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

Country report for Argentina

November 2010

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and Caribbean region*

COUNTRY REPORT FOR ARGENTINA

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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

COUNTRY REPORT FOR ARGENTINA

November 2010

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 *Argentina Encuesta de Desarrollo Social* and *Argentina Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes*, conducted in 1997 and 2004 respectively, the country brief provides an overview of the child labour phenomenon in Argentina. 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 ARGENTINA

1. Argentina is nearly 3,700 km long from north to south, and 1,400 km from east to west. It is bordered by Chile, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. From Jujuy to Tierra del Fuego, the country presents marvelous contrasts: the northwest plateaus, forests in Chaco, the Pampas with its large plains, the lake region in the south, glaciers in Patagonia and forests in the northeast.



Source: Government of Argentina

2. Some 36 million people live in Argentina, almost half of whom in the city and province of Buenos Aires. The country has some 2,780,400 km² and the population, calculated on a national basis, is 13 inhabitants per square kilometer (World Bank, 2009).

3. Argentina continues its rapid recovery from the economic and social crisis of 2001-02. Argentina's recovery from the economic and social crisis of 2001-02 has been impressive as it was one of the most severe losses of income and

downturns in living standards on record. After three years of fast growth, GDP in 2004 reached the pre-crisis peak of 1998, with per capita output expected to recover to peak levels in 2006. Export earnings are higher, tax revenues have increased substantially, fiscal accounts are in surplus, and the Government has restructured three quarters of its debt in default.

4. Effective macroeconomic management, focused on the generation of primary surpluses, has helped to establish three years of fast and pro-poor growth. Unemployment, while still high, has fallen substantially from the peaks during the crisis. Although informality remains widespread, formal employment is rebounding, with job growth in the formal sector beginning to outpace jobs in the informal sector (World Bank, 2006). The labour force in Argentina has undergone substantial evolution since 1980. Major developments include a shift towards a service economy, the decreasing importance of unions, rising female labor force participation, higher educational attainment, and an increase of the proportion of workers in small firms (World Bank, 2008).

Table 1. Argentina: selected socio-economic indicators

Indicators	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2004
Human Development Index (HDI) ^(c)	0.863	..	..	..	..	0.862	..	..	..	..	0.869
Population growth (annual %)	1.27	1.23	1.19	1.15	1.11	1.07	1.02	0.98	0.96	0.96	0.97
Population, total (thousands)	34,835	35,266	35,689	36,102	36,504	36,896	37,274	37,642	38,005	38,371	38,747
Population ages 0-14 (% of total)	29.20	28.94	28.71	28.49	28.26	28.00	27.71	27.39	27.06	26.74	26.42
Population ages 15-64 (% of total)	61.39	61.55	61.68	61.80	61.94	62.12	62.34	62.59	62.86	63.13	63.38
Population ages 65 and above (% of total)	9.41	9.51	9.61	9.71	9.80	9.88	9.96	10.02	10.08	10.14	10.20
Poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line (% of population) ^(a)	..	2.00	..	2.0	..	..	..	9.8	..	5.8 ^(b)	..
GINI index	..	48.58	..	49.84	..	..	52.24	52.52	51.28	51.32	..
Improved sanitation facilities (% of population with access)	86.00	..	..	..	..	89.00	..	..	..	91.00	..
Improved sanitation facilities, rural (% of rural population with access)	59.00	..	..	..	..	74.00	..	..	..	83.00	..
Improved sanitation facilities, urban (% of urban population with access)	89.00	..	..	..	..	91.00	..	..	..	92.00	..
Improved water source (% of population with access)	95.00	..	..	..	..	96.00	..	..	..	96.00	..
Improved water source, rural (% of rural population with access)	75.00	..	..	..	..	78.00	..	..	..	80.00	..
Improved water source, urban (% of urban population with access)	98.00	..	..	..	..	98.00	..	..	..	98.00	..
Mortality rate, under-5 (per 1,000)	23.48	..	..	..	..	19.43	..	..	..	..	16.26
GDP growth (annual %)	-2.85	5.53	8.11	3.85	-3.39	-0.79	-4.41	-10.89	8.84	9.03	9.18
GDP per capita (constant 2000 US\$)	7,184.11	7,488.52	8,000.01	8,212.90	7,847.37	7,702.89	7,288.48	6,430.98	6,932.45	7,486.25	8,094.17
GDP per capita growth (annual %)	-4.07	4.24	6.83	2.66	-4.45	-1.84	-5.38	-11.77	7.80	7.99	8.12
Employment in agriculture (% of total employment)	0.60	0.80	0.80	0.80	0.70	0.70	0.80	1.00	1.40	1.20	1.10
Employment in industry (% of total employment)	27.00	24.90	25.40	24.80	23.60	22.70	21.90	20.20	21.70	23.00	23.50
Employment in services (% of total employment)	71.90	73.90	73.20	74.00	75.30	76.20	76.90	78.50	76.30	75.50	75.10
Unemployment rate	6.7	18.8	14.3	13.3	14.4	14.7	19.2	..	16	12.6	10.6

Sources: where not otherwise specified, the primary source is World Development Indicators, (2008), The World Bank <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/mdg/Data.aspx?cr=32> Millennium Development Goals, (2004) Government of Argentina UNDP, <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/1.html>

5. The recovery has been pro-poor (World Bank, 2006). Poverty has been cut markedly from the depth of the crisis, but still remains above the level prior to the onset of the recession in 1998. The reduction in poverty during the recovery has been accompanied by improvements in broader social outcomes. The rise in infant mortality witnessed during the crisis (a first in several decades in Argentina) has been reversed, dropping significantly from 16.8 per thousand life births in 2002 to 14.4 in 2004. Health insurance coverage of the social security system is slowly rising again in parallel with the increase in formal sector jobs.

6. Completion rates in secondary school are on the rise even though remain low in absolute terms at only 61.5 percent. However, large segments of the population continue to face great hardship and vulnerability. Children are at high risk of poverty and youth are at high risk of unemployment when compared to other groups in society; the poverty rate of children is still 20 percentage points higher and the youth unemployment rate is 15 percentage

points higher than the respective national averages. Inequality, which has been on a longterm upward trend in Argentina, was exacerbated by the crisis and has yet to show a substantial response to the recovery. The social advances during the recovery have been from a low starting point and large segments of the population continue to face great hardship (World Bank, 2006).

7. The challenge for Argentina is to build on the strong recovery to establish the foundation for sustainable, more equitably shared private sector-led economic growth over the medium term. This would represent a significant break with Argentina's history of protracted slow growth, recurring periods of crisis and increasing social exclusion (World Bank, 2006).

2. CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT AND CHILD LABOUR

8. Children's involvement in employment¹ remains common in Argentina. An estimated 13 percent of children aged 7-14 years², over 350,000 children in absolute terms, were engaged in employment in 2004. At the same time, school attendance was very high – 98 percent of children from the 7-14 years age group attended school in 2004. Involvement in employment is higher among older children. 29 percent of 15-17 year-olds (some 280,000 children in absolute terms) were in employment. School attendance also appears to be lower for this age range: only 83 percent of children attended school in 2004.

9. A comparison with a previous household survey (*Encuesta de Desarrollo Social, 1997*) suggests a downward trend in children's employment: an estimated 17 percent of 10-14 year-olds was in employment in 2004 against 21 percent in 1997. This decline was mirrored by a slight increase in the percentage of children attending school between 1997 and 2004 (from 96 to over 98 percent). Children's employment trends are discussed in more detail in section 3 of this report.

10. 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 doing neither – offers an initial view of how children's employment interacts with their schooling (Figure 1).

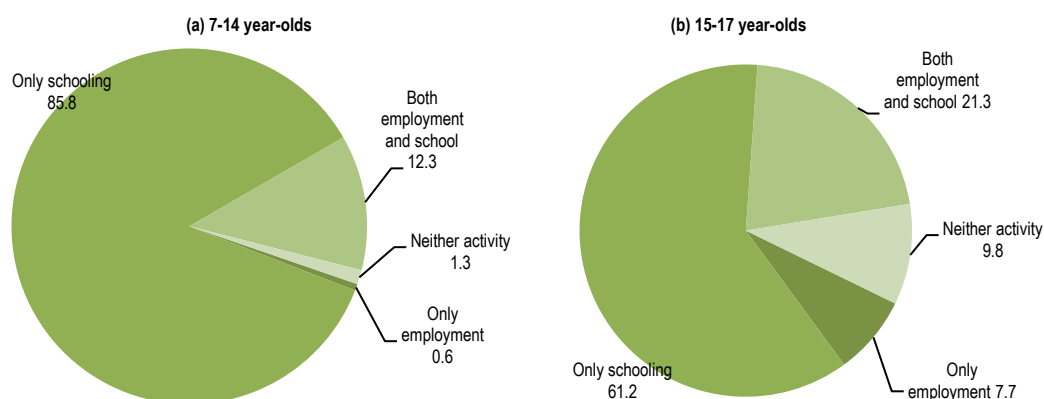
11. This disaggregation shows that 86 percent of 7-14 year-olds attended school unencumbered by work responsibilities, while 12 percent were combining employment and school in 2004. Only about one percent of all 7-14 year-olds were in employment only *without* also attending school. A small residual group of children (one percent of 7-14 year-olds) were "inactive", i.e. not in employment or in school. Activity patterns differed for older, 15-17 year-old children³ – more were in employment only and fewer were only in school compared to children in the 7-14 years age group. However, overall school attendance was still high among 15-17 year olds (at 83 percent).

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 The lower bound of seven years coincides with the age at which children are expected to attend school regularly.

³ Additional 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 calculation based on Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

12. Aggregate estimates of children's activities mask important differences by residence, sex and region (Table 2 and Figure 2). Boys are more likely than girls to be in employment, and the gender gap increases with age. Children's employment is overwhelmingly a rural sector phenomenon, and is more common in some regions (e.g., Mendoza) than in others (e.g., Northwest Argentina). There is less geographic variation in school attendance – at least 98 percent of 7-14 year-olds attended school in all but Northeast Argentina.

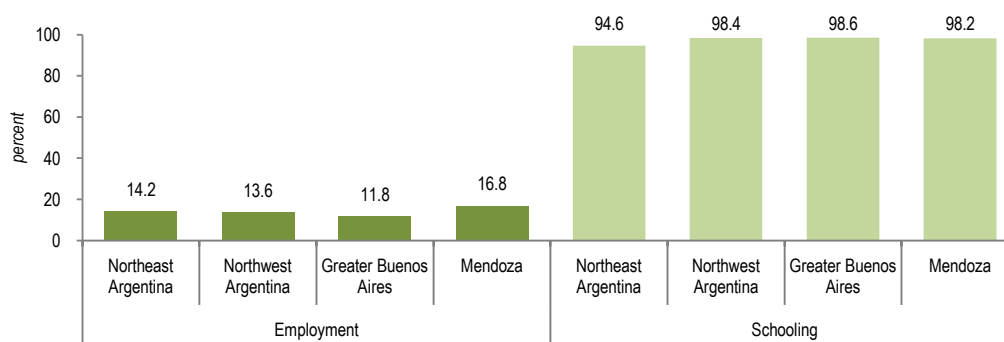
Table 2. Child activity status, by sex and residence, 7-14 age group

Background characteristics		Mutually exclusive activity categories				Total in employment ^(a)	Total in school ^(b)
		Only employment	Only school	Employment and school	Neither activity		
Sex	Male	0.9	82.9	14.8	1.4	15.7	97.7
	Female	0.3	89	9.6	1.2	9.9	98.6
Residence	Urban	0.5	86.8	11.5	1.2	12.0	98.3
	Rural	2.8	71.5	22.6	3.1	25.4	94.1
Total 7-14		0.6	85.8	12.3	1.3	12.9	98.1

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

Source: UCW calculation based on Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

Figure 2. Children's involvement in employment and school attendance, 7-14 year-old age group, by region



Source: UCW calculation based on Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

13. As illustrated in Table 3, the overwhelmingly majority of children in employment work for their families as unpaid labour (almost 56 percent of 7-14 year-old children). About eight percent of working children are in wage employment and the remainder work in other non-family activities, primarily self-employment. By sector, services account for by far the largest proportion of children in employment – 77 percent – against 13 percent in agriculture and around seven percent in manufacturing and one percent in trade. Variations by residence and sex in the composition of children's employment are large. Girls are more likely than boys to be assigned work in services (83 percent versus 73 percent) and less likely than boys to work in agriculture (16 percent versus eight percent). There are also important differences in the nature of children's employment by place of residence. Agricultural work, not surprisingly, dominates in rural areas (62 percent versus eight percent in urban areas), while a large proportion of children in cities and towns work in services (82 percent versus 26 percent in rural areas).

Table 3. Sector and modality of child economic activity, by sex and residence, 7-14 age group

Characteristics		Sector					Modality			
		Agriculture	Manufact.	Trade	Services	Other	Wage	Self	Unpaid	Others
Sex	Male	15.9	6.3	1.9	73.2	2.8	7.6	38.0	53.6	0.8
	Female	7.9	8.9	0.2	82.9	0	9.0	28.1	60.4	2.5
Residence	Urban	8.3	7.4	1.1	81.5	1.6	7.7	35.6	55.1	1.6
	Rural	62.3	6.6	2.3	26.1	2.6	12.4	18.9	68.7	0.0
Total 7-14		12.8	7.3	1.2	76.9	1.7	8.1	34.2	56.2	1.4

Source: UCW calculations based on Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004.

14. Employment is typically time intensive for Argentinean children, especially for those who are only in employment (Table 5). Children aged 7-14 years in employment without attending school put in an average of almost 23 hours each week. Children of the same age group that combine employment and schooling log far fewer hours (less than eight hours per

week). Differences in the time intensity of work are not large between male and female children in employment. Time intensity does, however, vary considerably across the place of residence, regardless of the school attendance. Children in rural areas work about four hours more each week than their peers in towns and cities.

Table 4. Average weekly working hours, by sex and residence, 7-14 age group

Characteristics		Employment	Only employment	Employment and school
Sex	Male	8.3	22.7	7.4
	Female	8.4	23.3	8.0
Residence	Urban	7.8	24.0	7.1
	Rural	12.1	20.2	11.1
Total 7-14		8.4	22.8	7.6

Source: UCW calculations based on Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

15. Before concluding the discussion of children's employment in the 2004 reference year, it is worth addressing one final question: the extent to which this employment constitutes "child labour" for elimination in accordance with international legal standards ratified by Argentina.⁴ This question is critical for the purposes of prioritising and targeting policy responses to working children. 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 Argentina upon ratification of ILO Convention No. 138 (Table 5).

Table 5. Child labour legislative framework: ratified conventions relating to child labour

Convention	Ratification
Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) (Minimum age specified: 14 years)	11-11-1996
Worst forms of child labour Convention (No. 182)	05-02-2001
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)	05-12-1990 ⁵

Source: ILO, <http://webfusion.ilo.org/public/db/standards/normes/appl/appl-byCtry.cfm?hdroff=1&CTYCHOICE=0020&Lang=EN>

16. 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.⁶ Hazardous forms, in turn,

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 Besides being ratified the Convention was incorporated in the State Constitution

⁶ 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

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 estimated on the basis of the hazardous industries⁷, occupations⁸ and conditions⁹ utilised in the ILO global child labour estimates.

17. 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 on child labour statistics passed by the 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians leaves Governments the option of including them in child labour estimates,¹⁰ due to data limitations. Second, they do not include children in worst forms other than hazardous,¹¹ 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

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).

⁷ Hazardous industries consist of: (1) mining; (2) quarrying; and (3) construction.

⁸ 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.

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ Global guidelines for child labour statistics are set out in Resolution II (2008) of the Eighteenth International Conference of 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).

¹¹ 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.

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 Argentina. Nonetheless, they provide a useful benchmark for international comparative and monitoring purposes.

18. Child labour measured on this basis is common in Argentina. Over 300,000 children below the age of 14 years are in employment, and an additional 40,000 (14-17 year-old) children are in hazardous forms of work or are working excessive hours. Putting these groups together yields an estimate of 340,000 children aged 5-17 years in child labour, eight percent of this age group (Table 6).

Table 6. Child labour indicators, by age group, sex and residence, 5-17 years age group

Sex and residence		Children in employment		Children in hazardous work		Children in child labour	
		Age 5-13 years		Age 14-17 years		Age 5-17 years	
		No.	% of total age group	No.	% of total age group	No.	% of total age group
Sex	Male	187 646	12.0	29 115	4.4	216 761	9.8
	Female	113 090	8.0	11 023	1.7	124 113	6.0
Rural	Urban	257 634	9.3	29 920	2.4	287 554	7.2
	Rural	43 102	20.8	10 218	13.3	53 320	18.8
Total		300 736	10.1	40 138	3.1	340 874	7.9

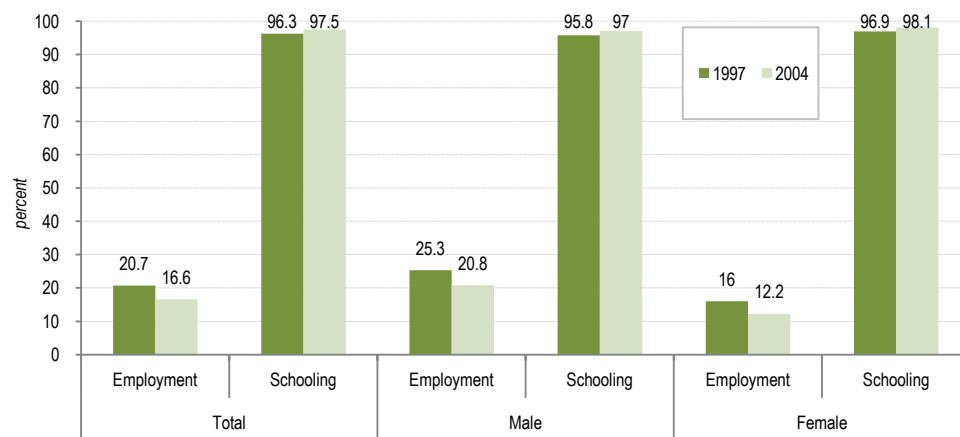
Source: UCW calculations based on Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

19. Table 6 shows that children living in cities and towns (seven percent) are considerably less likely than their rural counterparts (19 percent) to engage in work which constitutes child labour. Notwithstanding the low overall rates of child labour relative to rural areas, the challenge posed by child labour in urban areas remains daunting given the extremely large absolute size of the child labour population. Differences by sex in children involvement are small among 5-13 year-olds, but emerge more clearly among 14-17 year-olds. Indeed, boys in the latter age group are twice as likely than their female counterparts to be involved in hazardous forms of work.

3. TRENDS IN CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOLING

20. The analysis in this section draws on data from the *Argentina Encuesta de Desarrollo Social* and *Argentina Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes*, conducted in 1997 and 2004, respectively. It is confined to children aged 10-14 years to ensure comparability across the results of the two surveys. A comparison of the results of the two surveys from 1997 to 2004 indicate a total decline in employment among 10-14 year-olds of more than four percentage points over this period, from 21 percent to 17 percent. The school attendance of 10-14 year-olds, already high in 1997 at 96 percent, rose further to 98 percent over the same period (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Changes in the composition of children's activities, 10-14 years age group, 1997-2004



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

Source: UCW calculations based on Argentina Encuesta de Desarrollo Social, 1997 and Argentina Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

21. Table 7 and Figure 4 illustrate in more detail how the composition of children's time between school and work changed over this period. They show that the progress against children's employment was the product of both a decrease of the share of children combining employment and school (from 18.9 percent to 15.7 percent) and of the decrease of the share of children only in employment (from 1.8 percent to 0.9 percent). In other words, compared to 1997, fewer children in 2004 had to forsake school altogether in order to work, or to work while also trying to study. The proportion of inactive children declined slightly from 1.9 percent in 1997 to 1.5 percent in 2004.

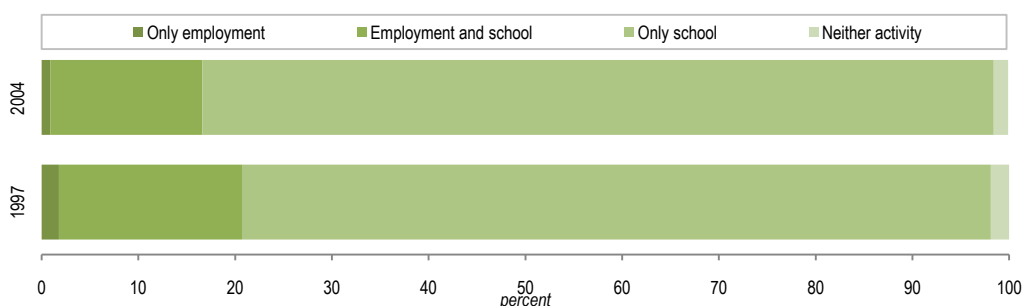
Table 7. Changes in the composition of children's time use, 10-14 years-olds, 1997-2004

Activity Status	Total		Male		Female	
	1997	2004	1997	2004	1997	2004
Only employment	1.8	0.9	2.5	1.5	1.0	0.4
Only school	77.4	81.8	73.0	77.7	81.9	86.3
Both employment and school	18.9	15.7	22.8	19.3	15.0	11.8
Neither activity	1.9	1.5	1.6	1.5	2.1	1.5
Total in employment^(a)	20.7	16.6	25.3	20.8	16.0	12.2
Total school^(b)	96.3	97.5	95.8	97.0	96.9	98.1

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

Source:UCW calculations based on Argentina Encuesta de Desarrollo Social , 1997 and Argentina Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

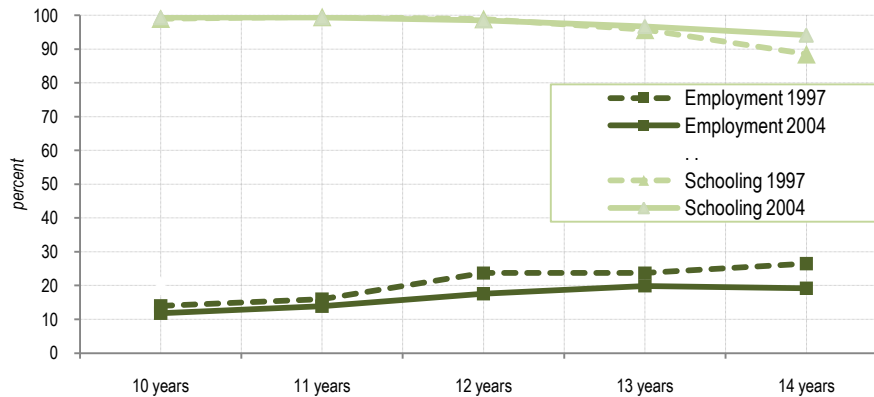
Figure 4. Changes in the composition of children's time use, 10-14 years age group, 1997-2004



Source: UCW calculations based on Argentina Encuesta de Desarrollo Social , 1997 and Argentina Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

22. The decline in children's employment during 1997-2004 was broad-based, extending to both girls and boys and to the entire 10-14 years age spectrum. For boys and girls, the decrease in employment involved a fall in the share of children combining school and employment and in the share of children only in employment. The largest changes in both employment and schooling occurred among older, 12-14 year-old children, indicating that children in 2004 were more likely to stay in school longer before entering employment compared to children in 1997.

Figure 5. Changes in children's involvement in employment and school, 1997-2004, by age



Source: UCW calculations on Argentina Encuesta de Desarrollo Social, 1997 and Argentina Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

23. Survey results from 1997 and 2004 for older, 15-17 year-old children show overall rises in both school attendance and employment. In other words, more from this age group were remaining in school in 2004 but were not delaying entry in employment in order to do so (Table 8). The proportion of 15-17 years combining school and employment more than doubled between 1997 and 2004, while the proportion *only* in employment and *only* in school both fell, albeit by smaller margins. These patterns held for both male and female children. The rise in the proportion of older children combining employment and school raises the issue of the compatibility of the two activities in the Argentinean context, and of the extent to which children belonging to this group are able to benefit from their classroom time.

Table 8. Changes in the composition of children's time use, 15-17 years-olds, 1997-2004

Activity status	Male		Female		Total	
	1997	2004	1997	2004	1997	2004
Only employment	19.8	11.4	6.8	4.1	13.4	7.7
Only school	57.6	54.7	72.5	67.7	64.9	61.2
Both employment and school	11.7	26.3	5.3	16.3	8.6	21.3
Neither activity	10.9	7.6	15.4	11.9	13.1	9.8
Total in employment^(a)	31.5	37.7	12.1	20.4	22.0	29.0
Total school^(b)	69.3	81.0	77.8	84.0	73.5	82.5

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

Source: UCW calculations based on Argentina Encuesta de Desarrollo Social, 1997 and Argentina Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

ANNEX: STATISTICAL TABLES FOR 15-17 YEAR-OLDS

Table A1. Changes in children's activity status, 15-17 years age group, 1997-2004, by sex

Activity status	Male		Female	
	1999	2004	1999	2004
Only employment	19.8	11.4	6.8	4.1
Only school	57.6	54.7	72.5	67.7
Both employment and school	11.7	26.3	5.33	16.3
Neither activity	10.9	7.6	15.4	11.9
Total employment^(a)	31.5	37.7	12.1	20.4
Total schooling^(b)	69.3	81	77.8	84

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

Source: Argentina Encuesta de Desarrollo Social, 1997 and Argentina Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

Table A2. Changes in children's involvement in employment, 15-17 years age group, 1999-2004, by region

Regions	Employment		Schooling	
	1997	2004	1997	2004
Nea	19.1	29.0	76.1	71.4
Noa	20.4	31.7	73.6	78.4
Gba	23.3	26.0	75.8	86.4
Pampeana	21.0	-	71.4	-
Patagonia	20.5	-	74.6	-
Cuyo	27.1	-	67.9	-
Mendoza	-	42.8	-	77.4

Source: Argentina Encuesta de Desarrollo Social, 1997 and Argentina Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

Table A3. Average weekly working hours and composition of children's employment, 15-17 years age group in 2004, by sex

Sector/Schooling status/Modality	Working hours		Male	Female
	hours	Total		
Total	18.4	29.0	37.7	20.4
Agriculture	27.3	13	18.4	5.4
Manufacturing	21.7	14.9	14.9	14.9
Trade	18.8	2.7	4.5	0
Services	15	62.3	55.3	79.6
Other	31.3	4.1	6.9	0.2
Wage	26.3	30.3	34.6	24
Self	12.6	26.2	23	30.8
Unpaid	16.9	41.8	42	41.6
Other	4.4	1.7	0.5	3.6
Employment only	31.9	7.7	11.4	4.1
Employment and schooling	13.2	21.3	26.3	16.3

Source: Argentina Encuesta de Desarrollo Social, 1997 and Argentina Encuesta sobre Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes, 2004

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