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*Trends in children's employment and child labour in the
Latin America and Caribbean region*

Country report for Mexico

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As part of broader efforts towards 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) project in December 2000. The project 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 project 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 project website at www.ucw-project.org.

This paper is part of the research carried out within UCW (Understanding Children's Work), a joint ILO, World Bank and UNICEF project. The views expressed here are those of the authors' and should not be attributed to the ILO, the World Bank, UNICEF or any of these agencies' member countries.

*Trends in children's employment and child labour in
the Latin America and Caribbean region*

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Abstract

The current country brief is part of a broader effort to improve understanding of how child labour is changing in the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) region over recent years, and to ensure that policies relating to child labour adequately reflect these changes.

Building on data from the ENIGH surveys from 1992 to 2006 and ENOE 2007, the country brief provides an overview of the child labour phenomenon in Mexico. Particular attention is given to the links between child labour and schooling.

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1. NATIONAL CONTEXT: FACTORS UNDERLYING THE CHILD LABOUR PHENOMENON IN MEXICO



1. Mexico is located in the northern part of the America continent. Mexican territory covers 1,964,375 km², of which 1,959,248 km² are continental and 5,127 km² insular. Mexico is bounded to the north by the U.S.A., to the south by Guatemala and Belize and to the east by the Gulf of Mexico (Atlantic sea) and west by the Pacific sea.

2. More than 65% of the country's territory is over a thousand meters above sea level, and nearly 47% of its territory has slopes steeper than 27%, a factor that illustrates the irregular relief of Mexican territory.

3. Mexico is a creditworthy middle-income country (the second-largest economy in Latin America) with a strong ownership of its development strategy¹.

4. A devaluation of the peso in late 1994 threw Mexico into economic turmoil, triggering the worst recession in over half a century. Macroeconomic policy has focused on fiscal balance, active public debt management, monetary policy based on inflation targeting and a flexible exchange rate. Stability has been secured with only one significant slowdown (2001-2002), since the crisis of the mid 1990s and a steady decline in inflation. Today, the country enjoys a more open economic and political system, and is more integrated into the world economy. Current macroeconomic policies are consistent and sustainable.²

5. Mexico has managed to achieve moderate average growth per year in per capita incomes from 1996 to 2005. GDP growth averaged 3.8 percent annually between 2004 and 2007. Aided by higher than budgeted oil revenues, the federal government has kept the fiscal deficit within its annual budget targets and in line with its medium-term fiscal goals. Steady economic performance and responsiveness to poverty concerns have contributed to rising income levels and overall lower poverty, but poverty rates remain high, as does income inequality.³ More recently, economic

¹ International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Country Partnership Strategy Progress Report of the World Bank Group for the United Mexican States for the period FY05-08

² United Mexican States Country partnership strategy 2008-2013, The World Bank, 2008

³ International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Country Partnership Strategy Progress Report of the World Bank Group for the United Mexican States for the period FY05-08

growth contracted as external demand drops and external credit conditions remain tight.⁴

6. The economy contains rapidly developing modern industrial and service sectors, with increasing private ownership. Recent administrations have expanded competition in ports, railroads, telecommunications, electricity generation, natural gas distribution and airports, with the aim of upgrading infrastructure.

7. As an export-oriented economy, more than 90% of Mexican trade is under free trade agreements (FTAs) with more than 40 countries. The most influential FTA is the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which came into effect in 1994, and was signed in 1992 by the governments of the United States, Canada and Mexico⁵.

8. To some extent, economic and social outcomes have placed Mexico persistently entrenched between two worlds: the less developed world and the high income members of OECD. Average income levels and social indicators consistently reveal this pattern. More accelerated long-run growth will be needed to break this pattern, but this will require improved competitiveness through lowering barriers to business investment, improved infrastructure, expanded financial sector and faster human accumulation⁶.

9. Moreover, there are two worlds within Mexico. Income per capita northern states is closer to the income per capita of the American South than to the income per capita of the Mexican south. Social outcomes, access to public services and the quality of services also reveal a similar geographical pattern. This is exacerbated by sharp differences across ethnic groups as well⁷.

10. Poverty in Mexico has decreased since overcoming the effects of a financial crisis in the mid-1990s, when poverty peaked at 70 percent. Poverty has subsequently fallen, but national and rural poverty rates did not recover to pre-crisis levels until 2002. Overall poverty rates remain high, with almost 45 million Mexicans living in poverty and with persistent and substantial differences across regions and ethnic groups.

11. Inequality is still high and approximates the Latin American average. Forty percent of total income is concentrated in the top decile of income earners, while the poorest decile generates only around one percent of total

⁴ The World Bank, Mexico Country Brief, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/LACEXT/MEXICOEXTN/0,,menuPK:338407~pagePK:141132~piPK:141107~theSitePK:338397,00.html>

⁵ United Mexican States Country partnership strategy 2008-2013, The World Bank, 2008

⁶ United Mexican States Country partnership strategy 2008-2013, The World Bank, 2008

⁷ United Mexican States Country partnership strategy 2008-2013, The World Bank, 2008

national income. Inequality in Mexico has been attributing to a number of factors including education and insufficient internal competition.⁸

12. Yet, and not detracting from these achievements but rather pointing to the long-term nature of development, there is still a substantial agenda, including poverty reduction, improved competitiveness, environmental management and institutional change⁹.

⁸ International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Country Partnership Strategy Progress Report of the World Bank Group for the United Mexican States for the period FY05-08

⁹ International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Country Partnership Strategy Progress Report of the World Bank Group for the United Mexican States for the period FY05-08

Table 1. Mexico: selected socio-economic indicators

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Human Development Index (HDI) ^(a)	0.77					0.79					0.81					0.83	
Population growth (annual %)	1.89	1.87	1.84	1.82	1.79	1.77	1.55	1.45	1.40	1.39	1.42	1.04	1.01	1.01	1.01	1.01	1.09
Population, total (thousands)	83,226	84,793	86,369	87,954	89,546	91,145	92,571	93,926	95,251	96,584	97,966	98,994	100,002	101,021	102,050	103,089	104,221
Population ages 0-14 (% of total)	38.63	38.00	37.42	36.87	36.33	35.79	35.24	34.69	34.15	33.63	33.13	32.66	32.20	31.74	31.26	30.76	30.22
Population ages 15-64 (% of total)	57.13	57.67	58.17	58.63	59.08	59.53	59.98	60.43	60.87	61.28	61.67	62.03	62.37	62.70	63.05	63.41	63.80
Population ages 65 and above (% of total)	4.24	4.33	4.41	4.50	4.59	4.68	4.78	4.88	4.98	5.09	5.20	5.31	5.43	5.56	5.69	5.83	5.98
Poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line (% of population)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24.20	..	20.30	..	17.60	..	..
Poverty headcount ratio at rural poverty line (% of rural population)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	42.40	..	34.80	..	27.90	..	..
Poverty headcount ratio at urban poverty line (% of urban population)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12.60	..	11.40	..	11.30	..	..
GINI index	..	..	51.06	..	..	..	48.54	..	48.99	..	51.87	..	49.68	..	46.05	..	..
Improved sanitation facilities (% of population with access)	58.00	..	..	..	..	67.00	..	..	..	..	75.00	..	..	..	79.00	..	..
Improved sanitation facilities, rural (% of rural population with access)	13.00	..	..	..	..	25.00	..	..	..	..	37.00	..	..	..	41.00	..	..
Improved sanitation facilities, urban (% of urban population with access)	75.00	..	..	..	..	82.00	..	..	..	..	88.00	..	..	..	91.00	..	..
Improved water source (% of population with access)	82.00	..	..	..	..	87.00	..	..	..	..	93.00	..	..	..	97.00	..	..
Improved water source, rural (% of rural population with access)	64.00	..	..	..	..	72.00	..	..	..	..	80.00	..	..	..	87.00	..	..
Improved water source, urban (% of urban population with access)	89.00	..	..	..	..	93.00	..	..	..	..	97.00	..	..	..	100.00	..	..
Mortality rate, under-5 (per 1,000)	52.60	..	..	..	..	45.00	..	..	..	..	38.70	..	..	..	..	35.80	35.25

Table 1.Cont'd

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
GDP growth (annual %)	5.07	4.22	3.63	1.95	4.46	-6.22	5.14	6.78	4.91	3.87	6.60	-0.16	0.83	1.35	4.18	2.80	4.77
GDP per capita (constant 2000 US\$)	4966.3	5080.3	5168.6	5174.5	5309.1	4891.6	5063.8	5328.9	5512.6	5647.1	5935.0	5864.1	5853.0	5872.3	6055.9	6162.8	6386.7
GDP per capita growth (annual %)	3.10	2.30	1.74	0.11	2.60	-7.86	3.52	5.23	3.45	2.44	5.10	-1.19	-0.19	0.33	3.13	1.77	3.63
Employment in agriculture (% of total employment)	22.60	26.80	..	26.90	..	23.80	22.00	23.70	18.80	19.40	17.60	17.60	17.60	16.40	16.10	15.10	..
Employment in industry (% of total employment)	27.80	23.10	..	22.00	..	21.50	22.60	22.40	24.90	25.70	26.90	26.00	24.90	24.90	24.80	25.70	..
Employment in services (% of total employment)	39.60	49.50	..	50.40	..	54.20	54.90	53.60	55.90	54.50	55.10	56.00	57.20	58.30	58.60	58.60	..

Source: where not otherwise specified, the primary source is World Development Indicators, (2008), The World Bank

(a) UNDP, http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/data_sheets/cty_ds_MEX.html

2. EXTENT AND NATURE OF CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT

13. Children's involvement in employment¹ is not uncommon in Mexico. According to ENOE² 2007, an estimated 8.3 percent of children aged 7-14 years, about 1.5 million children in absolute terms, were engaged in some form of employment in 2007. At the same time, school attendance was very high – 96 percent of children from the 7-14 years age group attended school in 2007. Children's employment rises with age. About 31 percent of children aged 15-17 years, some 2.1 million children in absolute terms, were in employment.

14. A comparison with estimates from earlier rounds of the same survey programme (*ENIGH*) and the ENOE-MTI 2007 points to a slight fall in children's employment since 1998, when 16 percent of 12-14 year-olds (1.1 million children in absolute terms) were in employment, compared with an estimated 14 percent of 12-14 year-olds in 2007. However, this overall downward trend masks a reversal in progress against children's employment during the 2005 to 2007 period. Children's employment trends are discussed in details in section 3 of this report.

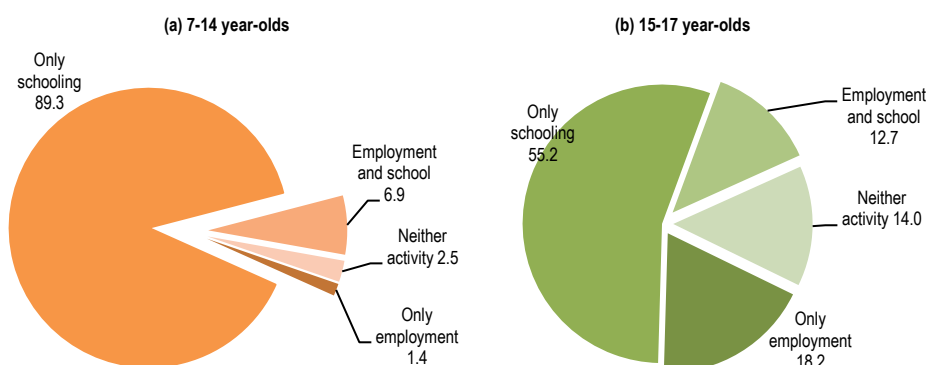
15. Disaggregating the child population into four non-overlapping activity groups – children only in employment, children only attending school, children combining school and employment, and children in neither – offers an initial view of how children's employment interacts with their schooling (Figure 1). This disaggregation shows that 89 percent of 7-14 year-olds attended school unencumbered by work responsibilities, while about seven percent were combining employment and school in 2007. Only one percent of all 7-14 year-olds were in employment without also attending school. A small residual group of children (three percent of 7-14 year-olds) reported neither being in employment nor attending school. Activity patterns differed somewhat for older, 15-17 year-old children – more were in employment only and fewer were in school only.³

¹ *Children in employment, or children's employment*, is a broad concept covering all market production and certain types of non-market production (principally the production of goods for own use). It includes forms of work in both the formal and informal sectors, as well as forms of work both inside and outside family settings. Involvement in employment for at least one hour during the reference period (usually the week preceding the survey) is sufficient for a child to be classified as employed. This definition does not, however, include unpaid domestic and personal services performed in a child's own household (e.g., cleaning, preparing meals, care of other household members and other household chores).

² Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo (ENOE), 2007. The module on children's employment (MTI 2007) was attached to the IV trimester of the ENOE 2007.

³ Additional descriptive statistics are provided in the Appendix.

Figure 1. Distribution of children by activity category, 7-14 years and 15-17 years age groups



Source: UCW calculations based on Mexico ENOE-MTI, 2007

16. Aggregate estimates of children's activities mask important differences by residence, age and sex (Table 2 and Table 3). Children's employment is overwhelmingly a rural sector phenomenon. The percentage of children in employment who live in less urbanized areas is more than double of that of children living in more urbanized areas. Boys are more likely than girls to be in employment, and the gender gap increases with age. Older children are more likely than their younger counterparts to be in employment. Moreover, as the age of children increases, the percentage of children neither working nor studying increases, especially for girls (Table 2 and Table 3). This can be partly due to the higher involvement of girls in household chores. According to the ENOE 2007, almost 98 percent of females aged 15-17 neither working nor studying declared carrying out household chores.

Table 2. Child activity status, by sex and residence, 7-14 age group

Background characteristics	Mutually exclusive activity categories				Total in employment ^(a)	Total in school ^(b)	
	Only Employment	Only Schooling	Employment and schooling	Neither activity			
Sex	Male	2.1	87.1	8.8	2.1	10.9	95.9
	Female	0.7	91.5	4.9	2.9	5.6	96.4
Residence	More urbanized	0.6	93.8	4.0	1.6	4.6	97.8
	Less urbanized	2.1	85.7	9.1	3.2	11.2	94.8
Total 7-14	1.4	89.3	6.9	2.5	8.3	96.1	

Notes: (a) Involvement in employment regardless of schooling status; (b) Involvement in schooling regardless of employment status.

Source: UCW calculations based on Mexico ENOE-MTI, 2007

Table 3. Child activity status, by sex and residence, 15-17 age group

Background characteristics		Mutually exclusive activity categories				Total in employment ^(a)	Total in school ^(b)
		Only Employment	Only Schooling	Employment and schooling	Neither activity		
Sex	Male	25.4	50.7	15.9	7.9	41.3	66.7
	Female	11.0	59.6	9.4	20.0	20.4	69.0
Residence	More urbanized	12.4	65.5	10.9	11.2	23.3	76.5
	Less urbanized	23.3	46.3	14.1	16.4	37.4	60.4
Total 15-17		18.2	55.2	12.7	14.0	30.9	67.8

Notes: (a) Involvement in employment regardless of schooling status; (b) Involvement in schooling regardless of employment status.

Source: UCW calculations based on Mexico ENOE-MTI, 2007

17. The majority of children in employment work for their family as unpaid labour (63 percent of 7-14 year olds children). A further one-third of children in employment are in wage employment and the remainder work in other non-family activities, primarily self-employment (Table 4). By sector, agriculture accounts for the largest proportion of children in employment – 37 percent – against 28 percent in commerce, 20 percent in services and about eleven percent in manufacturing. Variations by residence and sex in the composition of children's employment are large. Agriculture not surprisingly predominates in less urbanised areas, while work in services, commerce and manufacturing are more relevant in urban areas. Girls are more likely than boys to work in services, manufacturing and commerce, and less likely to be in agriculture.

Table 4. Sector and modality of child economic activity, by sex and residence, 7-14 age group

Characteristics		Sector					Modality		
		Agriculture	Manufact.	Commerce	Services	Other	Wage	Self	Unpaid
Sex	Male	46.6	9.2	21.7	17.3	5.4	35.0	2.9	62.2
	Female	16.9	13.9	41.6	26.0	1.6	31.5	4.6	63.9
Residence	More urbanized	1.2	11.6	47.5	33.5	6.2	50.1	5.3	44.6
	Less urbanized	48.1	10.5	22.1	15.9	3.4	28.5	2.9	68.6
Total 7-14		36.7	10.8	28.3	20.2	4.1	33.8	3.5	62.7

Source: UCW calculations based on Mexico ENOE-MTI, 2007

18. Children aged 7-14 years in employment log an average of over 17 working hours each week (Table 5). Working hours are strongly negatively correlated with school attendance – children in employment only put in about three times more hours each week than children combining employment and school. Time intensity does not vary across the place of residence. There is a large gap in weekly working hours between male and female children involved only in employment. Male children in this group put in an average of about eight additional hours per week than female children.

Table 5. Average weekly working hours by sex and residence, 7-14 age group

Characteristics		Employment	Only employment	Employment and schooling
Sex	Male	18.3	37.9	13.7
	Female	15.5	29.7	13.4
Residence	More urbanized	16.5	39.4	13.1
	Less urbanized	17.7	35.0	13.8
Total 7-14		17.4	35.8	13.6

Source: UCW calculations based on Mexico ENOE-MTI, 2007

19. Before concluding the discussion of children's employment in 2007, it is worth addressing one final question: the extent to which this work constitutes "child labour" for elimination in accordance with international legal standards.⁴ This question is critical for the purposes of prioritising and targeting policy responses to working children.

Table 6. Child labour legislative framework: Ratified conventions relating to child labour

CONVENTION	Ratification
The Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) ^(a)	no
The worst forms of child labour Convention (No. 182) ^(a)	30/06/2000
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) ^(b)	1990

Sources: (a) International Labour Organization (ILO), <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex>

(b) UNICEF, http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=IV-11&chapter=4&lang=en

20. Estimates of child labour are presented below based on the international legal standards and the new global guidelines for child labour measurement, and applying the general minimum working age specified by Mexico as reported in the Constitutional Article 123 (A)(III). The child labour definition constructed on this basis consists of (i) children in employment below the age of 14 years; and (ii) children aged 14-17 years in hazardous forms of employment.⁵ Hazardous forms, in turn, consist of work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children, as set out in Article 3, subparagraph (1) of ILO Convention No. 138. For the scope of this report, child labour is approximated as children in employment below the minimum working age, and children in hazardous work. Involvement in hazardous work is

⁴ Child labour is a narrower concept than children in employment. 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. 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.

⁵ The two categories derive specifically from ILO Convention No. 138, which stipulates that the minimum age for admission to employment or work should not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and, in any case, not less than 15 years (Art. 2), and that children in the age group 15 (or the national minimum age for employment, if different) to 17 years are, in principle, allowed to work, unless they are in "any type of work which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to jeopardize the health, safety or morals of young persons" (Article 3).

estimated on the basis of the hazardous industries⁶, occupations⁷ and conditions⁸ utilised in the ILO global child labour estimates.

21. A number of qualifications should be kept in mind in interpreting the child labour estimates calculated in this manner. First, the estimates do not include hazardous household chores, despite the fact that the Resolution II of the 18th International Conference of Child Labour Statisticians leaves to the Governments the option of including them in the child labour estimates,⁹ due to data limitations. Second, they do not include children in worst forms other than hazardous,¹⁰ again due to a lack of data. Third and most importantly, sector-specific provisions (if any) concerning minimum working age and hazardous work are not taken into account in the estimates. For these reasons, the estimates do not capture the entire population of child labourers in the country and nor do they strictly coincide with the legal definition of child labour in Mexico. Nonetheless, they provide a useful benchmark for international comparative and monitoring purposes.

22. Child labour measured on this basis is common in Mexico. Over 1.1 million of children below the age of 14 years are in employment, and an

⁶ Hazardous industries consist of: (1) mining; (2) quarrying; and (3) construction.

⁷ Hazardous occupations consist of: (1) optical and elect equip operators; (2) health associated professional; (3) nursing midwife; (4) protective services; (5) forestry and related workers; (6) fishery, hunters and trappers; (7) miners, shot fires, stone cutters and carvers; (8) building frame and related workers; (9) building finishers; (10) metal moulders, welders, and related workers; (11) blacksmith, tool makers and related workers; (12) machinery mechanics and fitters; (13) electrical and electronic equip mechanics and fitters; (14) precision workers in metal; (15) potters, glass makers and related workers; (16) mining & mineral processing plant operators; (17) metal processing plant op.; (18) glass, ceramics and related plant op.; (19) wood processing & papermaking plant op.; (20) chemical processing plant op.; (21) power production and related plan operators; (22) metal & mineral machine operators; (23) chemical machine operators; (24) rubber mach. op.; (25) wood products mach. op.; (26) textile, fur, leather mach. op.; (27) food mach. op.; (28) assemblers; (29) other mach. op.; (30) motor vehicle driver; (31) agric and other mobile plant op.; (32) ships' deck crew and related workers; (33) street vendors & related workers; (34) shoe cleaning other street services; (35) messengers, porters, doorkeepers, & related workers; (36) garbage collectors & related workers; (37) agric. fishery and related workers; (38) mining and construction labourers; and (39) transport and freight handlers.

⁸ Hazardous conditions consist of work exceeding 43 hours per week. It is worth mentioning that these estimates do not take into account different exposure to risks at the workplace.

⁹ Global guidelines for child labour statistics are set out in Resolution II (2008) of the Eighteenth International Conference of Child Labour Statisticians (ICLS). The resolution states that child labour may be measured in terms of the engagement of children in productive activities either on the basis of the general production boundary or on the basis of the SNA production boundary. The former includes unpaid household services (i.e., household chores) while the latter excludes it. When the general production boundary is used as the basis for measuring child labour, the resolution recommends classifying those performing hazardous unpaid household services as part of the group of child labourers for measurement purposes. (For further details, see: Resolution II, Resolution Concerning Statistics of Child Labour, as cited in: International Labour Organization, *Report of the Conference, 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians, Geneva, 24 November–5 December 2008. Resolution II. Rpt. ICLS/18/2008/IV/FINAL*, International Labour Office, Geneva, 2009).

¹⁰ Worst forms other than hazardous refer relate 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.

additional 1,2 million (14-17 year-old) children are in hazardous forms of work or are working excessive hours. Putting these groups together yields an estimate of 2,3 million children aged 5-17 years in child labour, 8 percent of this age group (Table 7).

Table 7. Child labour indicators, by age group, sex and residence, 5-17 age group

		Children in employment		Children in hazardous work		Children in Child Labour	
		Age 5-13		Age 14-17		Age 5-17	
		No.	% of total age group	No.	% of total age group	No.	% of total age group
Sex	Male	744,488	7.3	919,441	20.0	1,663,929	11.3
	Female	368,992	3.7	333,095	7.3	702,087	4.8
Area	More Urbanized	266,819	3.0	470,331	11.3	737,150	5.7
	Less Urbanized	846,661	7.5	782,205	15.6	1,628,866	10.0
Total		1,113,480	5.6	1,252,536	13.6	2,366,016	8.1

Source: UCW calculations based on Mexico ENOE-MTI, 2007

23. Table 7 shows that children's involvement in child labour is largely a rural phenomenon. Children living in cities and towns are considerably less likely than their rural counterparts to engage in work which constitutes child labour. Gender plays an important role in the child labour phenomenon in Mexico. Differences by sex in children involvement are already large among 5-13 year-olds, but emerge more clearly among 14-17 year-olds. Indeed, boys in the latter age group are about three times more likely than their female counterparts to be involved in hazardous forms of work (20 percent versus 7 percent).

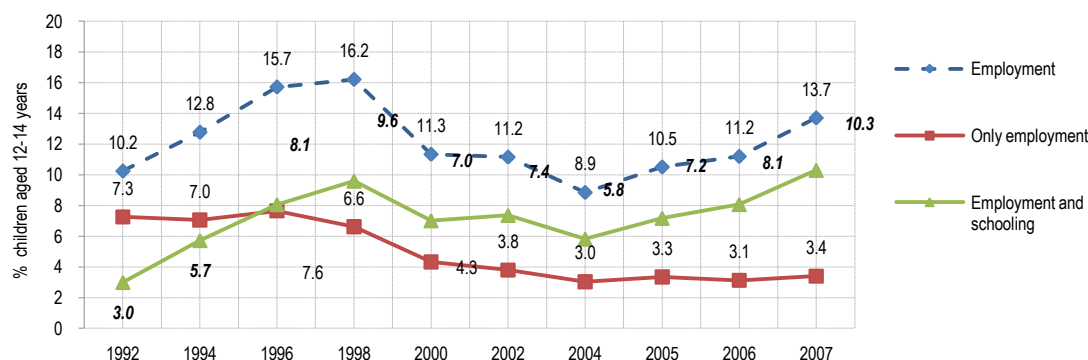
3. TRENDS IN CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOLING

3.1 Changes in the levels of children's employment and schooling

24. A comparison of the results of ENIGH surveys from 1992 to 2006 and ENOE 2007 indicates three distinct periods in terms of progress against children's employment among 12-14 year-olds.¹¹ The first period, from 1992 to 1998, saw an increase of children in employment of almost six percentage points, from 10 percent to 16 percent. The second period, from 1998 to 2004, witnessed an overall decline of children in employment of about seven percentage points. The most recent period, from 2004 to 2007, again saw another slight increase of children's employment of about five percentage points (Figure 2). The net result of these fluctuations was a *rise* in 12-14 years-olds in employment over the whole 1992 to 2007 period of about four percentage points.

25. A closer look at changes over this period indicates that they were driven primarily by the sub-group of children in employment who also attended school. The proportion of children in employment but *not* in school fell over the whole 1992 to 2007 period by a total of four percentage points, and was subject to much smaller fluctuations in the intervening years.

Figure 2. Changes in children's involvement in employment, 12-14 year-olds, 1992-2007



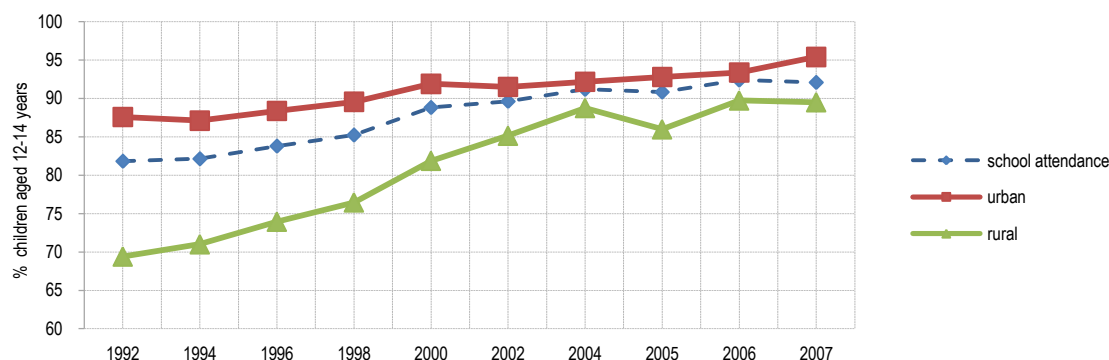
Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH, 1992-2006, ENOE 2007

26. School attendance for children in the 12-14 age group has increased of more than 10 percent over the 1992-2006 period. This can be partly attributed to the effect of the social programs implemented in Mexico, such

¹¹ It is worth noting that while ENIGH and ENOE survey instruments are comparable, it is possible that the magnitude of the change from 2006 to 2007 may be in part product of the fact that they are different survey instruments. The ENOE survey is a specialized child labour survey, while ENIGH is a household expenditure survey. See also 'Towards consistency in child labour measurement: assessing the comparability of estimates generated by different survey instruments' (UCW, 2009). The study addresses the comparability of child labour estimates produced by different common household surveys.

as PROGRESA in 1998, which produced an increase of school attendance especially in rural areas (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Changes in children's school attendance, 12-14 year-olds, 1992-2006



Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH 1992-2006, ENOE 2007

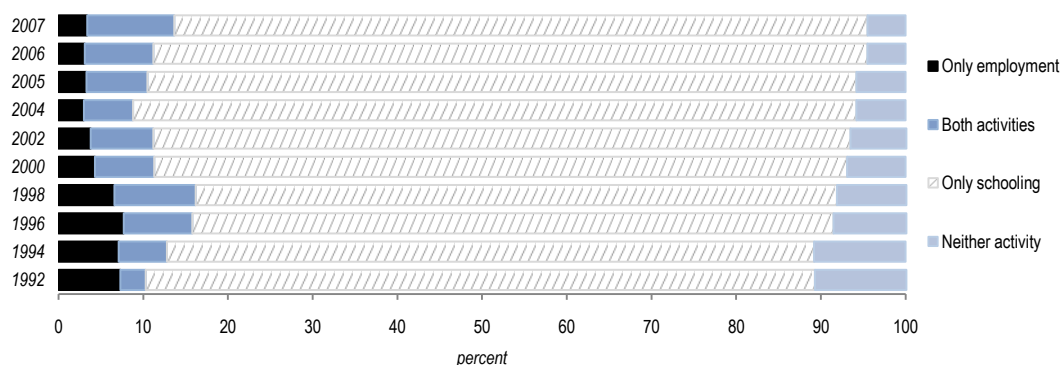
27. Table 8 and Figure 4 illustrate in more detail how the composition of children's time between school and employment changed over the 1992 to 2007 period. They show that the progress of children's school attendance was a product of a decline of the proportion of children in employment only and of a decline of the proportion of children in the "inactive" category, i.e., those children not in employment neither attending school. Again, the rise in employment during 1992-1998/2004-2007 was mainly guided by the increase of the share of children combining employment and school; the proportion of children working *without* also attending school declined during this period.

Table 8. Changes in the composition of children's time use, 12-14 year-olds, 1992-2007

Activity Status	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Only employment	7.3	7.1	7.7	6.6	4.3	3.8	3.0	3.3	3.1	3.4
Only schooling	79.0	76.4	75.7	75.7	81.8	82.3	85.4	83.7	84.3	81.8
Employment and school	3.0	5.7	8.1	9.6	7.0	7.4	5.8	7.2	8.1	10.3
Neither activity	10.8	10.8	8.6	8.2	6.9	6.6	5.8	5.8	4.5	4.5
Total in employment^(a)	10.3	12.8	15.7	16.2	11.3	11.2	8.9	10.5	11.2	13.7
Total school^(b)	82.0	82.2	83.8	85.2	88.8	89.6	91.2	90.8	92.4	92.1

Notes: (a) Refers to all children in employment, regardless of school status; and; (b) Refers to all children attending school, regardless of work status.
Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH, 1992-2006, ENOE 2007

Figure 4. Changes in children's activity status, 12-14 years age group, 1992-2007



Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH, 1992-2006, ENOE 2007

28. Tables 9 and 10 look at changes in children's employment and schooling broken down by sex and residence. They suggest that the increase in children's employment and schooling during the period 1992-1998 were broad-based, extending to both girls and boys, and to children living in both urban and rural settings. Girls saw larger proportionate rises than boys in involvement in both employment and schooling; indeed, the gender gap in school attendance was eliminated over the 1992 to 2007 period. Rural children witnessed larger gains in school attendance over this period than urban children, and the gap in school attendance favouring urban children was narrowed (but not eliminated).

Table 9. Changes in children's activity status, 12-14 age group, 1992-2007, by sex

Activity status \ years	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Male	Only employment	11.8	10.8	10.8	8.3	6.2	5.8	4.1	3.9	4.4	5.0
	Only schooling	79.6	75.1	76.1	74.9	78.1	79.9	83.6	82.9	81.1	78.2
	Both activities	4.5	8.9	10.8	12.3	10.6	10.2	8.1	9.3	10.9	13.2
	Neither activity	4.1	5.2	2.3	4.4	5.1	4.2	4.2	4.0	3.7	3.6
	Total employment^(a)	16.3	19.7	21.7	20.7	16.8	15.9	12.2	13.1	15.3	18.2
	Total schooling^(b)	84.1	84.0	86.9	87.3	88.7	90.0	91.7	92.1	92.0	91.5
Female	Only employment	2.5	2.9	4.5	4.9	2.5	1.9	2.0	2.8	1.8	1.8
	Only schooling	78.4	77.9	75.4	76.4	85.5	84.6	87.2	84.5	87.7	85.5
	Both activities	1.4	2.2	5.3	6.8	3.5	4.6	3.6	5.0	5.1	7.3
	Neither activity	17.6	17.0	14.7	12.0	8.5	8.9	7.2	7.7	5.3	5.4
	Total employment^(a)	4.0	5.1	9.8	11.7	6.0	6.5	5.6	7.8	7.0	9.1
	Total schooling^(b)	79.8	80.2	80.8	83.2	89.0	89.3	90.8	89.5	92.8	92.8

Notes: (a) Refers to all children in employment, regardless of school status; and (b) Refers to all children attending school, regardless of employment status.

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH, 1992-2006, ENOE 2007

Table 10. Changes in children's activity status, 12-14 age group, 1992-2007, by area of residence

Activity status \ years	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Urban ^(c)	Only employment	4.8	4.1	5.0	4.3	2.3	2.9	2.5	3.0	2.4	1.5
	Only schooling	85.7	82.4	83.1	82.8	87.3	85.4	87.9	87.1	86.8	89.2
	Both activities	2.0	4.7	5.3	6.8	4.6	6.1	4.3	5.7	6.6	6.2
	Neither activity	7.5	8.8	6.7	6.1	5.8	5.6	5.3	4.2	4.2	3.1
	Total employment^(a)	6.9	8.9	10.2	11.1	6.9	9.0	6.8	8.7	9.0	7.7
	Total schooling^(b)	87.7	87.1	88.4	89.6	91.9	91.5	92.2	92.8	93.4	95.4
Rural ^(c)	Only employment	12.5	13.6	13.5	11.3	8.9	5.9	4.4	4.2	5.0	4.9
	Only schooling	64.5	63.0	59.9	61.1	69.3	74.7	79.1	75.1	77.6	76.1
	Both activities	5.1	8.0	14.1	15.4	12.6	10.5	9.6	10.8	12.2	13.5
	Neither activity	17.9	15.4	12.6	12.3	9.2	8.9	6.8	9.8	5.3	5.6
	Total employment^(a)	17.6	21.5	27.6	26.6	21.5	16.4	14.0	15.1	17.2	18.4
	Total schooling^(b)	69.6	71.0	74.0	76.5	81.9	85.2	88.7	86.0	89.7	89.6

Notes: (a) Refers to all children in employment, regardless of school status; and (b) Refers to all children attending school, regardless of employment status; (c) ENOE 2007 classify the area of residence as "More Urbanized areas" and "Less Urbanized areas".

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH,1992-2006, ENOE 2007

29. A comparison of the results of ENIGH surveys from 1992 to 2006 and ENOE 2007 for older, 15-17 year-olds, indicates a tendency for children in this age group to delay entry into employment to further their studies (Table 11). The percentage of 15-17 years in employment only fell by about 11 percentage points from 1992 to 2007, while the proportion in school only rose by almost ten percentage points. The period saw a small fall in overall involvement in employment accompanied by a much larger rise in overall school attendance for the 15-17 years age group.

Table 11. Changes in the composition of children's time use, 15-17 year-olds, 1992-2007

Activity Status	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Only employment	29.3	29.0	28.8	27.7	26.9	19.5	18.5	17.3	18.2	18.2
Only schooling	46.2	45.2	47.5	46.2	48.9	53.1	55.4	55.3	56.4	55.2
Both activities	4.2	4.7	6.5	8.2	9.0	9.4	8.1	8.5	9.5	12.7
Neither activity	20.2	21.1	17.2	17.9	15.2	18.0	18.1	18.9	15.9	14.0
Total in employment^(a)	33.6	33.7	35.3	35.9	35.9	28.9	26.6	25.8	27.7	30.9
Total school^(b)	50.5	49.9	54.0	54.5	57.9	62.5	63.5	63.7	65.9	67.8

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

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH,1992-2006, ENOE 2007

3.2 Changes in the characteristics and time intensity of children's employment

30. The 1992-2007 period also saw changes in the composition and time intensity of children's employment (Table 12). Compared to 1992, children aged 12-14 years in employment in 2007 were less likely to work in the agriculture and manufacturing sectors and more likely to be found in commerce and services. This was primarily a reflection of changes during the overall period in terms of the relative importance of children's rural employment (where agriculture is concentrated) and urban areas (where commerce and services are concentrated).

Table 12. Trends in child activity status during 1992-2007, by sector and modality of employment, 12-14 years age group

Sector	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Agriculture	62.3	55.5	54.1	46.4	57.5	43.0	38.1	38.7	39.7	36.5
Manufacturing	11.6	15.7	12.0	15.4	8.0	12.9	14.5	13.0	8.4	10.8
Commerce	10.3	13.3	18.3	20.2	21.8	24.0	25.6	21.5	23.9	27.2
Services	12.1	11.7	12.2	15.3	10.6	15.6	19.3	23.5	22.1	20.4
Other	3.8	3.8	3.4	2.7	2.1	4.5	2.5	3.3	5.9	5.2
Wage employee	44.3	34.2	38.2	33.4	36.3	34.0	54.0	52.1	41.1	37.9
Self-employed	2.8	3.1	2.2	3.8	3.2	2.9	0.1	3.4	3.8	2.4
Unpaid family	47.3	57.1	58.4	60.7	59.7	59.9	41.5	41.4	51.8	59.8
Other non paid	5.6	5.6	1.2	2.1	0.8	3.2	4.4	3.1	3.4	--

Note: ENOE 2007, the category unpaid family may include children working for non household member

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH,1992-2006, ENOE 2007

Table 13. Changes in average weekly working hours, 12-14 years age group, 1992-2007, by sector, schooling status and modality

Sector/Schooling status/Modality	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total	38.8	32.5	33.9	29.8	31.4	27.8	29.1	28.3	25.9	20.8
Agriculture	38.8	32.0	33.7	29.8	29.8	27.7	31.6	27.8	24.1	22.0
Manufacturing	32.9	30.9	34.4	27.9	37.7	26.2	27.8	32.9	25.0	22.7
Trade	34.9	33.0	30.0	31.4	30.3	25.7	27.1	25.0	25.0	18.9
Services	44.3	36.5	36.8	25.3	32.2	27.1	26.5	28.9	25.0	19.2
Other	50.5	33.6	47.0	55.3	56.6	46.5	40.9	32.7	45.9	23.4
Wage	43.8	40.2	41.3	37.9	40.7	35.5	32.5	31.5	32.3	25.3
Self	29.3	21.6	23.1	29.5	21.5	26.2	66.0	25.9	21.7	12.9
Unpaid	37.0	28.2	29.7	25.5	26.4	23.6	23.9	24.3	21.0	18.2
Other unpaid	20.2	35.9	23.5	25.5	21.4	25.0	38.2	29.4	26.3	--
Employment only	41.0	40.3	43.4	39.1	45.3	39.3	40.9	39.4	40.1	35.8
Employment and schooling	37.1	23.8	26.1	24.4	24.1	21.8	23.0	23.1	20.3	15.8

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH,1992-2006, ENOE 2007

31. The time intensity of children's employment also fell over the 1992-2007 period, meaning that the remaining children in employment spend less time each week actually working (Table 13). The overall fall in working hours was driven by a fall in the time intensity of employment among children combining employment and school; the reduction of working hours for children in employment only was lower but by no means negligible.

ANNEX: ADDITIONAL STATISTICAL TABLES

Children aged 12-14 years

Table A 1. Changes in the composition of children's employment, 12-14 years age group, 1992-2007, by residence (Urban area)

Work sector/modality	Urban									
	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Agriculture	37.2	29.2	17.7	19.4	21.0	19.6	11.6	21.8	17.4	1.1
Manufacturing	20.2	24.4	18.8	15.4	12.1	16.6	20.4	14.4	11.9	11.5
Trade	13.6	20.3	36.9	36.1	41.6	36.7	35.1	28.7	31.9	45.8
Services	21.3	20.2	21.0	26.6	21.4	21.3	29.1	31.3	32.5	34.9
Other	7.7	5.8	5.8	2.5	4.0	5.8	3.8	3.9	6.3	6.8
Wage	59.0	44.1	50.3	46.0	46.0	40.3	64.7	64.0	47.3	54.4
Self	2.5	3.5	4.4	5.4	2.6	3.5	0.0	3.7	5.1	3.3
Unpaid family	30.9	42.5	43.5	46.1	51.0	52.3	29.6	29.6	43.3	42.3
Other unpaid	7.6	10.0	1.7	2.5	0.5	3.9	5.7	2.7	4.3	--

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH,1992-2006, ENOE 2007

Table A 2. Changes in the composition of children's employment, 12-14 years age group, 1992-2007, by residence (Rural area)

Work sector/modality	Rural									
	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Agriculture	84.6	79.5	81.3	68.1	83.8	73.5	70.9	63.1	72.0	48.2
Manufacturing	3.9	7.8	6.9	15.4	5.1	8.2	7.3	10.9	3.4	10.5
Trade	7.3	6.9	4.5	7.4	7.6	7.4	13.8	11.1	12.3	21.0
Services	3.9	3.9	5.7	6.2	2.7	8.1	7.2	12.4	6.9	15.6
Other	0.3	1.9	1.6	2.9	0.8	2.9	0.9	2.5	5.3	4.6
Wage	31.3	25.1	29.1	23.3	29.4	25.9	40.6	34.9	32.1	32.4
Self	2.9	2.8	0.6	2.4	3.7	2.0	0.2	2.9	2.0	2.0
Unpaid family	61.9	70.4	69.5	72.4	66.0	69.8	56.4	58.6	64.0	65.6
Other unpaid	3.9	1.7	0.8	1.9	1.0	2.3	2.8	3.6	2.0	--

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH,1992-2006, ENOE 2007

Table A 3. Changes in the composition of children's employment, 12-14 years age group, 1992-2007, by sex (Male)

Work sector/modality	Male									
	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Agriculture	69.3	58.9	61.6	57.3	65.8	54.2	46.4	44.4	47.0	47.3
Manufacturing	8.9	15.1	11.5	9.7	8.1	8.2	15.8	13.2	7.3	9.1
Trade	9.5	12.1	13.9	17.6	17.8	18.7	20.6	21.0	20.1	20.5
Services	7.7	9.3	8.2	11.2	5.4	12.6	13.5	16.3	17.4	16.6
Other	4.6	4.7	4.8	4.2	2.9	6.3	3.7	5.2	8.2	6.7
Wage	40.0	32.6	38.3	32.1	38.7	36.3	54.0	49.1	44.2	38.7
Self	2.7	3.7	2.0	3.2	1.9	3.3	0.2	3.5	2.3	2.2
Unpaid family	50.5	56.9	58.6	61.7	58.4	56.8	41.0	44.0	50.5	59.2
Other unpaid	6.8	6.8	1.1	3.0	1.1	3.7	4.9	3.5	3.1	--

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH,1992-2006, ENOE 2007

Table A 4. Changes in the composition of children's employment, 12-14 years age group, 1992-2007, by sex (Female)

Work sector/modality	Female									
	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Agriculture	30.7	41.5	38.3	26.9	34.8	16.2	20.6	28.5	23.2	14.6
Manufacturing	23.5	18.4	12.9	25.7	7.7	24.2	11.8	12.6	11.0	14.2
Trade	13.6	18.3	27.6	24.7	32.9	36.6	36.0	22.4	32.6	40.8
Services	32.2	21.7	20.7	22.7	24.6	22.7	31.7	36.5	32.6	28.2
Other	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.6	2.1
Wage	64.2	40.9	37.9	35.8	29.8	28.7	54.1	57.5	34.1	36.2
Self	2.8	0.4	2.8	4.7	6.8	1.9	0.0	3.3	7.3	2.7
Unpaid family	33.0	57.9	58.0	59.0	63.4	67.3	42.5	36.8	54.7	61.1
Other unpaid	0.0	0.9	1.4	0.6	0.0	2.2	3.4	2.4	4.0	--

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH,1992-2006, ENOE 2007

Children aged 15-17 years

Table A 5. Changes in the composition of children's employment, 15-17 years age group, 1992-2007, by residence (Urban)

Work sector/modality	Urban									
	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Agriculture	11.0	9.9	11.6	10.0	10.6	8.0	8.7	10.0	23.9	1.3
Manufacturing	33.5	31.5	28.7	26.1	32.4	26.2	22.1	26.9	18.1	17.6
Trade	20.4	21.7	24.5	27.1	20.0	26.3	30.3	25.2	22.7	30.9
Services	26.7	27.4	28.8	29.5	28.3	30.5	28.5	29.2	24.1	38.9
Other	8.4	9.4	6.5	7.3	8.8	9.0	10.3	8.6	11.2	11.4
Wage	79.0	77.0	73.1	69.1	76.0	73.1	83.8	79.5	72.9	76.5
Self	3.5	3.5	4.3	4.0	2.9	2.8	0.0	3.2	3.6	3.5
Unpaid family	16.8	18.3	22.2	24.8	20.3	22.7	15.4	15.5	21.6	19.9
Other unpaid	0.8	1.2	0.4	2.1	0.9	1.4	0.8	1.8	1.9	--

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH,1992-2006, ENOE 2007

Table A 6. Changes in the composition of children's employment, 15-17 years age group, 1992-2007, by residence (Rural)

Work sector/modality	Rural									
	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Agriculture	68.7	72.4	70.9	60.4	64.6	57.3	56.6	55.1	48.8	35.4
Manufacturing	10.6	7.5	12.0	15.9	13.7	13.5	11.8	13.6	12.2	16.0
Trade	9.6	4.7	5.0	7.5	7.8	11.9	8.0	7.0	13.5	19.1
Services	5.6	8.1	9.2	11.2	7.3	11.7	17.3	15.7	10.8	19.6
Other	5.5	7.4	2.9	5.0	6.7	5.6	6.4	8.6	14.8	9.9
Wage	46.3	48.5	50.1	45.8	50.9	51.0	60.2	53.9	63.8	57.4
Self	4.4	4.2	3.8	4.6	5.5	4.0	0.6	3.2	2.6	3.3
Unpaid family	46.7	46.7	44.5	49.2	42.5	44.0	36.7	42.0	30.6	39.0
Other unpaid	2.7	0.7	1.6	0.5	1.1	1.0	2.5	0.9	3.1	--

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH,1992-2006, ENOE 2007

Table A 7. Changes in the composition of children's employment, 1992-2007, 15-17 years age group

Sector/Modality	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2007
Agriculture	31.7	34.6	38.6	31.1	31.0	26.1	26.4	24.8	23.5
Manufacturing	25.3	22.0	21.1	21.8	25.3	21.5	18.3	17.7	16.6
Trade	16.5	15.0	15.6	18.9	15.4	21.0	22.1	22.3	23.2
Services	19.1	19.8	19.9	21.8	20.3	23.6	24.4	26.3	26.3
Other	7.4	8.6	4.8	6.4	8.0	7.8	8.8	8.8	10.4
wage	67.3	65.7	62.6	59.3	66.5	65.0	75.1	71.4	64.1
Self	3.8	3.8	4.1	4.2	3.8	3.2	0.2	3.2	3.4
Unpaid family	27.5	29.5	32.3	35.0	28.7	30.5	23.2	23.9	32.3
Other unpaid	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.4	1.0	1.3	1.4	1.5	--

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH,1992-2006, ENOE 2007

Table A 8. Changes in average weekly working hours, 15-17 years age group, 1992-2007, by sector, schooling status and modality

	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total	43.6	43.0	41.4	40.1	41.0	37.0	38.9	39.2	37.5	33.9
Agriculture	42.6	39.7	40.2	41.7	38.7	35.4	38.4	36.2	35.9	32.1
Manufacturing	47.0	45.4	44.8	41.7	43.4	37.5	40.0	42.1	39.6	36.5
Trade	40.1	45.9	38.7	36.8	44.3	34.6	36.2	39.2	37.0	32.4
Services	39.8	40.5	40.5	37.1	36.5	37.5	38.1	38.0	34.1	33.2
Other	50.9	51.0	47.5	47.3	48.2	46.2	46.5	45.6	46.1	39.2
Wage	44.6	45.8	46.5	44.2	44.5	42.0	40.6	43.3	41.4	38.5
Self	33.3	44.3	37.8	30.2	34.3	33.1	29.8	32.3	29.7	26.2
Unpaid family	42.3	37.2	32.1	35.0	34.6	27.0	33.7	28.8	29.1	25.7
Other unpaid	34.5	25.5	33.8	26.5	23.2	32.6	23.0	28.1	21.5	--
Employment only	45.3	45.6	45.4	43.7	45	42.6	43.2	44.2	43.2	42.4
Employment and schooling	32.9	29.3	25.9	29.2	30.5	25.4	28.9	29.1	26.7	21.6

Sources: UCW, calculations based on Mexico, ENIGH,1992-2006, ENOE 2007

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