban	0.50	0.56
Total		0.57	0.62

Figure B2. Children's involvement in water collection, 7-14 years age group, by province<sup>(1)</sup>

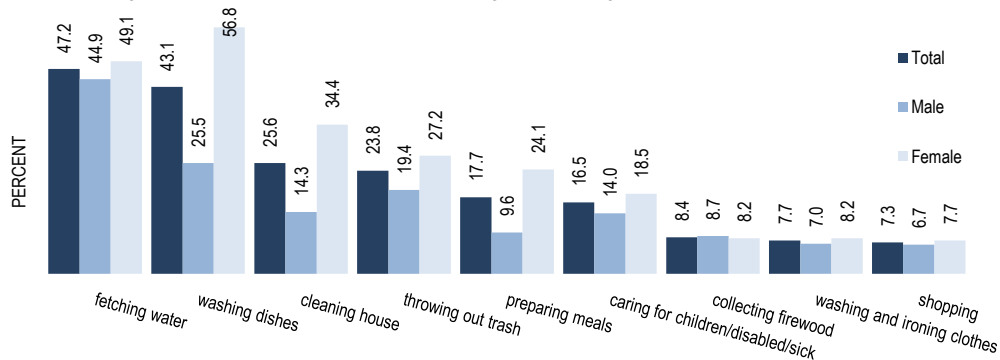
Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

Note: The technical classification of water fetching as an economic or non-economic activity remains an area of debate. A strict interpretation of the System of National Accounts (SNA) (rev. 1993) would place water fetching in the category of economic activity, and specifically own-account production of goods (see Box 1 on terminology). However, in most published statistics on child economic activity and child labour, including ILO/IPEC global estimates, water fetching is reported as part of non-economic activities (household chores), and this is the convention adopted in this report. The Zambia Labour Force Survey includes water collection as one of the work categories under a general question on involvement in household chores and also contains a separate question specifically on water collection. It is the response to the latter question that are reflected in the figures above.

76. ZLFS 2005 queried households about involvement in nine types of household chores during the day previous to the survey. Responses, shown in Figure 17, indicate that water fetching is the most important type of household chore carried out by children.<sup>42</sup> Dish washing, cleaning, trash disposal, meal preparation and caring for younger siblings and sick persons, are the other most commonly-performed forms of household chores. Gender considerations appear to play a role in the allocation of housework tasks; girls are more likely to be assigned responsibility for washing dishes, cleaning house and meal preparation, while differences by sex are smaller for other common chores.

<sup>42</sup> It is worth noting that the technical classification of water fetching as an economic or non-economic activity remains an area of debate. A strict interpretation of the System of National Accounts (SNA) (rev. 1993) would place water fetching in the category of economic activity, and specifically own-account production (see Box 1 on terminology). However, in most published statistics on child economic activity and child labour, including ILO/IPEC global estimates, water fetching is not included as an economic activity.

Figure 17. Main types of household chores performed by children, by sex



Source: UCW calculations based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

## 5.2 Work intensity

77. Economic activity is typically very time intensive for Zambian children. This is of particular concern because working hours are an important indicator of the likely harm caused by work involvement. Economically active children aged 7-11 years perform an average of almost 24 hours of economic activity each week. The sub-group that combines economic activity and schooling must log a similar number of hours, underscoring the additional constraint that work places on children's time for study. Work intensity increases with age, to 29 hours for the 12-14 years age range, and to 31 hours for the 15-17 years age range. Agricultural work appears much more time intensive than work in services but less time intensive than work in manufacturing, though the limited observations in the latter two sectors means that this comparison must be interpreted with caution (Table 8). Paid employment and self-employment appear more time intensive than family work, but again data limitations mean that this comparison should be seen as only suggestive. There is little difference in the time spent in work by girls and boys at any age (not shown).

Table 8. Average weekly working hours by working status, age group, industry and modality

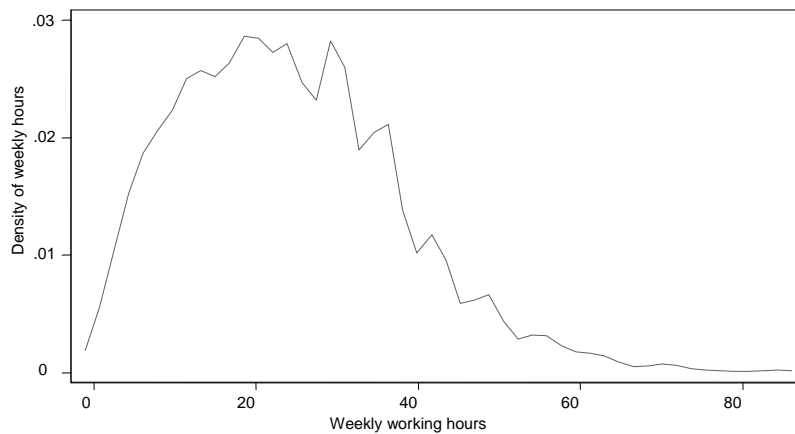
Sector	7-11 years		12-14 years		15-17 years	
	Work only	Work and study	Work only	Work and study	Work only	Work and study
<b>Total</b>	<b>23.8</b>	<b>23.5</b>	<b>28.9</b>	<b>25.3</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>26.8</b>
Agriculture	24.2	23.7	28.4	25.5	28.5	26.6
Services	13	13.9	42.1	20.3	44.6	31.5
Manufacturing	35.5	24	56	24.5	34.7	15.8
Unpaid family worker	23.7	23.4	28.5	25.4	28.3	26.5
Paid employee	33.3	21.2	38.8	26.6	49.2	39.3
Self-employed	31.1	25.6	27.6	21.1	30.3	29.1

Source: UCW calculations based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005.



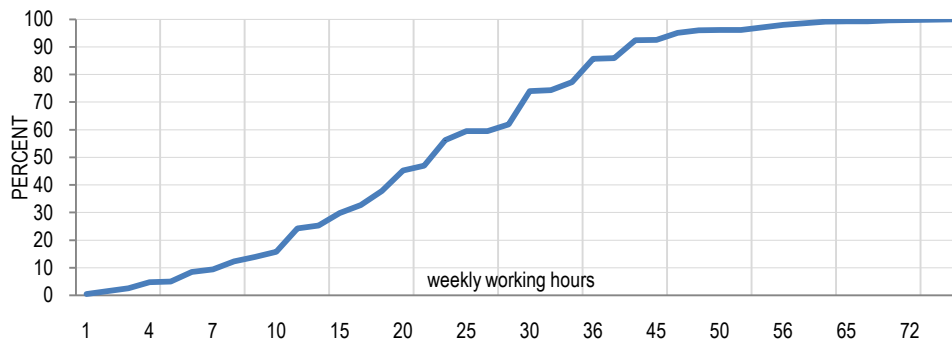
78. The distribution of working children by weekly working hours indicates that while most working children are concentrated in the range of 20-30 hours per week, there is also a significant proportion of children in the “tail” of the distribution performing exceptionally long working hours, i.e., 40 or more hours per week (Figure 18). In absolute terms, 89,000 children aged 7-11 years, 71,000 children aged 12-14 years and 84,000 children aged 15-17 years log at least 40 hours of work per week. These are among the worst off working children, as their work responsibilities completely preclude their rights to schooling, study, leisure and adequate rest. Their prolonged exposure to workplace risks also undoubtedly increases their susceptibility to work-related sickness and injury, although data shortcomings make this difficult to demonstrate empirically. It is also worth recalling that these figures do not include time spent in household chores, as discussed below.

Figure 18. Distribution of children in economic activity by working hours, 7-14 years age group



Source: UCW calculations based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005.

Figure 19. Cumulative distribution of children in economic activity by working hours, 7-14 years age group



Source: UCW calculations based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005.

79. Non-economic activity also appears very time intensive for children. Children aged 7-14 years performing non-economic activity do so for over three hours a day on average. Girls are more likely to have to perform chores than boys (see previous discussion), but the time that girls and boys involved in chores must actually spend doing them differs little. Rural children involved in chores spend about 20 minutes more each day on them than their counterparts living in cities and towns, not surprising in that the coverage of water networks and other basic services is lower in rural areas. There are no clear patterns in terms of time intensity by age, meaning that household chores are no less burdensome for young children than for their older counterparts.<sup>43</sup>

Table 9. Average working hours, by age ,sex, residence

		Average <u>daily</u> hours of household chores	Average weekly hours of total work <sup>(a)</sup> , children performing economic activity and/or household chores <sup>(b)</sup>	Average weekly hours of total work <sup>(a)</sup> , children performing economic activity <sup>(c)</sup>
Age in years	7	2.9	26.0	26.6
	8	3.1	28.3	29.3
	9	2.8	28.6	30.0
	10	3.1	29.5	30.5
	11	3.1	31.5	32.6
	12	3.5	31.8	32.8
	13	3.1	31.2	32.4
	14	3.1	32.5	33.9
Sex	Male	3.1	29.8	31.0
	Female	3.2	30.1	31.2
Residence	Urban	2.9	24.6	27.9
	Rural	3.2	30.7	31.4
Total		3.1	30.0	31.1

Notes: (a) "Total work" refers to household chores and/or economic activity; (b) This column considers the total working hours of all working children, i.e., children performing household chores, children performing economic activity and children performing both. (c) This column considers the total working hours of children performing economic activity, who may or may not also be performing household chores. It excludes from consideration, therefore, the group of working children performing household chores but not economic activity.

Source: UCW calculations based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

80. As discussed above, children perform both economic activity and household chores in different combinations and therefore it is necessary to consider hours in economic activity and household chores together for a more complete picture of the time intensiveness of work. Among children involved in economic activity, the average time spent working each week rises from 24 to over 31 hours when the time that these children put in on household chores is also taken into consideration. Among all working

<sup>43</sup> But again, missing values mean that this result must be interpreted with caution.

children (i.e., children performing economic activity and/or household chores), the average time spend working (in economic activity or household chores) is 30 hours each week. Of particular concern are the almost one-third of children performing double work duty, i.e., both household chores and economic activity simultaneously. These children log an average of 48 hours of total work time each week, with obvious consequences for their time for study, leisure and rest.

## 6. IMPACT OF WORK ON CHILDREN'S HEALTH AND EDUCATION

### 6.1 Children's work and health

81. The ZLFS 2005 data indicate that children working in economic activity are actually healthier than children not involved in economic activity – 48 percent of non-working children are reported as having experienced ill-health during the one-week survey reference period against only 39 percent of working children. But these are findings that come up frequently in household surveys on children's work and are likely at least in part the product of measurement problems encountered when attempting to look at the work-health relationship.<sup>44</sup> The health consequences of work, for example, may be obscured by the selection of the healthiest children for work, or by the fact these health consequences may not become apparent until a later stage in a child's life. It must also be recalled that ZLFS 2005 did not capture unconditional worst forms of child labour, whose health consequences for children are undoubtedly most severe. Further, more in-depth data are therefore needed before any concrete conclusions concerning the links between children's health and work can be drawn.

82. Incidence densities<sup>45</sup> suggest that working children face a 35 percent chance of suffering general ill-health and a three percent chance of suffering ill-health related to work over the course of a 12-month period.<sup>46</sup> The risk of ill-health among child workers appears to depend somewhat on the type of work they are involved in and on the amount of time they spend performing it, although again difficulties in measuring impact mean results should be interpreted with caution. Incidence densities for ill-health are lowest for the manufacturing sector and highest for self-employment. Across other forms of work, however, risk appears to vary little. A simple kernel regression provides a succinct view of the relation between working

<sup>44</sup> For a more complete discussion on measuring the health impact of child labour, see Guarcello et al (2004)

<sup>45</sup> The occurrence rate does not take into consideration that differences in observed occurrence can be due to differences in exposure. To take exposure into consideration, a standard *incidence density* is computed as follows:

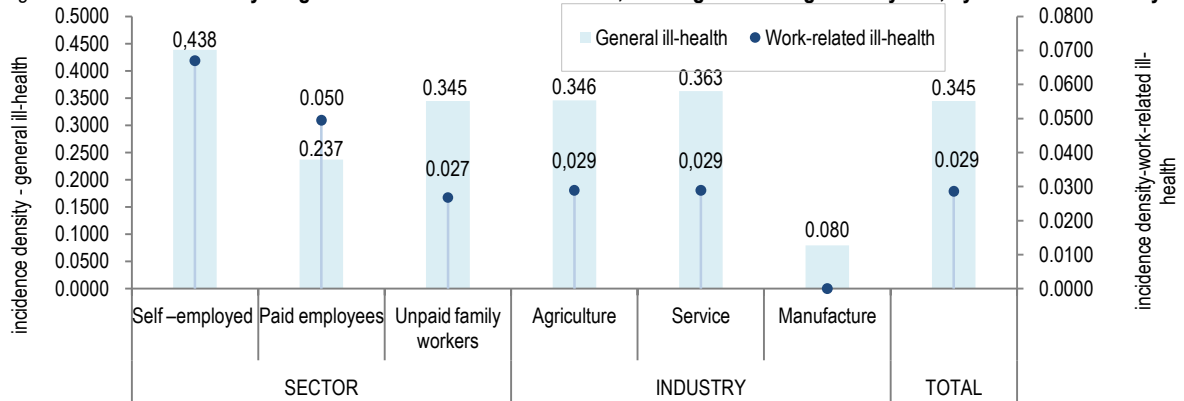
$$\text{Incidence Density} = \frac{\text{children injured during a specified period of time}}{\text{total person time}}$$

where "total person-time" is cumulated exposure for all the individuals considered. In our case, it should be defined as average weekly working hours multiplied by the number of weeks worked during the reference period (assumed to be one year). We had to assume, however, constant weekly hours of work for the whole reference period.

<sup>46</sup> The general ill health variable reflects illnesses (such as skin problems, lung problems, allergies, diarrhoea, fatigue, or other illnesses) or injuries (such as back/muscle pain, wounds/deep cuts, eye/sight problems, hearing problems or other injuries) in the last 12 months. The work-related ill-health variable reflects illnesses/injuries in the last 12 months and, that, in the opinion of the respondent, occurred because of work.

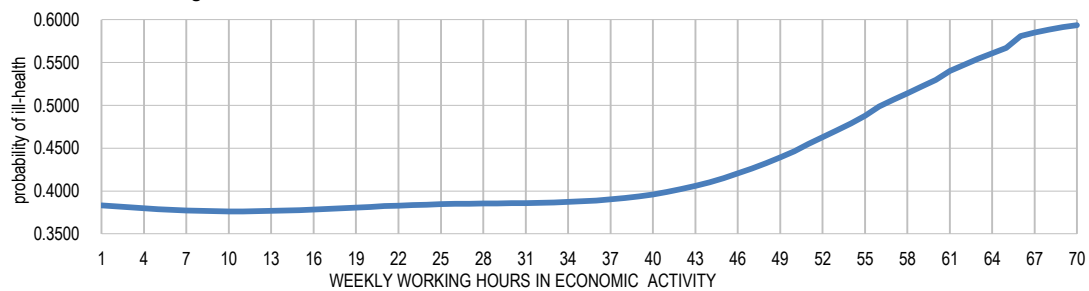
hours and ill-health.<sup>47</sup> As shown in Figure 21, the impact of working hours on the risk of ill-health appears limited up to a weekly hours threshold of about 37 hours, but additional hours beyond this threshold appear to add considerably to health risk.

Figure 20. Incidence density for general and work-related ill-health, working children aged 5-17 years, by sector and industry



Source: UCW calculations based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

Figure 21. Work intensity and the probability of ill-health and school attendance, working children aged 5-17 years, Kernel regression results



Source: UCW calculations based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

Table 10. Probability of ill-health, working children aged 7-14 years, marginal effects after probit estimate

Variable	dy/dx	Std. Err.	z
Weekly working hours	0.001362	0.00063	2.15
Child age	0.00071	0.00391	0.18
Sex of child	0.001377	0.01724	0.08
Urban residence	-0.07022	0.03175	-2.21
Agriculture sector	0.005797	0.00169	3.43
Service sector	0.007541	0.00175	4.31

Source: UCW calculations based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

<sup>47</sup> It should be recalled, however, that Kernel regression are basically reduced form estimates, and the relationship estimated is subject to change if the underlying structure changes. They must hence be considered with care.

83. Multivariate analysis largely confirms these results concerning work and ill-health. Regression results<sup>48</sup> indicate a significant positive relationship between weekly working hours and ill-health, with each additional daily working hour adding just under one percent to the risk of ill-health. Working children in services and agriculture face a higher risk of ill-health than working children in manufacturing or other sectors. Work in rural settings is associated with a higher risk of ill-health than work in urban settings. Child age does not significantly affect the probability of ill-health, again suggesting that the workplaces of younger children place are no more protected or safe than those of their older counterparts.

## 6.2 Children's work and education

84. Involvement in work appears to interfere both with children's ability to attend school and to perform effectively once there, underscoring the importance of child labour as a barrier to achieving Education For All. As shown in Figure 22, the attendance of working children lags behind that of their non-working counterparts at every age; differences, however, are not large until the end of the first school cycle. The ability of working children to attend school appears to be conditioned somewhat by the sector in which they are found. Eighty-eight percent of children in manufacturing attend school, against 75 percent in services and 74 percent in agriculture (not shown). Male and female working children, on the other hand, are equally likely to attend school. School life expectancy provides another measure of children's ability to attend and persist in school.<sup>49</sup> Working students can expect to remain in education for fewer years at every age than non-working students; among children in their first year of the primary cycle, i.e., seven year-olds, the difference in school life expectancy is almost 1.5 years.

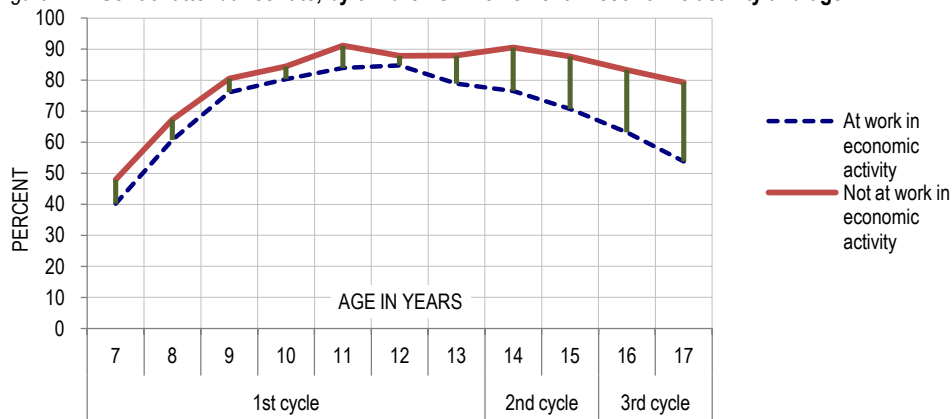
<sup>48</sup> Marginal effects calculated after estimation of a probit model.

<sup>49</sup> *School life expectancy* (SLE) provides a measure of the total number of years of education that a child can expect to achieve in the future. Relatively higher school life expectancy indicates greater probability of spending more years in education, but expected number of years does not necessarily coincide with the expected number of grades of education completed, because of grade repetition. The formula of the SLE at an age  $a$  in year  $t$  is the following:

$$SLE_{i,t}^s = \sum_{i=a}^{i=n} \frac{A_i^t}{P_i^t}$$

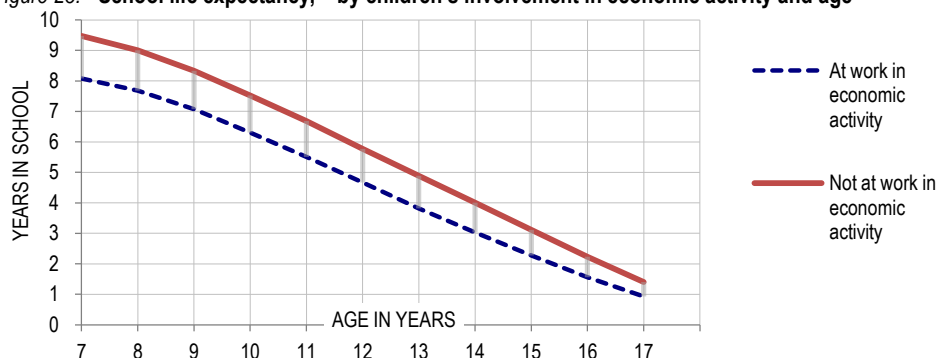
where:  $A_{i,t}^s$  - attendance of the population of age  $i$  ( $i=a, a+1, \dots, n$ ) in school year  $t$ ,  $n$  - the theoretical upper age-limit of schooling;  $P_i^t$  - population of age  $i$  in school-year  $t$ .

Figure 22. School attendance rate, by children's involvement in economic activity and age



Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

Figure 23. School life expectancy,<sup>(a)</sup> by children's involvement in economic activity and age



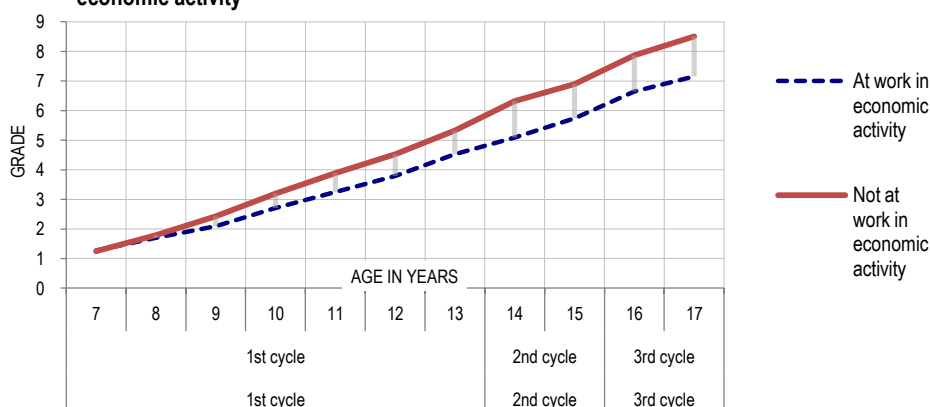
Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

85. Working children attending school lag behind their non-working counterparts in terms of grade progression. As shown in Figure 24, the gap in grade progression between working and non-working children already appears at age nine years, and widens steadily thereafter. By the end of the first school cycle, working children are one full grade behind their non-working counterparts. Children's average age for grade is another indicator of the same phenomenon; working students in the primary cycle are almost 1.5 years older on average than non-working students, and working students in the secondary cycle over one year older (Table 11).

86. These results point to the difficulty that working children face in keeping up in the classroom with children that are not burdened with work responsibilities, and constitutes one indication of the human capital cost associated with children's work. Other descriptive evidence also points to a negative link between work involvement and school performance. A focus group study of children in agriculture, for example, found that of the 22

working children attending school, 18 had academic performance levels assessed as “poor”, while only two had “good” performance levels. Twenty of children themselves reported have to miss school frequently because of work, and 19 reported that their concentration levels were low because of have also to work.<sup>50</sup>

Figure 24. Average grade completed of children currently attending school, by age and involvement in economic activity



Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

Table 11. Average student age, students attending school in 2005, by grade range, economic activity, sex and residence

		Average age at primary school (grades 1-7)		Average age at secondary school (grades 8-12)	
		Not at work in economic activity	At work in economic activity	Not at work in economic activity	At work in economic activity
Sex	Male	10.61	12.36	16.91	18.11
	Female	10.58	11.70	16.54	17.30
Residence	Rural	10.81	12.07	16.98	17.95
	Urban	10.46	11.80	16.68	17.24
Total		10.60	12.05	16.73	17.79

Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

87. Merging the ZFLS 2005 dataset with education data from the *Zambian Annual School Census*<sup>51</sup> permits a more precise identification of the impact of work on school performance (as proxied by the repetition rate) and

<sup>50</sup> Nkosi, Alexander, *Child labour in agriculture: An investigation of its causes (A case study of Chief Choongo's area)*. University of Zambia, February 2007.

<sup>51</sup> Both datasets contained data by ward, providing the basis of merging the two.



school survival (as proxied by the drop-out rate). Multi-variate analysis<sup>52</sup> based on this combined dataset suggests that work involvement is associated with higher levels of repetition, but that is the intensity of work (i.e., hours worked), rather than work involvement *per se*, that is most important in influencing levels of school dropout (Table 12 and Table 13). The magnitude of both effects, however, is not large. An increase in the average child economic activity rate by 10 percent, for example, leads to the increase in the average repetition ratio of 0.1 percent. An increase in work intensity of one hour per day results in a 0.4 percent increase in the drop-out ratio.

Table 12. Involvement in economic activity and school drop-out and repetition ratios, children aged 7-14 years, results of OLS regression with robust standard errors<sup>(a)</sup>

Independent variable <sup>(b)</sup>	Education ward repetition ratio		Education ward dropout ratio	
	coeff.	z	coeff.	z
<b>work in economic activity</b>	<b>0.0219</b>	<b>1.78</b>	0.0184	1.42
age	-0.0343	-0.43	0.1434	1.97
age <sup>2</sup>	0.0012	0.31	-0.0069	-1.96
male sex	-0.0582	-1.78	0.0201	0.7
household size	0.0079	1.6	-0.0068	-1.37
siblings 0-4	-0.0025	-0.24	0.0204	1.52
siblings 5-14	-0.0149	-1.76	0.0148	1.86
sex of the household head	0.0257	1.1	-0.0018	-0.09
household head does not have any education	-0.0056	-0.17	0.0234	0.71
household head has basic education	0.0142	0.47	-0.0029	-0.11
household head has secondary education	-0.0159	-0.84	0.0123	0.41
household income per capita (bottom quintile)	0.0077	0.24	0.0311	1.22
household income per capita (quintile 2)	0.0037	0.11	0.0059	0.25
household income per capita (quintile 3)	0.0106	0.35	0.0272	0.97
household income per capita (quintile 4)	0.0145	0.52	0.0338	1.35
urban	-0.0273	-2.22	0.0114	1.16

Notes: (a) All variables are taken to be equal to the mean of the education ward; (b) Variables for regions not shown.

Comparison group: (1) education of the household head: higher education; (2) household income per capita: quintile 5 (top quintile)

Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

<sup>52</sup> OLS regression with robust standard errors.

**Table 13. Working hours and school drop-out and repetition ratios, children aged 7-14 years, results of OLS regression with robust standard errors<sup>(a)</sup>**

Independent variable <sup>(b)</sup>	Education ward repetition ratio		Education ward dropout ratio	
	coeff.	z	coeff.	z
<b>weekly working hours in economic activity</b>	0.00002	0.06	<b>0.00053</b>	<b>1.81</b>
age	0.02126	0.5	0.05294	1.58
age <sup>2</sup>	-0.00110	-0.55	-0.00254	-1.58
male sex	-0.01495	-1.05	0.01750	1.31
household size	0.00114	0.28	-0.00345	-0.88
siblings 0-4	0.00762	0.94	0.01368	1.55
siblings 5-14	-0.00417	-0.7	<b>0.01111</b>	<b>1.91</b>
sex of the household head	0.00021	0.01	-0.00409	-0.34
household head does not have any education	-0.00164	-0.06	0.03396	1.4
household head has basic education	0.00511	0.21	0.02881	1.46
household head has secondary education	0.01062	0.49	0.02783	1.43
household income per capita (bottom quintile)	0.00153	0.07	0.01761	1.33
household income per capita (quintile 2)	0.01549	0.65	0.00655	0.46
household income per capita (quintile 3)	-0.00411	-0.19	0.01224	0.87
household income per capita (quintile 4)	0.00059	0.03	<b>0.02693</b>	<b>2.04</b>
urban	<b>-0.03805</b>	<b>-3.77</b>	-0.00012	-0.01

Notes: (a) All variables are taken to be equal to the mean of the education ward; (b) Variables for regions not shown.

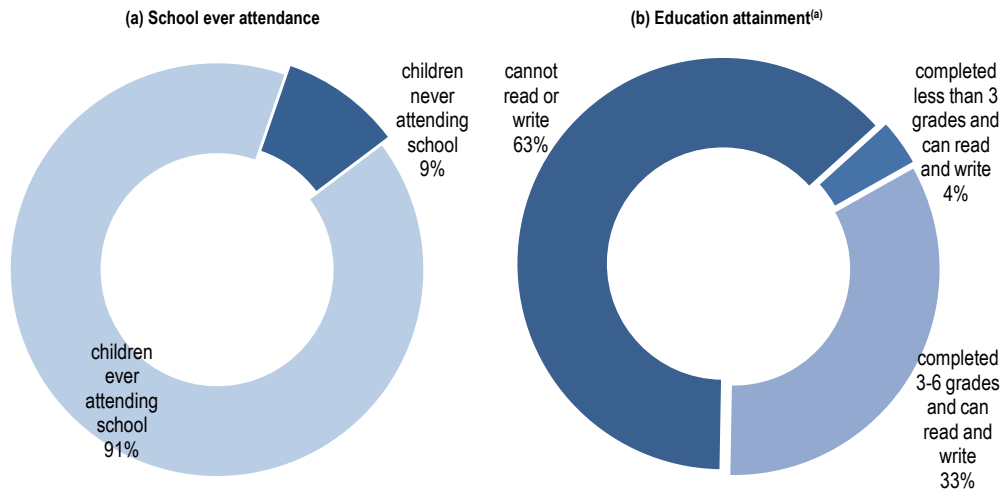
Comparison group: (1) education of the household head: higher education; (2) household income per capita: quintile 5 (top quintile)

Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

### 6.3 Educational attainment and literacy

88. Children's levels of educational attainment and literacy are generally low, at least in part due to the exigencies of work. Almost 10 percent of 9-17 year-olds, over 280,000 in absolute terms, have never attended school. A further 149,000 children from this age group with past schooling experience (but not currently enrolled) are unable to read and write. These figures underscore the importance of expanding and accelerating on-going efforts in the area of remedial education. Children with little or no schooling will be in a weak position in the labour market, at much greater risk of joining the ranks of the unemployed and the poor. If left alone, these children and youth are likely to be in need of other (more costly) remediation policies at a later stage of their life cycle.

Figure 25. Children requiring remedial education, 9-17 years age group<sup>(a)</sup>



Notes: (a) Among children ever attending school but NOT currently attending school

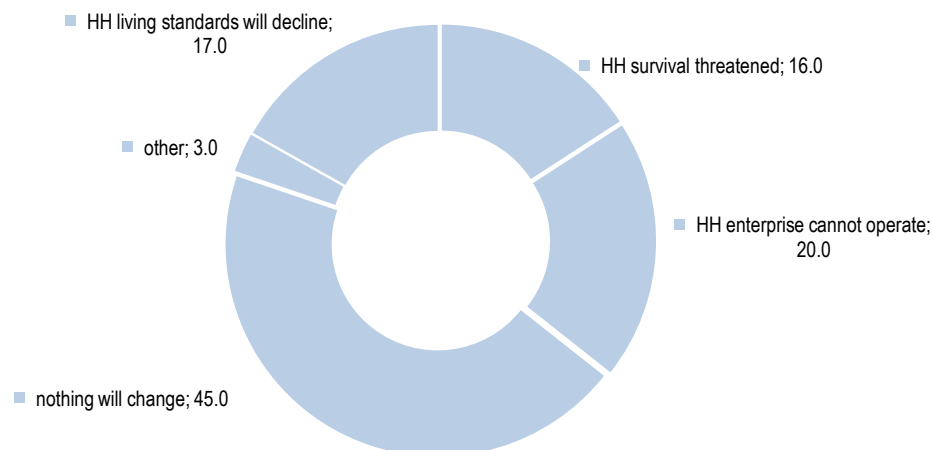
Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

## 7. UNDERSTANDING WHY CHILDREN WORK

89. As most children (excluding those that live on their own) exercise little control over their time allocations, determining why children work requires investigating why parents choose to engage their children in work rather than sending them to school or leaving them idle at home. This section makes use of both descriptive and econometric evidence from ZLFS 2005 to identify some of the factors influencing parents' decisions concerning their children's time use.

90. Descriptive evidence suggests that economic considerations play a major role in parents' decisions to involve their children in work. When asked what would happen if their child(ren) stopped working, over half of adult respondents stated that either household living standards would decline (17 percent), household survival would be threatened (16 percent) or that the household enterprise would not be able to operate (20 percent) (Figure 26). Simple correlations also show a strong inverse relationship between household income, on the one hand, and child involvement in economic activity, on the other (Figure 26). These results underscore the fact that efforts to remove children from work are unlikely to be effective in the absence of accompanying efforts aimed at compensating parents for the wages or productivity they lose when their children no longer work.

Figure 26. Distribution of working children by stated impact of child withdrawing from work



Notes: Missing observations, however, mean that these results need to be interpreted with caution. Only 35 percent of households with working children responded to the question.

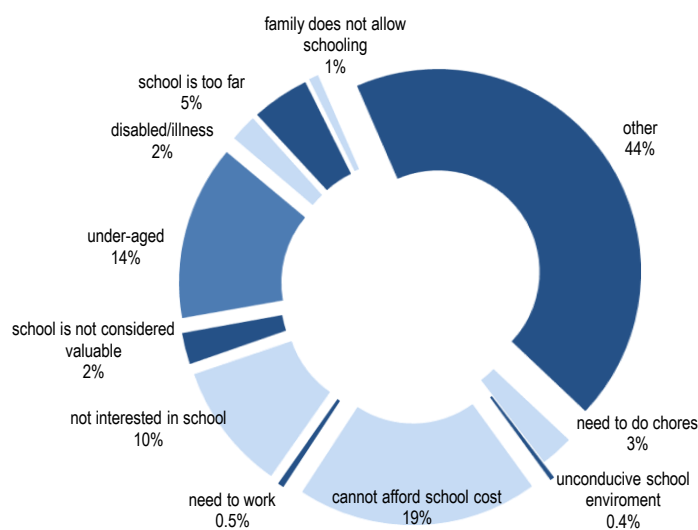
Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

Figure 27. **Child involvement in economic activity by household expenditure quintile**



91. Most families do not, however, cite the need to work (in economic activity or household chores) in explaining their decisions to keep their children from school. Indeed, the need to work is cited in only three percent of cases in which children are out of school. Rather, school-related factors appear to be the primary consideration: high school costs (19 percent), lack of interest or approval of schooling (14 percent)<sup>53</sup> and long distance from school (five percent) were cited by more than one in three adult respondents in explaining why their children were absent from school. The apparent lack of consistency between the reasons for involvement in work (primarily economic) and the reasons for not attending school (primarily school-related) points to the need for further in-depth and location-specific research on the push-pull factors keeping children from school.

Figure 28. **Distribution of out-of-school children by stated reason for not going**



<sup>53</sup> As reflected by the responses “family does not allow schooling”, “not interested in school”, “school is not considered valuable” and “unconducive school environment”.

92. Multivariate analysis<sup>54</sup> permits a more precise identification of the factors influencing household decisions to involve their children in work or school. Results of the analysis are provided in Table 14; some of the key qualitative inferences from the analysis are presented below.

Table 14. Determinants of children's work and schooling, marginal effect after bivariate probit estimation<sup>(a)</sup>

Explanatory variables		Work only		Study only		Inactive		Work and study	
		dy/dx	z	dy/dx	Z	dy/dx	z	dy/dx	z
Child age and sex	Age	<b>-0.1077</b>	<b>-9.32</b>	<b>0.1078</b>	<b>3.52</b>	<b>-0.2562</b>	<b>-15.64</b>	<b>0.2561</b>	<b>9.07</b>
	Age squared	<b>0.0049</b>	<b>8.99</b>	<b>-0.0059</b>	<b>-4.07</b>	<b>0.0106</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>-0.0096</b>	<b>-7.13</b>
	Male	0.0041	0.86	-0.0209	-1.59	-0.0092	-1.33	<b>0.0259</b>	<b>2.15</b>
Household characteristics	Household size	-0.0002	-0.1	-0.0022	-0.5	-0.0030	-1.34	0.0053	1.35
	Siblings 0-4	-0.0050	-1.67	0.0096	1.17	-0.0068	-1.57	0.0023	0.31
	Siblings 5-14	0.0000	-0.01	-0.0014	-0.19	-0.0017	-0.43	0.0031	0.46
	Sex of the household head	0.0082	1.4	-0.0171	-1.02	0.0099	1.15	-0.0010	-0.06
Education of household head	Household head has no education	<b>0.1422</b>	<b>4.77</b>	<b>-0.2286</b>	<b>-5.96</b>	<b>0.1026</b>	<b>3.27</b>	-0.0162	-0.44
	Household head has basic education	<b>0.0674</b>	<b>5.15</b>	<b>-0.1810</b>	<b>-4.84</b>	<b>0.0462</b>	<b>2.26</b>	<b>0.0674</b>	<b>1.99</b>
	Household head has secondary education	<b>0.0401</b>	<b>2.18</b>	<b>-0.1162</b>	<b>-3.00</b>	-0.0046	-0.21	<b>0.0807</b>	<b>2.19</b>
Household income	Household income per capita (bottom quintile)	<b>0.1334</b>	<b>6.99</b>	<b>-0.2366</b>	<b>-8.35</b>	<b>0.0800</b>	<b>4.01</b>	0.0232	0.84
	Household income per capita (quintile 2)	<b>0.0867</b>	<b>5.48</b>	<b>-0.1629</b>	<b>-5.73</b>	<b>0.0702</b>	<b>3.76</b>	0.0060	0.23
	Household income per capita (quintile 3)	<b>0.0914</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>-0.1777</b>	<b>-6.66</b>	<b>0.0600</b>	<b>3.52</b>	0.0262	1.04
	Household income per capita (quintile 4)	<b>0.0244</b>	<b>2.17</b>	-0.0335	-1.25	<b>0.0533</b>	<b>3.25</b>	-0.0442	-1.85
School quality	Pupil-teacher ratio	0.0001	0.71	-0.0005	-1.51	-0.0003	-1.5	<b>0.0007</b>	<b>2.21</b>
Exposure to shocks	Death of the household member	0.0176	1.76	-0.0474	-2	0.0037	0.29	0.0262	1.18
	Illness/injuries	<b>0.0294</b>	<b>2.46</b>	<b>-0.0611</b>	<b>-2.33</b>	0.0243	1.59	0.0074	0.3
	Crop failure	<b>0.0327</b>	<b>3.39</b>	<b>-0.1002</b>	<b>-4.8</b>	-0.0097	-0.91	<b>0.0773</b>	<b>3.81</b>
	Flood or drought	-0.0098	-1.08	0.0129	0.49	-0.0189	-1.44	0.0158	0.65
	Loss/destruction of property	<b>0.0780</b>	<b>2.44</b>	<b>-0.1365</b>	<b>-2.7</b>	0.0628	1.73	-0.0043	-0.09
	Other shock	0.0306	1.38	<b>-0.1410</b>	<b>-2.97</b>	<b>-0.0411</b>	<b>-2.18</b>	<b>0.1515</b>	<b>3.11</b>
Place of residence	Urban	<b>-0.0779</b>	<b>-11.98</b>	<b>0.2849</b>	<b>15.87</b>	<b>0.0359</b>	<b>3.21</b>	<b>-0.2429</b>	<b>-15.77</b>
	Central	<b>-0.0358</b>	<b>-4.81</b>	<b>0.1221</b>	<b>4.84</b>	-0.0078	-0.53	<b>-0.0784</b>	<b>-3.63</b>
	Copperbelt	<b>-0.0992</b>	<b>-20.17</b>	<b>0.4088</b>	<b>18.95</b>	<b>0.0633</b>	<b>3.23</b>	<b>-0.3729</b>	<b>-36.67</b>
	Eastern	<b>0.0526</b>	<b>3.76</b>	<b>-0.1085</b>	<b>-4.00</b>	<b>0.0345</b>	<b>2.06</b>	0.0214	0.85
	Luapula	<b>-0.0450</b>	<b>-6.98</b>	<b>0.1714</b>	<b>6.53</b>	<b>0.0852</b>	<b>3.91</b>	<b>-0.2116</b>	<b>-13.43</b>
	Lusaka	<b>-0.0553</b>	<b>-8.83</b>	<b>0.1643</b>	<b>5.84</b>	<b>0.2010</b>	<b>7.81</b>	<b>-0.3100</b>	<b>-24.24</b>
	Northern	<b>0.0281</b>	<b>2.23</b>	<b>-0.1064</b>	<b>-3.86</b>	-0.0238	-1.78	<b>0.1021</b>	<b>3.77</b>
	Southern	-0.0003	-0.03	0.0048	0.18	0.0044	0.3	-0.0089	-0.38

Notes: (a) Statistically significant results presented in bold.

Comparison group: (1) education of the household head: higher education; (2) household income per capita: quintile 5 (top quintile); (3) Region: Western

Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

<sup>54</sup> A bivariate probit model was used to jointly determine the correlated decisions on child schooling and work. A simple economic model of household behaviour is used to guide the empirical specification. For detailed information on the model, see Cigno, Rosati and Tzannatos, *Child Labour Handbook*, May 2002. The analysis carried out in this section is, obviously, conditioned by the information available. Notwithstanding the extensiveness of the survey utilised, potentially important variables are missing. In particular, information on the relative price of child work is difficult to capture: indicators for returns to education, work and household chores are not easily available (for a discussion of the role played by unobservables refer to Deb and Rosati, *Determinants of Child Labour and School Attendance: The Role of Household Observables*, December 2002).

**93. Child age and sex.** The analysis shows that the probability of a child working increases with age. The available information is insufficient to provide a precise idea of the relative importance of the two most probable reasons for this, i.e., the rising opportunity cost of schooling as a child grows older, or the lack of access to schooling at the post-primary level. Parents' decisions concerning whether to involve their children in school or work do not appear strongly influenced by gender considerations in Zambia. Holding constant household income, parents' education and other relevant factors, boys are no more likely to work in economic activity or attend school (or do neither) than their female counterparts. It is worth noting, however, that these results do not extend to involvement in household chores, a variable not included in the multivariate analysis. The descriptive evidence presented above suggests that gender considerations are an important factor in the assignment of responsibility for chores in the household.

**94. Education of household head.** The effect of an increase of parents' education levels on the reduction of child labour is strong and positive. Holding income and other factors constant, children from households where the head has basic education are almost seven percentage points less likely to work full-time, and five percentage points more likely to attend school full-time, than children from households where the head is illiterate. Raising the education of the household head from basic to secondary education appears to have a similar dramatic impact on whether children work or attend school. It is worth reiterating that these results are obtained holding income constant, i.e., independent of any disguised income effect. Another possible explanation is that more educated parents might have a better knowledge of the returns to education, and/or be in a position to help their children exploit the earning potential acquired through education.

**95. Household income.** The level of household income appears to play an important role in decisions concerning children's work and schooling, even when controlling for exposure to shocks. Moving from the lowest to the second lowest income quintile, for example, reduces the probability of a child working full-time in economic activity by more than four percentage points and raises the likelihood of him or her attending school full-time by about eight percentage points. A similar sharp change in the probability of working and attending school occurs in moving from the third to the second income quintile. But the relationship between household income and children's activities is non-monotonic: moving from the second to third income quintile, or from the fourth to the fifth, has a much smaller apparent impact on children's involvement in work and schooling. The results again underscore that children's earnings or productivity play an important role in household survival strategies among low-income families, and point to the need for some form social protection strategies like compensatory income or earnings schemes as part of a broader effort for encouraging school attendance and discouraging children's work among poor households.

**96. Place of residence.** Children's living location has a strong influence on their time use, highlighting the importance of targeted, area-specific approaches to reducing child labour and raising school attendance. Holding other factors constant, children living in cities and towns are seven percent less likely to be working full-time, and 28 percentage points more likely to be in school full-time, compared to their counterparts living in the countryside. The likelihood of school attendance and child labour also depends to a large extent on the province where they live. Again holding other factors constant, a child living in Northern province, for example, faces a seven percentage point greater probability of working full-time in economic activity, and a 26 percentage point greater probability of being out of school, compared to a child living in Lusaka province. Other inter-provincial differences in the likelihood of child labour and school attendance are similarly large.

**97. School quality.** The merging of the ZLFS 2005 with that of the Zambian Annual School Census permitted assessing the influence of a range of school quality variables (i.e., pupil to teacher ratio, pupil to class ratio, teacher to class ratio, and textbook to pupil ratio). With the exception of pupil to teacher ratio (which was only marginally significant), none of the quality indicators tested was significant. This result should, however, be interpreted with caution. It might be the product of data shortcomings, or of the inadequacy of the variables used as proxies for school quality in the Zambia context. Indeed, while there is growing consensus concerning the importance of school quality, there is much less agreement concerning what quality actually means in practical terms, or concerning the characteristics of an education system of most relevance to quality.<sup>55</sup> Causal links between school quality and child labour therefore is an area requiring further investigation.

Table 15. Occurrence of shocks, children aged 7-14 years, by type of shock and residence

Type of shock	Urban		Rural		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No shock	736,570	83.59	988,053	57.08	1,724,623	66.02
Death of household member	46,058	5.23	136,144	7.87	182,202	6.98
Illness/injuries	45,895	5.21	118,127	6.82	164,022	6.28
Crop failure	19,711	2.24	257,077	14.85	276,788	10.60
Flood or drought	13,999	1.59	160,796	9.29	174,795	6.69
Loss/destruction of property	11,244	1.28	20,179	1.17	31,423	1.20
Other shock	7,706	0.87	50,629	2.92	58,335	2.23
Any shock	144,613	16.42	742,952	42.92	887,565	33.98

Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

<sup>55</sup> For a more complete discussion of this point, see, UCW Project, *Does school quality matter for working children? A summary of recent empirical evidence*. Draft UCW Working Paper, Rome, April 2007.



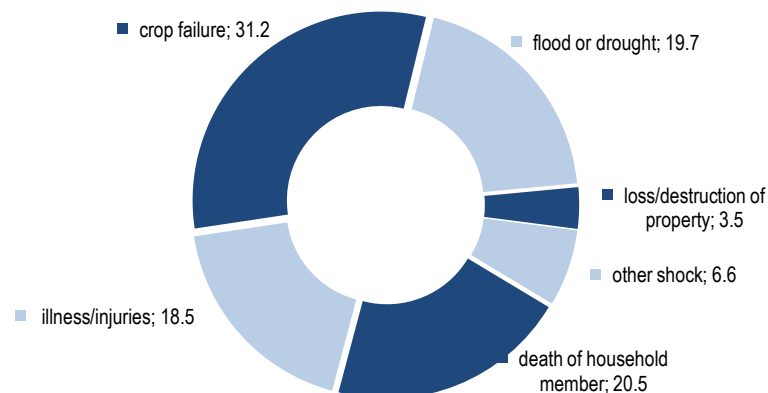
**Table 16. Impact of exposure to shocks on children's time use, difference in average predicted probability calculated after bivariate probit estimation**

Type of shock	Lowest income quintile				Highest income quintile				Total			
	Economic activity exclusively	Study exclusively	Neither activity	Both activities	Economic activity exclusively	Study exclusively	Neither activity	Both activities	Economic activity exclusively	Study exclusively	Neither activity	Both activities
Death	3.02%	-2.30%	-0.54%	-0.18%	0.30%	-2.40%	0.84%	1.26%	1.82%	-2.87%	0.18%	0.86%
Illness	5.68%	-2.84%	0.44%	-3.28%	0.53%	-3.70%	2.40%	0.77%	3.34%	-3.94%	1.68%	-1.08%
Crop	4.77%	-4.78%	-2.09%	2.11%	0.56%	-4.75%	0.68%	3.52%	3.03%	-5.81%	-0.86%	3.64%
Flood/drought	-2.49%	0.59%	-0.99%	2.89%	-0.18%	1.10%	-1.31%	0.39%	-1.37%	1.02%	-1.39%	1.75%
Loss or destruction of property	13.89%	-5.75%	1.18%	-9.33%	1.51%	-9.21%	6.55%	1.14%	8.43%	-8.81%	4.38%	-4.00%
Other	2.83%	-6.04%	-4.09%	7.29%	0.51%	-5.96%	-1.07%	6.51%	2.16%	-7.36%	-3.16%	8.37%

Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

**98. Exposure to shocks.** Socio-economic shocks are common in Zambia and their impact on children's involvement in work and schooling is therefore of considerable policy interest. Over one-third of 7-14 year-olds, some 888,000 children in absolute terms, belonged to a household experiencing some form of shock during the 2005 reference year (Table 16). Crop failure was the most common type, accounting for almost one-third of total occurrences of shocks, followed by death of household member, flood or drought, illness/injuries to household member and destruction of property (Figure 29).

**Figure 29. Distribution of shocks experienced by 7-14 year-olds**



Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

**99.** Results of the multivariate analysis indicate that shocks have a strong influence on child labour and school attendance, particularly among low income households. The loss or destruction of property appears to have the

strongest impact, raising the probability of children's full-time work involvement by 14 percentage points in low-income households, and reducing the likelihood of full-time school attendance by almost six percentage points. Crop failure and illness/injury to household member are also associated with a significantly increased probability of child labour and reduced probability of attending school, again particularly for children from poor households. These results suggest that child labour forms an important part of a poor household's strategy for dealing with risk, making them less vulnerable to sudden losses of income arising from individual or collective shocks. They point to the need for policies aimed at reducing household vulnerability as part of a broader effort against child labour.

**Table 17. Impact of orphanhood on children's involvement in school and economic activity, results of conditional (fixed effects) logistic regressions with robust standard errors<sup>(a)</sup>**

Explanatory variables		Attending school		Involved in economic activity		Neither	
		Coef.	z	Coef.	z	Coef.	z
Child age and sex	Age	<b>3.899</b>	<b>13.84</b>	<b>2.163</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>-3.849</b>	<b>-9.47</b>
	Age squared	<b>-0.163</b>	<b>-12.52</b>	<b>-0.049</b>	<b>-1.76</b>	<b>0.152</b>	<b>8.03</b>
	Male	0.117	1.01	0.068	0.28	-0.210	-1.23
Orphanhood status	Not living with parents	<b>-0.894</b>	<b>-2.84</b>	<b>-0.702</b>	<b>-1.81</b>	<b>0.677</b>	<b>1.8</b>
	Single orphan	<b>-0.585</b>	<b>-1.93</b>	0.116	0.2	0.169	0.35
	Double orphan	<b>-1.110</b>	<b>-3.03</b>	<b>-1.778</b>	<b>-3.17</b>	<b>1.947</b>	<b>3.1</b>

Notes: (a) Statistically significant results presented in bold.

Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

**100. Orphanhood.** As noted above, Zambia suffers very high child orphan rates and understanding how orphanhood affects children's involvement in school and child labour is therefore another area of particular policy interest. This question is taken up through estimation of a conditional (fixed effect) logit model again using the ZFLS 2005 dataset. Since there are many counterfactuals, we are looking at the variation within household.<sup>56</sup> Estimation results, presented in Table 17, suggest that orphans are at significantly greater risk of being denied education, with the effect largest for children who have lost both parents. Surprisingly, double orphanhood is also associated with a *lower* risk of involvement in economic activity, while the link between single orphanhood and work in economic activity is not significant. Double orphans are significantly more likely to be absent from both school and economic activity; this raises the possibility that

<sup>56</sup> For example, let  $y=1$  indicates that a child attends school and  $y=0$  that he/she does not. In our case conditional (fixed effect) logit provides matching of children with  $y=1$  to those with  $y=0$  within each household, as explanatory variables we use the age and orphan status of a child. Note, that conditional logit models can not include observations unless there are variations in the dependent variable within group (household in our case).

double orphans more than other children are kept at home, away from school and the workplace, to perform household chores. The impact of being a child living away from parents roughly mirrors that of being a double orphan, i.e., less likely to be in economic activity or in school, and more likely to be left at home, presumably carrying out chores associated with the functioning of the household.

**Table 18. Determinants of children's involvement in economic activity, non-economic activity and schooling, results of multivariate probit<sup>(a)</sup>**

Independent variables		School		Economic Activity		Non- Economic activity	
		Coef.	z	Coef.	z	Coef.	z
Child age and sex	age	<b>1.0442</b>	<b>24.33</b>	<b>0.2614</b>	<b>5.55</b>	<b>0.3061</b>	<b>7.70</b>
	age <sup>2</sup>	<b>-0.0426</b>	<b>-23.60</b>	<b>-0.0059</b>	<b>-3.00</b>	<b>-0.0091</b>	<b>-5.41</b>
	male	<b>0.1067</b>	<b>3.39</b>	0.0487	1.46	<b>-0.5507</b>	<b>-19.17</b>
Household characteristics	household size	0.0102	1.05	0.0203	2.12	<b>-0.0779</b>	<b>-8.81</b>
	siblings 0-4	0.0155	0.80	-0.0258	-1.29	<b>0.1548</b>	<b>8.66</b>
	siblings 5-14	0.0256	1.52	-0.0069	-0.41	0.0172	1.15
	sex of the hh head	<b>-0.0895</b>	<b>-2.18</b>	0.0076	0.18	0.0009	0.02
Education of household head	HH head has no educ.	<b>-0.6997</b>	<b>-6.21</b>	<b>0.1752</b>	<b>1.64</b>	-0.0153	-0.19
	HH head has basic educ.	<b>-0.3940</b>	<b>-3.83</b>	<b>0.2166</b>	<b>2.30</b>	0.0660	0.99
	HH head has secondary educ	<b>-0.1156</b>	<b>-1.10</b>	0.0428	0.46	0.0071	0.11
Household income	HH income per capita: bottom quintile	<b>-0.6344</b>	<b>-8.51</b>	<b>0.3865</b>	<b>5.30</b>	0.0222	0.35
	HH income per capita: quintile 2	<b>-0.5041</b>	<b>-7.03</b>	<b>0.2011</b>	<b>2.91</b>	0.0092	0.15
	HH income per capita: quintile 3	<b>-0.4487</b>	<b>-6.66</b>	<b>0.2693</b>	<b>4.12</b>	0.0193	0.36
	HH income per capita: quintile 4	<b>-0.1973</b>	<b>-3.13</b>	-0.0336	-0.52	-0.0069	-0.15
Exposure to shocks	Death	-0.0496	-0.86	<b>0.1476</b>	<b>2.49</b>	<b>0.1118</b>	<b>1.98</b>
	Illness	-0.0330	-0.52	<b>0.1910</b>	<b>2.88</b>	<b>0.2101</b>	<b>3.59</b>
	Crop	0.0481	0.95	<b>0.3789</b>	<b>6.76</b>	<b>0.0675</b>	<b>1.33</b>
	Flood/drought	<b>0.1545</b>	<b>2.31</b>	0.0712	1.04	<b>0.1493</b>	<b>2.24</b>
	Lloss or destruct. of property	<b>-0.2073</b>	<b>-1.78</b>	0.1404	1.09	<b>0.2461</b>	<b>2.02</b>
Other	0.1712	1.55	<b>0.3838</b>	<b>3.07</b>	0.0817	0.79	
Place of residence	Urban	<b>0.0940</b>	<b>2.00</b>	<b>-0.9120</b>	<b>-20.14</b>	<b>-0.1076</b>	<b>-2.62</b>
	Central	0.0790	1.16	<b>-0.3537</b>	<b>-5.21</b>	<b>-0.2475</b>	<b>-3.93</b>
	Copperbelt	<b>0.1276</b>	<b>1.78</b>	<b>-1.8568</b>	<b>-22.90</b>	<b>-0.1069</b>	<b>-1.71</b>
	Eastern	<b>-0.2375</b>	<b>-3.45</b>	<b>0.2029</b>	<b>2.78</b>	<b>-0.2173</b>	<b>-3.29</b>
	Luapula	<b>-0.1853</b>	<b>-2.74</b>	<b>-0.5153</b>	<b>-7.70</b>	0.0879	1.36
	Lusaka	<b>-0.4518</b>	<b>-6.28</b>	<b>-1.1547</b>	<b>-14.84</b>	-0.0305	-0.47
	Northern	0.0482	0.74	<b>0.3796</b>	<b>5.53</b>	<b>0.2947</b>	<b>4.65</b>
Southern	<b>-0.0970</b>	<b>-1.45</b>	-0.0495	-0.73	<b>0.3596</b>	<b>5.39</b>	

Notes: (a) Statistically significant results presented in bold.

Comparison group: (1) education of the household head: higher education; (2) household income per capita: quintile 5; (3) Region: Western

Source: UCW calculations based on *Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005*

101. A multivariate probit estimation permits an extension of the discussion of determinants to include non-economic activities. As shown in Table 18, estimation results indicate that involvement in non-economic activity is more likely among children living in rural areas, girl children and children from households exposed to some form of shock. Children from households with young siblings are also more likely to be assigned responsibility for non-economic activity, a category that includes caring for other family members.

## 8. NATIONAL RESPONSE TO CHILD LABOUR

### 8.1 Legal framework for combating child labour

102. Zambia has made a number of important legal commitments in the area of child labour. The Government signed the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1992, ratified the ILO Convention No. 138 (Minimum Age) in 1976 and ILO Convention No. 182 (Worst Forms) in 2002.<sup>57</sup> Zambia has not signed the Optional Protocols to the CRC on the sale of children, child prostitution, and child pornography, and on the involvement of children in armed conflict.

103. The Employment of Young Persons and Children (EYPC) Act regulates the employment of young persons and children.<sup>58</sup> In 2004, the Government amended the Act to bring it in line with ILO Conventions No. 138 and No. 182. The Act states that no child shall be employed in any industrial undertaking (art. 4.1) or in any covered worksite (art. 4A.1), where a “child” for the purposes of the Act is defined as a person under the age of fifteen years (art. 2). The provision on covered worksites notwithstanding, the Act states that a child aged between thirteen and fifteen years may be lawfully engaged in “light work”<sup>59</sup> (art. 4A.2). It prohibits the employment of young persons in any work which by its nature or circumstances in which it is carried out constitutes a “worst form” of child labour (art. 17B). Section 2 of the Act defines “worst forms of child labour” in similar terms as that provided under the Convention.<sup>60</sup> Night work and work for long hours are also prohibited by the Act.

<sup>57</sup> Zambia has also ratified ILO Convention No. 29 of 1930 on Forced Labour; Convention No.105 on the Abolition of Forced Labour; Convention No.124 on the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Underground Work); and Convention No.136 on Benzene

<sup>58</sup> Other relevant legal instruments include:(a) Constitution of the Republic of Zambia; The Laws of Zambia; 1996 Edition; (b) Education Act of 1966 as amended; Chapter 134; (c)The School (Compulsory Attendance) Regulations No. 118 of 1970; (d)The Bursaries Committee Regulations; (e) Penal Code Act of 1931 as amended up to 1994; Chapter 87, Laws of Zambia; (f) The Juveniles Act of 1956 as amended, Chapter 53; (g) The Employment of Young Persons and Children Act of 1933 (as amended up to 1994), Chapter 274; (h) Medical Examination of Young Persons (Underground Work) Act No. 20 of 1973; Chapter 216; (i) The Factories Act, Chapter 441; (j) The Factories (Benzene) Regulations; (k) The Dangerous Drugs Act; Chapter 95; (l) The Dangerous Drugs Regulation; (m) The Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, Chapter 96; (n) The Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (Trafficking) Regulations, S.I. 84 of 1994; (o) Defence Act of 1964, Chapter 131; and (p) Zambia National Service Act of 1971, Chapter 121.

<sup>59</sup> Article 4A.2 cites specifically light work (a) which is not likely to be harmful to that child's health or development; and (b) is not prejudicial to that child's-(i) attendance at an institution of learning;

(ii) participation in vocational orientation or training approved by a competent authority or that child's capacity to benefit from the institution received.

<sup>60</sup> Under Section 2 of the Act, definition of the term “worst forms of labour” comprises: (a) all forms of slavery and all practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children and young persons, debt bondage, serfdom, forced and compulsory labour and forced or compulsory recruitment of children and young persons for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child or young person for prostitution, production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child or a young person for illicit activities, such as the production and

104. Coverage of the amended Employment of Young Persons and Children Act appears broad. In the case of children below 15 years, it extends to employment in any public or private “industrial undertaking”<sup>61</sup> or in any branch thereof, with exceptions in case of work in technical schools (art. 4.1). Article 4A.1 of the Act specifically prohibits the employment of a child in any covered worksite, with exception in case of light work, where “covered worksite” includes “any public or private undertaking and includes any commercial, agricultural or domestic worksite and any undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed.” Article 4B.1 contains a general prohibition on the employment of a child in any type of employment or work which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out constitutes a worst form of labour.

105. Article 17A of the EYPC Act provides for the prohibition on the employment of young persons in any type of employment or work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to jeopardise the health, safety or morals of that young person. Specific types of hazardous work were agreed during Tripartite Labour Law Reform discussions and are contained in a draft statutory instrument released in 2006. The draft list includes: (a) excavation/drilling; (b) stone crushing; (c) block/brick making; (d) building; (e) roofing; (f) painting; (g) tour guiding; (h) selling/serving in bars; (i) animal herding; (j) fishing; (k) working in tobacco and cotton fields; (l) spraying of pesticides, herbicides and fertiliser application; (m) handling farm machinery; and (n) processing in industries.

106. The Government cites a number of mechanisms for channeling of complaints concerning cases of child labour, including the Inspectorate at the Ministry of Labour and Social Security; the Victim Support Units of Zambia Police Service Stations; NGOs such as YWCA and CYC (Community Youth Concern); and in some cases child-to-child approaches, where children act as watchdogs for one another.<sup>62</sup> In practice, however, the enforcement and monitoring of child labour laws remains a major challenge, owing in large part to limited resources and related practical constraints.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, only one child labour case has been brought to court

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trafficking of illegal drugs, and; (d) work that by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children or young persons.

<sup>61</sup> Article 3 of the Act states that “industrial undertaking” includes particularly- (a) mines, quarries and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth; (b) industries in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed, including shipbuilding, and the generation, transformation and transmission of electricity or motive power of any kind; (c) construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair, alteration or demolition of any building, railway, tramway, harbour, dock, pier, canal, inland waterway, road, tunnel, bridge, viaduct, sewer, drain, well, telegraphic or telephonic installation, electrical undertaking, gas work, waterwork or other work of construction, as well as the preparation for or laying the foundations of any such work or structure; (d) transport of passengers or goods by road or rail or inland waterway, including the handling of goods at docks, quays, wharves, and warehouses, but excluding transport by hand; (e) cordwood cutting; but does not include commercial or agricultural undertakings.

<sup>62</sup> Initial reports to the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC/C/11/Add.25; para 555, 556)

<sup>63</sup> Section 18 of the Amendment Act states that any Labour Officer and any Police Officer of or above the rank of Assistant Inspector shall have the power: (a) at all reasonable times to enter upon any land or premises of any industrial undertaking affected by the provisions of this Act; (b) to examine either

to date in the country, and the Inspectorate at the Ministry of Labour and Social Security is able to conduct only a very limited number of workplace inspections each year. Similar constraints hamper efforts relating to trafficking, which falls under the Penal Code. Police and immigration officials are insufficiently resourced to adequately enforce the law.

## 8.2 National policy framework

107. Zambia's national development plans are highlighted in the 2002 Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and in the Fifth National Development Plan (2006-2010) and the National Employment and Labour Market Policy (2006). The PRSP aims at reducing poverty through diversification of the economy and exports, improved access and quality in the delivery of social services, and improved governance and public sector management. Among its specific aims are to improve access to and quality of education at all levels. The Fifth National Development Plan contains a specific reference to child labour, calling for the eradication of worst forms through measures including awareness-raising, legislative reform and better information for targeting. The National Employment and Labour Market Policy also makes specific reference to child labour, proposing interventions for eliminating child labour in three sectors in particular – agriculture, education and health. It also emphasises the provision of education and skills to children and young persons in order to prepare them for decent productive work.

108. The Government has adopted a National Child Policy (NCP) to promote child welfare in the country.<sup>64</sup> This policy framework provides core guidelines for improving the welfare and quality of life of children, as well as for protecting their survival and developmental rights. The NCP aims to consolidate all existing and proposed legislation pertaining to children into one easily accessible and comprehensive statute, and also to update laws to incorporate the provisions of UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. The NCP proposes a number of specific measures aimed at stopping the child economic exploitation and child labour in Zambia in the sphere of both prevention and protection. It also deals specifically with the issue of child trafficking. The draft Child Labour Policy once launched will form the basis for interventions against child labour. It details strategies for the prevention of child labour and for the withdrawing, rehabilitating and reintegrating children already involved in work.

109. ILO/IPEC is also working with the Government in formulating a comprehensive National Plan of Action (NPA) for time-bound elimination of the worst forms of child labour. The NPA will specify priority

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alone or in the presence of any other person as he thinks fit, with respect to any matter under this Act any person affected by the provisions of this Act; and (c) to exercise such other powers as may be necessary for carrying this Act into effect.

<sup>64</sup> Initial Report to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, CRC/C/11/Add.25: para. 38

interventions, including costing, and contain an implementation framework intended to support improved coordination of interventions against worst forms. An important element in the NPA development is strengthening capacity for coordination of action against worst forms. Given that the worst forms are multi-dimensional and therefore require broad-based action, coordination of efforts becomes key to sustainable, time-bound action. While there are a broad range of policy frameworks, programmes and actors for child labour elimination already in place, these are not well-coordinated at present. The national TBP is scheduled for completion in 2010.

### 8.3 External assistance relating to child labour

110. External assistance plays a key role in national efforts to combat child labour. A total of 13 external development partners provide external assistance to strengthening basic education, which is in turn critical to reducing flows of children into child labour. This assistance amounted in 2004 to K 395 billion, or about 1.5 percent of GDP, about three-fourths of which was ear-marked for the basic education subsector. Within the framework set by the Government Education Sector Strategic Plan, areas of support included school infrastructure, while other substantial purposes included HIV/AIDS, equity, and gender; textbook provision; and in-service teacher training.<sup>65</sup>

111. Key multilateral actors in the area of child labour include UNICEF, WFP, and ILO/IPEC. The education element of the UNICEF country programme includes support to school feeding programmes, life skills awareness, teaching training and materials provision, and improving school infrastructure. The latter includes support to building and rehabilitating hundreds of wells, latrines, and hand-washing facilities, bringing clean water and sanitation to thousands of families and hundreds of schools.

112. ILO is the only multilateral organisation focused exclusively on child labour. The strategy employed by the ILO/IPEC country programme includes identifying child labourers, providing them with rehabilitation and educational opportunities, and their parents with income generating opportunities. ILO/IPEC supported major action programs, which started with the process of “building the national capacity to tackle the problem of the wfcl” through technical assistance for the development of a national plan of action on child labour elimination, training of labour inspectors, school teachers, and the media on child labour issues, the development of a database to monitor, track and follow up on children reached through the programs’ intervention and the integration of child labour issues in formal school curriculum. Among some of the major achievements of the IPEC

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<sup>65</sup> World Bank, *Zambia Education Sector Public Expenditure Review (Volume I)*. Report No. 36552-ZM, June 20, 2006.)



Zambia Programme are the ratification of ILO Convention No. 182; the development of a draft Child Labour Policy; and the development of a strategic National Plan of Action to eliminate the child labour.

113. A wide range of international NGOs provide support to national efforts against child labour. A non-exhaustive list of international NGOs active directly or indirectly in the area of child labour in Zambia includes Oxfam, Save the Children, Care, Concern, Action Aid, Family Health International. A Forum for International NGOs helps coordinate action and facilitate information exchange. Many of the bilateral development agencies represented in Zambia also provide support to efforts relating directly or indirectly to child labour. This support is channeled either through multilateral organizations and NGOs or through direct programmes of cooperation with the Government. Bilateral donors in the education sector, include Denmark, Ireland, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States.

## 9. ACCELERATING PROGRESS TOWARDS ELIMINATING CHILD LABOUR: A DISCUSSION OF POLICY OPTIONS

### 9.1 Identifying an appropriate policy mix: General considerations

114. Achieving Zambia's time-bound objectives for eliminating child labour requires a policy response targeting three broad groups: (1) children at risk of involvement in child labour; (2) children already harmed by exposure to child labour; and (3) children in the worst forms of child labour requiring immediate, direct action.

115. Empirical analysis conducted for this study (see Section 7), as well as policy experience in Zambia and elsewhere, points to a number of general strategies for reaching these groups. Better access to schooling and other basic services, combined with mechanisms to reduce social risk, is particularly important to preventing children from entering child labour, and to stopping children already in work from moving to more hazardous forms or leaving school prematurely. Mechanisms are needed for the identification and follow-up of child labour in particular sectors, for example children in agriculture, who form the biggest number of child labourers in Zambia, and children in domestic child labour, a form of child labour that is widespread among girls. A network of community child labour committees, working with the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, is one possibility in this context. Remedial schooling and other "second chance" learning opportunities are important to overcoming work-related damage to children's welfare. Immediate, targeted measures are needed to remove and rehabilitate children in unconditional worst forms of child labour, including children in conditions of commercial sexual exploitation, children in mining, stone crushing and construction, children in conditions of slavery and child victims of trafficking.

116. Achieving sustainable reductions in child labour also requires a supportive national political, legal and institutional environment. Political commitment is needed to ensure that child labour is mainstreamed into broader development plans and programmes. This may include, for example, integrating child labour as an explicit concern in Millennium Development Goals, Education for All plans, and poverty reduction strategy plans. Labour legislation consistent with international child labour standards is necessary both as a statement of national intent and as legal and regulatory framework for efforts against child labour. As child labour is an issue that cuts across sectors and areas of ministerial responsibility, progress against it requires that institutional roles are clearly delineated, and that effective coordination and information-sharing structures are in place.

117. In summary, "prevention" measures are needed both to reduce the flow of vulnerable children into child labour and to stop children already in work

from moving to worse forms or leaving school, while "second chance" measures are needed to avoid large numbers of children entering adulthood in a disadvantaged position, permanently harmed by early work experiences. "Direct action" is needed to identify and withdraw the children in unconditional worst forms, a group facing immediate and severe threats to survival, safety and development. The effective implementation of both prevention and protection measures requires political commitment, reliable information, an appropriate legal and regulatory framework, functioning coordination structures, capable institutions and a mobilised society, i.e., an "enabling environment".

## 9.2 Preventive measures

118. Prevention measures designed to stem the flow of children into work constitute the most important component of a policy response to child labour. Clearly, sustainable reductions in child labour cannot be attained without addressing the factors causing children to enter work in the first place. As children are rarely responsible for their own choices, the design of preventive measures requires an understanding of factors influencing household decisions relating to schooling and work. A model of these household decisions was estimated in Section 7, making use of the ZFLS 2005 dataset. The implications of the estimation results for prevention policies are summarised in Table 19 and discussed in more detail below. The following discussion also draws on international evidence and policy experience.

Table 19. Policy implications from multivariate analysis of child labour decisions

Empirical result	Implication for policy
1. Negative effect of income/wealth on child work supply	Social risk management policies (e.g. access to credit, social insurance) and conditional cash transfer schemes.
2. School quality helps attending working children to remain in school	Policies aimed to improve school quality, (e.g. CONAFE in Mexico)
3. Parents education, especially mother's, reduces child labour	Adult literacy policy; awareness raising components in education and other projects
4. Offspring of household head less likely to work	Target orphans and other vulnerable children within household
5. Region and residence strong determinant of child labour	Geographic targeting of child labour policies
6. Exposure to shocks positively associated with child labour.	Social risk management policies

**119. Reducing household vulnerability.** The empirical results indicated that children's work frequently forms part of a household's strategy for dealing with risk, making them less vulnerable to losses of income arising from individual or collective shocks. Widespread poverty and a very

limited social protection net mean a very high degree of household vulnerability in Zambia. Social vulnerability has been greatly exacerbated by the HIV/AIDS crisis, which has led to the loss of household breadwinners and forced countless children into work to help households make ends meet. The government recognises that reducing household vulnerability by expanding social protection is a critical priority in the country.

120. Plans under discussion involve the expansion of cash transfer schemes to targeted households, using a variety of models:

- (i) *Social cash transfers.* In 2003, GTZ initiated a pilot social cash transfer scheme in Kalomo. Since expanded into an additional three districts, the scheme aims to provide regular cash transfers to incapacitated households (defined by poverty, physical incapacity and household dependency ratio), estimated from a survey in Kalomo at 10 percent of the population. Having reviewed some of the evidence generated around the scheme, an ambitious expansion programme was proposed, creating a nation-wide programme by 2011. However, some actors were concerned about the rate and scale of the proposed scale-up. Notable constraints include the management, sustainability and transparency of the community-based targeting process, the very substantial costs that far exceed apparent cross-Government support to the programme, and a range of problems in implementation that would arise where the proportion of the population who may be deemed appropriate for support significantly exceeds or falls below 10 percent. Ultimately, there may be additional 40 or so largely rural districts that could sustain this model of intervention. However, in order for this to be a realistic proposition, it is important that MCDSS capacity to manage the schemes at all levels is built substantially, that there be significant commitment and leadership from GRZ to the social cash transfer schemes as a component of the national poverty reduction agenda (complemented rather than pushed by cooperating partner support), and that the links between different elements of the social protection agenda are clarified.
- (ii) *Social pensions.* Several countries in the southern African region have launched or are introducing social pensions as the first step in the development of comprehensive national social security systems. These schemes respond to the recognition that poverty levels are highest amongst older people, and that many old people provide care for orphans and vulnerable children. MCDSS has been running a pilot social pension scheme in Katete for the past year, which has to date been noted for being comparatively cheap and easy to administer, and anecdotally appears to have made a significant contribution to household welfare for old people as well as dependent grandchildren. Through MLSS, GRZ has recently

highlighted social pensions in the draft National Social Security Policy. MLSS expects to allocate a reasonable budget from domestic resources for developing the modalities of service delivery, and has just recently opened dialogue with cooperating partners on this issue. Many actors agree that social pensions are a good and practical first step towards an entitlement-based social security system. However, it is necessary to understand the extent to which social pension expenditure specifically addresses poverty (especially child poverty), the scale of disbursements that may be directed to the non-poor, and the implications of the proposed scheme for targeting poor people who do not qualify for a social pension. Further, the ownership and possible collaboration between MCDSS and MLSS needs to be clarified.

- (iii) *Child grants in severely deprived districts.* Experience in South Africa and elsewhere is providing compelling evidence on the impact of child support grants on household welfare and particularly on the development of young children. It is therefore recommended that GRZ intensively target cash transfers to households with young children in districts with the deepest and widespread poverty, highest levels of maternal and child mortality, morbidity and malnutrition, and the worst social outcomes. This offers a promising and manageable means of achieving a rapid improvement in these outcomes whilst creating an opportunity to kick-start local markets and livelihoods opportunities. Cooperating partners are ready to support Government in such interventions. It is recognised that child grants are unlikely to be an affordable means of nationwide social protection in the medium term; rather, the proposal is that supporting the delivery of cash transfers to households with young children in five of the highest priority districts. This provides an immediate high-impact intervention to address the silent emergency of chronic poverty whilst generating robust and objective evidence on the impact and effectiveness of this strategy.
- (iv) *Disability grants to reduce household vulnerability.* Images of children leading disabled adults and begging in the street underline the problem of the lack of adequate social protection for the disabled, or for the children of disabled persons. To combat this form of child labour and create opportunities for these children to go to school, disability grants are needed for all the disabled. These grants should be able to provide food security and access to basic services such as health, education and housing. Policy for the disabled should include public education on disability and proactive measures to employ the disabled in the work place, especially women. It should also aim to make publicly visible resources that the disabled can draw upon for social protection.

121. While each of the above schemes is potentially relevant and useful, it would be necessary to also think about their relative efficacy and integration. The schemes are not overlapping at the pilot level, but their scaling up would require a careful evaluation of their complementarity and place within a coherent policy framework for social protection.

122. Developing and strengthening community-based social safety mechanisms will also be important to yield needed benefits to vulnerable households. Community-based measures such as micro health insurance plans, community savings groups, and micro-credit initiatives, should be promoted and expanded, especially targeting poorest households. Child transfers, building on the pilot UNICEF scheme targeting pre-school children, offer another potential way forward in this context. The capacity of community based care initiatives supporting those who look after children made vulnerable by HIV should be also strengthened, to ensure that the burden of care is removed from children to ensure they do not work and can attend school.

**123. Reducing barriers to school access and raising school quality.**

There is broad consensus that the single most effective way to stem the flow of school age children into work is to extend and improve schooling, so that families have the opportunity to invest in their children's education and it is worthwhile for them to do so. The intention is not only to make school attendance an attractive prospect for children and parents/ guardians by addressing the costs of school attendance and the hunger that drives children into child labour, but also to make schooling inclusive and relevant.

124. The empirical results indicated that Zambian working children are less likely to be attending school, and, if enrolled in school are more likely to lag behind their non-working counterparts and to drop-out prematurely. These results underscore the need to address the access and quality issues influencing parents' decisions to enrol and keep their children in school. This is particularly the case in rural areas where progress towards extending schooling has been slowest. Actions should take place within the broader education reform framework in Zambia, and in concert with the on-going efforts of the various national and international actors. These efforts include the ILO/IPEC TACKLE programme, launched in 2008, aimed at ending child labour through education.

125. The empirical evidence and programme experience points to a number of possible policy measures for extending and improving schooling in Zambia:

- (i) *Free compulsory education in State schools and State-assisted community schools.* There is a need to introduce legislation making basic schooling compulsory in Zambia, as a sign of national commitment to universal enrolment, and so that parents have a legal obligation to send their children to school and the State a legal obligation to ensure that children stay there. But education must be

free as well as compulsory, and therefore the various direct costs that households must bear in sending their children to school also require addressing. Important measures in this context include the provision of educational materials such as exercise books, pencils and uniforms for free or at subsidized rates and for those who cannot afford them, and the elimination of all formal and unofficial school fees

- (ii) *School attendance incentives.* The empirical results presented in this report suggest that school incentive schemes that provide cash or in-kind subsidies to poor children attending school (see Box 4) offer a promising route to extending participation in school. These demand incentives can increase schooling directly by providing poor families with additional resources (i.e. income effect), as well as indirectly by compensating parents for the foregone economic product from their children's labour and thus reducing child work (i.e. substitution effect). The benefits of providing free school meals each day are also well-documented, both as an incentive to keeping children in school and as a means of ensuring are able to benefit fully from their time in the classroom. Various school meal programmes already exist in Zambia, but these efforts need to be expanded to reach all children from the beginning to the end of the basic education cycle.
- (iii) *Flexible schooling measures,* such as adaptive school calendars and scheduling. Extensive international policy experience highlights the potential of these measures in reducing drop-out through making school more accommodating of the exigencies of light work (see Box 4);
- (iv) *Targeted school expansion (lower secondary) and upgrading (primary),* in response to a large body of empirical evidence of a positive relationship between school availability and enrolment. Expansion efforts require needs-based criteria to ensure that the most disadvantaged and under-served groups are reached;
- (v) *Expanded pre-primary education:* Empirical evidence elsewhere<sup>66</sup> indicates that early childhood education (ECE) substantially lowers the risk of child labour and increases the likelihood of school attendance at later ages. Pre-primary education makes the transition to primary school easier, and makes it more likely that children will persist in schooling rather than enter work prematurely. While some ECE programmes are running in Zambia, they cover only a very small proportion of children. There is a need therefore, to significantly extend ECE within broader efforts towards Education For All. Low-cost, community-run ECE services, are likely to be

<sup>66</sup> See, for example, UCW project, *Children's work in Cambodia: A challenge for growth and poverty reduction*. Inter-agency report on child labour in Cambodia. Phenom Penh, 2006.

the most effective means of extending ECE to more children in a short time frame.

**Box 4. Reducing school access barriers for vulnerable children: School attendance incentives and flexible schooling**

**Flexible schooling**

Flexible schooling measures are typically targeted specifically to working children, and are designed to reduce the risk of drop-out by making school more accommodating of the exigencies of children's light work. Such measures can take various forms, including setting daily school hours to accommodate daily work schedules; setting the yearly academic calendar to reflect local conditions, e.g., agricultural seasons; adding additional school shifts during off-work hours; and introduction of independent study modules to compensate for class time lost to work.

There are numerous examples of flexible schooling initiatives. The BRAC program in Bangladesh is probably the best known scheme. In this program, school times are set by local parents, and the school calendar is adapted to fit local considerations such as harvest seasons.

In Guatemala, a number of flexible scheduling measures are used to make schooling more compatible with the work-related demands on children's time. One measure allows children who spend the morning working on farms to begin school later in the day, with the fewer class hours compensated for by more time on independent study. Another allows students to complete 1,000 hours of schooling with no time restriction to get primary school certification.

In the Nicaragua "Extra-Age" program, classes are taught in modules to permit maximum attendance during off-work hours, and separate extra-age classrooms are established to avoid the social stigma associated with older children attending classes with younger children. A project implemented by the Department of Education, Culture and Sports in the Philippines allows children to attend school in the morning and report for work in the afternoon.

Peru has made the school attendance of working children a particular priority. The Peru Child and Adolescent Code guarantees special school schedules that allow children who work to attend school regularly. A number of Peruvian schools have established multiple shifts – morning, afternoon and night – to allow working children to fit schooling into their work schedules, and teachers are charged with providing extra attention to children who lag behind because of work.

**School attendance incentive schemes**

School attendance incentive schemes involve offering households cash or in-kind payments conditional on the child attending school. These transfers differ from conventional scholarships in that their primary purpose is encourage enrolment and only secondarily to allow talented children or young people of modest means to obtain an education. What these schemes do, essentially, is compensate families for the direct and indirect costs associated with children attending school rather than working.

The primary benefit of these programs is their ability to tie together short-run assistance and long-run human capital formation to fight the intergenerational transfer of poverty. By helping the children of poor families to enter and remain in school today, the incentive schemes make it less likely that these children become tomorrow's poor. Incentives used in these schemes typically take the form of either cash or food rations:

- *Conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs* are often implemented as part of a broader package of poverty alleviation initiatives. They consist of direct monetary transfers or stipends to families in return for their children's regular attendance at school. The *Progresar/Oportunidades* program in Mexico is perhaps the best known conditional cash transfer programme. It provides twice-monthly cash payments conditional for students in grades 3 to 9 conditional upon their attaining an 85 percent attendance rate (with teachers relied upon to verify student attendance).
- *School nutrition and food-for-schooling* use food as an incentive for parents to send their children to school. They involve either 1) children being fed in school (school nutrition programs) or 2) families being given food if their children attend school (food-for-schooling programs). The first type, school nutrition programs, is designed to alleviate short-term hunger and thereby improve children's ability to derive educational benefit from their time in the classroom. These programs do not, however, compensate parents for the lost income or output from child work. The second type, food-for-schooling programs, allows the entire family benefit from a food ration rather than just the child attending school. As such, they go further in helping families to give up the income or productivity derived from child work.

(vi) *Improved school quality and relevance*: There is a general need to improve the quality of school services and make the education provided relevant and of decent quality. This will justify the relevance of education in children's lives and contribute to their socialization. The promotion of good quality education means the absence of violence at schools, i.e., the absence of bullying and corporal punishment. It also means the introduction of methods of learning that encourage questioning and children's participation, rather than learning by rote. To improve the quality of education, teacher training in Zambia has to be improved, bringing it in line with methods that respect children's rights and recognise the



humanity of children. There is a large body of empirical evidence indicating that teacher education is positively associated with enrolment and negatively associated with child labour. Adequate teacher training will go some way in addressing the abuse of children by teachers, and make better the quality of school life for children. Improved school quality also means introducing into the curricula issues of relevance to children's lives, such as child labour, HIV/AIDS and other social concerns, in an age-appropriate manner.

**126. Adult education**, in response to the empirical evidence in Zambia indicating the parents' education and particularly mothers' education, has a significantly positive effect on children's time use. Promoting the value of education for adults helps promote the value of education for children. Developing and expanding efforts in promoting good parenting, functional literacy and numeracy, work-related skills training and basic education equivalency programmes are all important in this context. Rural areas, where illiteracy is highest, again should be prioritized.

**127. Improving access to basic services**. Although links between basic services access and children's work have not been explored in the Zambian context, evidence from El Salvador, Ghana, Guatemala, Morocco and Yemen (Guarcello *et al.*, 2004) suggests that services access can have a dramatic impact on school attendance and child labour rates.<sup>67</sup> This is because the availability of basic services can affect the value of children's time and, consequently, household decisions concerning how this time is allocated between school and work. Water access is particularly important in this context. In Zambia, a significant amount of children's domestic work in rural areas and urban informal settlements involves the collection of water from locations quite far from their homes. These loads of water are usually very heavy. The carrying out of this chore affects attendance and attention of children in school, because of them being late and tired. In addition to its health and other social benefits, therefore, expanding access to basic services is an important strategy for getting children, and particularly girls, into school and out of work. It should be a goal of the government, through the Ministry of Works and Supply and its partners to increase the number of water sources for households, and innovate low cost ways to bring safe water close households to end the burden of this chore on children.

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<sup>67</sup> In Yemen, for example, connection to a water network increases the likelihood of attending school by over nine percentage points. For girls, the water availability is an especially important factor, raising the likelihood of their attending school by 11 percentage points and reducing the likelihood that they work by four percentage points. For further details, see Guarcello L., Mealli F., and Rosati F.C., *Child labour and access to basic services: Evidence from five countries*, UCW Working Paper, Florence, 2004.

### 9.3 “Second chance” measures

128. “Second chance” policies, although likely to absorb fewer resources, should not be neglected. They are critical to avoiding large numbers of children entering adulthood in a disadvantaged position, permanently harmed by early work experiences. Children with little or no schooling will be in a weak position in the labour market, at much greater risk of joining the ranks of the unemployed and the poor. If left alone, these children and youth are likely to be in need of other (more costly) remediation policies at a later stage of their life cycle.

129. Second chance education programmes are needed to reach former working children and other out-of-school children with educational opportunities, as part of broader efforts towards their social reintegration. Empirical evidence presented above on educational attainment indicates that such programmes are particularly relevant in the Zambian context: 10 percent of Zambian 9-17 year-olds have never entered school and 63 percent of former students in this age group are unable to read or write. Second chance programmes are based on the premise that working children are often difficult to insert directly (back) into the formal education system because of their age, different life experiences and lack of familiarity with the school environment. Their lack of formal education also frequently leaves working children too far behind their peers academically to catch up on their own. The Government of Zambia/Ministry of Labour and Social Security with NGOs is already strengthening community capacity to identify children who need a second chance through CCLCs and DCLCs though establishment of a complete network is a slow and difficult process.

130. Second chance education programmes offer children who have never enrolled in school, or who have dropped out, a “bridge” to successful integration or (re-integration) in the formal school classroom. They are critical to ensuring that these children, once in school, remain there, and are able to learn effectively. Programming experience elsewhere points to three main options for reaching disadvantaged, out-of-school children with opportunities to ease their transition back to the formal school system: (a) mainstreaming, providing returning children and working children with special remedial support within the regular classroom context; (b) school-based “catch-up” education, involving separate, intensive courses making use of school facilities; and (c) non-formal “bridging” education, involving intensive non-formal courses designed to raise academic proficiency (Box 5).

**Box 5. Integrating former child labourers and other vulnerable out-of-school children into the formal school system: Policy considerations and international experience**

Programming experience elsewhere points to three main options for reaching disadvantaged, out-of-school children with remedial education to ease their transition back to the formal school system: (a) mainstreaming, providing returning children and working children with special remedial support within the regular classroom context; (b) school-based “catch-up” education, involving separate, intensive courses making use of school facilities; and (c) non-formal “bridging” education, involving intensive non-formal courses designed to raise academic proficiency.

- *Mainstreaming*: Providing returning children with remedial support in the regular classroom is consistent with the principle of mainstreaming disadvantaged children and promoting inclusive education. Depending primarily on existing school facilities and human resources, it is also likely to be most cost-effectiveness and sustainable option. Mainstreaming might be most appropriate for younger, 7-9 year-old returning children, whose remedial learning needs and adjustment difficulties are lesser than their older counterparts. Two potential problems, however, require consideration. The first is teacher capacity. Teachers are not well qualified and many lack training in even basic teaching skills, calling into question their ability to cope with additional children in their classes with substantial remedial learning needs. Placing local teaching assistants in the classroom, may be one way of addressing this concern. The second potential problem is classroom capacity. In contexts in which class sizes are already large, or physical space is limited, it may not be possible to accommodate additional children in existing classes.
- *Extra-curricular “catch-up” education*: These intensive remedial courses, provided prior to, during, or after regular school hours, are designed to lead to qualification to (re)enter regular classes at the age-appropriate grade level. This option provides children with a more gradual introduction into the school environment, and a teacher dedicated exclusively to their learning needs. As such, it may be most appropriate for older, 10-14 year-old returning children, who face a more difficult transition back to formal schooling. Separate courses also help avoid the social stigmatization of older students attending classes with younger ones. In schemes implemented elsewhere, regular teachers have been recruited to run these courses, for a small supplement to the regular income. But school capacity is also an issue here. In circumstances in which schools are already functioning in two shifts, or all classroom space is occupied, there may not be time or physical space to accommodate additional classes of remedial learners. This option would also require specialized training for course instructors, and the development of specialized teaching materials tailored to accelerated learning.
- *Non-formal “bridging” education*: Involves the establishment of non-formal networks of community schools offering intensive courses designed to raise academic proficiency to a level permitting entry into the formal school system. These programs are

useful in hard-to-reach areas lacking formal school facilities and for groups of disadvantaged children (e.g., street children) outside the reach of State structures. But non-formal programs by definition require substantial grassroots-level mobilization and organisation, often making them difficult to scale up and sustain. They also require strong community-school links to be effective; these links remain relatively weak in Zambia, although are being addressed in the context of the broader education reform program. In the absence of a link to the formal education system, non-formal education programs run the danger of evolving into parallel, frequently inferior, education systems for advantaged children, rather than as bridges to the regular classroom.

There are numerous examples of remedial schooling initiatives. Networks of community schools have been established in India and Egypt providing marginalized out-of-school children with learning opportunities and a bridge to the formal system. The India *Janshala* program, a joint Government-UN initiative, serves as a vehicle for mobilizing community involvement in schooling, introducing teaching innovation and meeting learning needs of disadvantaged children. Since its launch in 1998, it has opened more than 2,000 alternative schools, trained 58,000 teachers and established Village Education Committees in 15,000 villages.

The Egypt Community Schools project has played a similar role, providing hard-to-reach rural children, particularly girls, with basic education equivalency allowing them to continue to preparatory school in the formal system. The initial UNICEF-supported project that established 200 community schools during the 1990s has now been incorporated into a national Girls’ Education Initiative aimed at reaching half a million out-of-school girls in Egypt by 2007.

The Basic Education for Hard-to-Reach Urban Children project in Bangladesh is a large-scale alternative education effort specifically targeting working children. Based on an “earn and learn” strategy, the project offers a two-year bridging course to working children at the end of which they receive an equivalency of grade 3 and can be admitted to mainstream education. The course runs two hours per day, six days per week, but timing is flexible in order that children are also able to continue working.

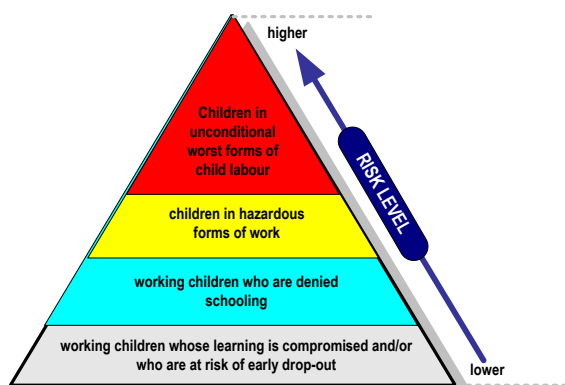
An India Back-to-School pilot program, linked to *Janshala* and administered by the Andhra Pradesh Social Welfare Department, offers bridging courses to school non-entrants and early drop-outs in order to raise their academic proficiency to a level permitting their re-entry into the formal education system. The India *Balsakhi* program, involves the hiring of young local women (“*Balsakhis*”) with the equivalent of a high school education to provide remedial education to disadvantaged or lagging students within the formal school structure.

#### 9.4 Direct action: removal, recovery and reintegration

131. Given the large size of the child labour population and the country’s limited resources, the prioritisation of direct action measures aimed at identifying and withdrawing children from child labour is critical. Direct

action is needed to ensure the removal, recovery and reintegration of working children whose rights are most compromised, i.e., those facing the greatest degree of hazard and/or exploitation. This refers, first and foremost, to children in so-called “unconditional worst forms of child labour” (activities against fundamental human rights) and those in hazardous forms of work (activities compromising children’s safety, health or moral development). Priority hazardous and unconditional worst forms of child labour are identified in the amended Employment of Young Persons and Children Act (2004) and in the draft statutory instrument on hazardous forms released in 2006, providing a starting point for targeting.

Figure 30. Priority target groups for direct action measures



**132. Identification and removal (direct action).** Immediate, direct action is needed to rescue children from unconditional worst forms of child labour and provide them with the support and follow-up needed for their recovery and reintegration. Such action is relevant above all in cases of trafficked children, children subjected to commercial sexual exploitation, and children facing other extreme forms of hazard or exploitation in the workplace. The effective identification and follow-up of these groups depends, first and foremost, on mobilising and capacitating the local State and non-governmental actors that operate closest to where these frequently-hidden forms of child labour occur. The illicit nature of such children’s work makes it normally hidden from the public and as such, identification may involve a component of investigative research to establish. For example, strengthening the investigative capacity of the Victim Support Unit at local police stations to follow-up suspected cases of abuse; and training District Social Welfare officers to recognize local trends likely to perpetuate the worst forms of child labour.

**133. Recovery and reintegration.** Follow-up actions ensuring that rescued children are provided a full range of needed social services (e.g., emergency shelter, needs assessment and referral, medical care, psycho-

social counselling, legal support, family tracing and assessment, post reintegration follow-up, etc.) are also critical. Regulatory frameworks need to define minimum standards of care for former child labourers and other vulnerable children, and to specify the respective roles of the various State and private actors in meeting these care needs. Strengthening the institutional and financial capacity of District Social Welfare offices across the country is also important. The District Social Welfare offices under the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare are mandated to remove children in abusive situations, provide emergency shelter, legal support amongst other measures, but are financially and institutionally limited to do so currently. Increased budget and budget support is needed for setting up the institutional framework for psychosocial training for community development assistants (staff of the District Social Welfare Offices), the provision of state emergency shelter and access to services such as health and education.

**134. Extending and enforcing legal protections relating to so-called “unconditional worst forms of child labour”.** Ratifying the optional protocols to the CRC on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography and on the involvement of children in armed conflict is important, as both a statement of national intent and an impetus to action against these worst forms. Zambia should also ratify the UN convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant workers and their families, the ILO Migration for Employment Convention 1949 and the ILO migrant workers convention 1975, as part of the broader effort against child trafficking. The elimination of the involvement of children in prostitution and child pornography requires the enforcing of penal measures, such as lengthy prison terms to stop those who profit from the use of children and those that use children in such ways or try to lure them into such practices. Punitive measures to stop child sexual exploitation should also punish parents and guardians who are found to encourage child prostitution or are complicit by benefiting in any way from it. Stiffer measures should be enforceable for those found to sell or give their children or wards over in to slavery or slave like conditions and those that are involved in the trafficking of children.

**135. Targeting agriculture sector work.** The child labour survey report for Zambia (CSO & ILO, 2005) indicates that most children’s work is in the agricultural sector, with the majority of children working in the rural areas of Zambia participating in this work. A baseline survey on children in agriculture carried out by ILO/IPEC (2002) indicates that most children working in agriculture carry out hazardous work and not light occasional work. This work involves ploughing, weeding, application of fertilizer and harvesting with children working long hours and using tools and chemicals likely to cause physical harm. During the agricultural season that normally last from November to March children’s attendance in school is poor. This evidence, taken together, points to the need for specific policy and legislative measures targeting child labourers in the agriculture sector.

- *Extending legislative protection.* The Employment of Young Persons and Children Act (C 274) limits children's work that affects their ability to attend school, but does not make specific reference to children's work in agriculture. As most instances of child labour are in agriculture, it would be advisable to set legal limits on this work through an amendment to Employment of Young Persons and Children Act. This amendment would be aimed at setting restrictions on what kind of light agricultural work children can carry out, the ages they can carry it out and limits to the length of time they spend on this work. One possibility in this context would be to limit agriculture work to those over the age of 16 years, the same as the age at which one can work in industrial undertakings. In addition, the draft Statutory Instrument on the Employment of Young Persons and Children of 2005 should be signed in order to implement protective measures for children who are likely to enter agricultural work.
- *Promoting alternative agriculture technologies.* Research efforts are needed to identify safer, cheaper less labour-intensive ways in farming to reduce the demand for child labour in agriculture. These efforts would in turn require the creation of a research fund on labour practices in the country for the interim. Such a research fund could fall under the Zambia Institute for Policy and Research, a think-tank that could effectively work as an inter-ministerial research foundation addressing child labour and labour practices in the country in general.
- *Promoting awareness.* Public education campaigns in rural and urban areas concerning the damaging and hazardous nature of child labour in agricultural work; this is particularly important as indications show that urban dwellers are using child 'piece-workers' to work on their peri-urban and rural farms.
- *Identification and removal.* Withdrawing children working in hazardous conditions in agriculture from this kind of work. The identification of children working in agriculture can be done at community level through child labour committees. From then on, children should be withdrawn and referred to educational authorities, social welfare and labour officers for appropriate action to be taken. This needs the establishment of a formal child labour referral system.
- *Extending enforcement.* Limit the ability of children under the age of 16 to contract agricultural work by penalizing the employer of children. In the case of children working in family undertakings, stopping the parents/ guardians from using children in this work and using labour inspectors, community development assistants and traditional authorities if need be to ensure that the practice is stopped.

## 9.5 Creating an enabling environment for progress against child labour

136. Achieving sustainable reductions in child labour also requires political commitment, an appropriate legal and regulatory framework, functioning coordinating structures, capable institutions and a mobilised society, i.e., an enabling environment.

137. **Awareness-raising.** Public awareness about what constitutes child labour and its cost to children and society remains limited in Zambia. Addressing this obstacle in a context where the majority of households rely on the informal and/or subsistence economy is a challenge. This underscores need for expanded communication efforts on the negative effects of child labour and the benefits of schooling as part of an overall strategy against child labour. Communication efforts need to take place at both national and local levels, and involve a wide variety of communication vehicles. Public information on the situation of child labour in the country, for example, should be part of all Labour Day celebrations, and be included in press briefings and in the outreach work of local Child Labour Committees. Baseline information on local knowledge and cultural attitudes towards child labour is needed to tailor communication messages, and to evaluate changes in awareness and attitudes following communication efforts.

138. The urgent need to address unconditional worst forms of child labour, including human trafficking and child commercial sexual exploitation, should be a particular focus of communication efforts. Providing information on national child labour legislation, presented in terms that are understandable to the populations and communities concerned, is another communication priority. Communication efforts should also promote the importance of play in children's lives and the role that parents and guardians should play to facilitate this. A cultural tendency that fosters child labour is the notion that children's work is more important for their socialization than play. Related to this, there is a need to educate families on what are acceptable domestic chores for children and what are not. While doing light chores around the house is important for the socialization of children, this research shows that children are working very long hours in the home and have little time for rest, study or leisure.

139. **Social mobilisation.** Building on efforts being undertaken with support from ILO-IPEC, UNICEF and other groups, religious organizations, educational institutions, teachers' organizations, NGOs, the mass media, community-based organizations, trade unions, employers' organizations and numerous other groups need to be actively engaged in addressing child labour. Care providers in direct contact with children, including teachers and health workers, are in an especially good position to identify and refer child labourers, and therefore constitute particularly important allies in protecting children from child labour. Initiatives such as community-based child protection networks provide useful vehicles for bringing together a wide variety of stakeholders to combat child labour.

**140. Institution-strengthening.** Strengthening institutional capacity at all levels of Government is needed for continued progress towards child labour reduction goals in many national contexts. While national plans of action, PRSPs and other development plans provide solid bases for action, these frameworks are unlikely to be implemented effectively in the face of capacity constraints. Institutions require strengthening in a number of areas, including using data for strategic planning, policy and programme design, programme monitoring and evaluation, programme coordination, and the mainstreaming of child labour in broader development plans and programmes.

**141. Improving co-ordination and information-sharing.** As child labour is a cross-sectoral issue, requiring close collaboration across a range of Government bodies, the clear delineation of roles, and the strengthening of coordination and information-sharing, will also be critical to the effective functioning of Government institutions and their social partners in efforts combating child labour. Assistance in the child labour field is often highly fragmented, with a large number of actors operating with little or no coordination or linkages. This leads to overlaps in assistance in some areas and to gaps in assistance in other priority areas. The starting point for improved co-ordination is a detailed mapping of current efforts in the area of child labour, and the establishment of a system for monitoring assistance on the basis of this mapping. Strengthen the existing national steering committee on child labour to create an effective inter-ministerial framework ensuring the participation of the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Labour and Social Security, the Ministry of Community Development and Social Welfare, the Ministry of Youth Sport and Child Development and the Ministry of Health and other line ministries to be able to implement the above policies.

**142. Strengthening information for policy design and targeting.** Despite recent national household surveys, important information gaps remain in the area of child labour, affecting understanding of the phenomenon and the ability of policy-makers to address it. Foremost among these gaps is child labour in the agriculture sector. More than 90 percent of the 1.2 million children that are working in Zambia are working in the agriculture sector, but little is known about the characteristics of children's agricultural work, its degree of hazardousness, or the extent to which it interferes with schooling. Other information gaps include:

- *Involvement in hazardous work.* The standard 3-digit industrial and occupational classifications used in ZFLS 2005 and other child labour surveys do not match the national list of hazardous sectors, meaning that only a very partial estimate of children's involvement in hazardous forms is currently possible. This, in turn, complicates the setting of clear time-bound child labour reduction targets for the elimination of worst forms. Generating reliable quantitative data on hazardous forms is therefore an urgent priority.



- *Involvement in unconditional worst forms.* Information about children involved in unconditional worst forms of child labour is very scarce. The reports and sources cited above are able to provide only an initial, partial picture of the extent and nature of children's involvement in unconditional worst forms in Zambia. Further, targeted research utilising specialised survey instruments is needed in order to generate more complete information on this highest-priority group of child labourers.
- *Programme impact.* Very few of the array of current programmes relating to child labour have been systematically evaluated, making it difficult to draw policy lessons from these experiences or to identify programmatic approaches meriting broad scale replication. The impact and potential of child transfers on children's work and schooling is one particular information requirement in this context. Better information is needed in order to identify the transfer scheme design best suitable for the Zambian reality (contingent, not contingent, targeting mechanism, etc.).

143. More broadly, there is a need for a system of regular monitoring of national progress towards child labour elimination targets. Currently, statistical information on child labour is not collected or, particularly, analyzed, in a systematic fashion, making it difficult to compare estimates or assess trends across time. Such a system could be established by integrating the defined set of core child labour intervals into on-going labour force and/or living conditions surveys at regular intervals.

144. **Strengthening legal protection.** Strengthening laws dealing with child labour is important as both a statement of national intent and as an impetus to action. As noted above, Zambia has not yet ratified the optional protocols to the CRC on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography and on the involvement of children in armed conflict, or the UN convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant workers and their families, the ILO Migration for Employment Convention 1949 and the ILO migrant workers convention 1975.

145. There also remain a number of important gaps in national legislation pertaining to child labour. There is a need for legislation, *inter alia*, explicitly stating that no person under the age of 18 can be employed to do domestic work in any place other than domestic chores in their own home. There is also a need for legislation concerning what children can and cannot do in terms of household chores in their own homes. One possibility in this context would be to legally limit household chores for children below 16 years of age to no more than 14 hours per week, outside school hours and not between the hours of 1900 and 0500. This limitation would apply to all domestic activity such as water collection, cleaning, cooking and gardening. As discussed above, there is also need for an amendment to the Employment of Children and Young Person's Act setting restrictions on

what kind of light agricultural work children can carry out, the ages they can carry it out and limits to the length of time they spend on this work.

**146. Monitoring of child labour laws:** There is a need to strengthen the State's ability to monitor workplaces for compliance with child labour laws, starting with the priority hazardous sectors specified by governments upon ratification of ILO Convention No. 182. Institutions such as the Labour Office, Victim Support Unit, District Social Welfare Offices and related personnel such as labour officers, police officers and community development assistants should be made aware of their role as monitors and enforcers of the law on child labour. Numerous other measures are also relevant in this context: (a) training inspectors on child labour laws and on workplace inspection for occupational health and safety (OHS) purposes; (b) developing implementation guidelines for child labour laws for use by inspectors and other enforcement bodies; (c) strengthening business registration and licensing systems and extending them to informal enterprises; and (d) introducing requirements relating to validation/authentication of workers' ages as part of licensing criteria.

**147.** Validation of workers' ages will in turn require a major extension of birth registration in Zambia. Some estimates suggest that as few as 30 percent of births are registered in Zambia (UNESCO 1988), owing in part to the current centralized system of birth registration (based in Lusaka), meaning that employers have no means of verifying their workers' ages. The involvement of health centres, schools and traditional birth attendants at the local level is needed to ensure that newborn children and schoolchildren are registered.

**148.** But given the extent of child labour and the limited resources of many labour inspectorates, the formal inspection system alone is unlikely to be effective in protecting children from workplace violations in many national contexts, even with more training and a clearer legal framework. There is therefore also a need for labour inspectors to join hands with other organizations (e.g., employers' organizations, social workers, local community organizations) to form broad-based child labour monitoring systems at the local level. Replicating ILO-IPEC-supported pilot community monitoring programmes is one possible vehicle for achieving this.

## ANNEX: DETAILED EMPIRICAL RESULTS

*Table A1.* Child activity status, 7-14 years age group, by province, 2005 reference year

Activity status	Central		Copperbelt		Eastern		Luapula		Lusaka		Northern		Northwestern		Southern		Western	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Economic activity exclusively	32,912	11,4	6,101	1,5	80,150	24,4	19,234	9,7	15,213	4,7	67,574	20,1	25,274	17	51,845	15,2	19,711	10,6
School exclusively	107,007	37,2	356,349	87,3	41,768	12,7	67,887	34,2	229,791	71,2	46,578	13,8	31,569	21,2	80,905	23,7	68,451	36,9
Both activities	125,553	43,6	5,506	1,3	172,747	52,6	72,203	36,4	13,475	4,2	199,176	59,2	77,790	52,3	178,350	52,1	63,958	34,4
Neither activity	22,310	7,8	40,054	9,8	34,004	10,3	39265	19,8	64,371	19,9	23,142	6,9	14,215	9,6	30,944	9	33,535	18,1
<b>Total eco. active<sup>(a)</sup></b>	<b>158,465</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>11,607</b>	<b>2,8</b>	<b>252,897</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>91,437</b>	<b>46,1</b>	<b>28,688</b>	<b>8,9</b>	<b>266,750</b>	<b>79,3</b>	<b>103,064</b>	<b>69,3</b>	<b>230,195</b>	<b>67,3</b>	<b>83,669</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Total school<sup>(b)</sup></b>	<b>232,560</b>	<b>80,8</b>	<b>361,855</b>	<b>88,6</b>	<b>214,515</b>	<b>65,3</b>	<b>140,090</b>	<b>70,6</b>	<b>243,266</b>	<b>75,4</b>	<b>245,754</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>109,359</b>	<b>73,5</b>	<b>259,255</b>	<b>75,8</b>	<b>132,409</b>	<b>71,3</b>

Notes: (a) Refers to all children in economic activity, regardless of school status; (b) Refers to all children attending school, regardless of work status.

Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

*Table A2.* Child activity status, 15-17 years age group, by province, 2005 reference year

Activity status	Central		Copperbelt		Eastern		Luapula		Lusaka		Northern		Northwestern		Southern		Western	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Economic activity exclusively	14,117	17,6	12,042	8,3	30,710	38,2	18,435	31,2	18,646	15,7	18,132	17,5	13,171	29,8	27,520	28,3	14,897	27
School exclusively	23,510	29,3	114,806	79,2	4,883	6,1	9,220	15,6	71,885	60,3	12,624	12,2	6,633	15	18,111	18,6	14,169	25,7
Both activities	36,296	45,3	3,447	2,4	44,145	54,9	28,050	47,4	10,038	8,4	70,760	68,4	22,796	51,6	47,190	48,6	23,635	42,9
Neither activity	6,279	7,8	14,633	10,1	634	0,8	3,461	5,8	18,572	15,6	1,891	1,8	1,564	3,5	4,364	4,5	24,55	4,5
<b>Total eco. active<sup>(a)</sup></b>	<b>50,413</b>	<b>62,9</b>	<b>15,489</b>	<b>10,7</b>	<b>74,855</b>	<b>93,1</b>	<b>46,485</b>	<b>78,6</b>	<b>28,684</b>	<b>24,1</b>	<b>88,892</b>	<b>85,9</b>	<b>35,967</b>	<b>81,4</b>	<b>74,710</b>	<b>76,9</b>	<b>38,532</b>	<b>69,9</b>
<b>Total school<sup>(b)</sup></b>	<b>59,806</b>	<b>74,6</b>	<b>118,253</b>	<b>81,6</b>	<b>49,028</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>37,270</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>81,923</b>	<b>68,7</b>	<b>83,384</b>	<b>80,6</b>	<b>29,429</b>	<b>66,6</b>	<b>65,301</b>	<b>67,2</b>	<b>37,804</b>	<b>68,6</b>

Notes: (a) Refers to all children in economic activity, regardless of school status; (b) Refers to all children attending school, regardless of work status.

Source: UCW calculation based on Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005

