



Child labour in Venezuela: children's vulnerability to macroeconomic shocks

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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) 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.

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ABSTRACT

The study begins by providing a profile of working children in Venezuela for the 2000 reference year. This snapshot of the situation of working children is then used to provide a basis for examining the impact on children's work produced by the economic crisis which hit the country during the period 2002-2003. The study shows that when households are at risk of seeing their income collapse due to economic shocks, their survival strategies are quickly reformulated in order to preserve their income level. Children's work in particular is used by household to absorb the impact of shocks until the crisis comes to an end. The study also suggests that the economic shocks driven by political instability had an influence on household expectations: families anticipated the shocks and adjusted children's economic activity to face it. While children's work fell again at the end of the crisis, the incidence of children's work did not fall to pre-crisis levels, suggesting that short-term shocks can have a permanent effect on children's development and schooling.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1. The most recent ILO estimates (2004) indicate that the Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) region accounts for 5.7 million of the total of 190.7 million children working worldwide. The LAC region as a whole witnessed a dramatic decrease in children's participation in first four years of the current decade. ILO estimated children at work in the LAC region at 17.4 million in 2000, three-fold higher than the 2004 estimate. This progress is attributed by ILO to political commitment, expressed in the adoption of coherent policies in the areas of poverty reduction, basic education and human rights, underscoring that although economic growth is important, it is not the only key for the elimination of child labour.

2. In Venezuela, the child economic activity rate for 2000 was among the lowest in the LAC region. But given the magnitude of the child population, a large number of children in absolute terms were nonetheless working and in this way potentially compromising their future prospects. In 2000, a total of 129,088 Venezuelan children aged 10-14 were engaged in economic activity. It is important to consider not only the present extent of children's work, but also children's vulnerability to work involvement, i.e., the likelihood that they are sent to work when external and internal shocks to households occur.

3. There is substantial research evidence that households in developing countries adjust economic activity of children in response to shocks. Jacoby and Skoufias (1997), for example, find for rural India that parents facing an unexpected decline in crop income withdraw their children from school. Behrman, Duryea, and Szekely (1999) find for 18 Latin American and Caribbean countries that macroeconomic instability has played a crucial role in slowing down school attainment since the early 1980s. Skoufias and Parker (2001) study the impact of the economic crisis of 1995 and the recovery period of 1998-1999 on the time use of 12-17 year-old Mexicans. Shocks appear to have a significant effect on whether children continue in school in the next school year; and the effect is especially significant for girls, suggesting that they replace the mothers in household production. Lim (2000) finds that the East Asian crisis produced a drop in enrolments rates and a rise in the labour-force-participation rate for children aged 10 to 14 years in the Philippines.

4. In this study we show that the two major economic downturns suffered by Venezuela during 2002 and 2003 due to political instability led to a large rise in the percentage of children engaged in economic activity. This suggests that in Venezuela child vulnerability to economic shocks is high and child work is commonly used as a mechanism to counteract shocks affecting households.

5. The study is structured as follows. Section 2 presents the data used in the study. Section 3 provides a detailed profile of the working children population in Venezuela in the 2000 reference year. Section 4 looks at the impact on child work of the 2002-2003 economic crisis in Venezuela. Section 5 analyses changes in the composition of adult and child employment produced by the economic crisis. Section 6 explores how child work and adult work moved in opposite directions during 2002-2004. Section 7 looks at the possibility that children's work reacted to household expectations concerning future economic prospects. Section 8 concludes.

2. THE DATA

6. The evidence presented in this study is based on the information drawn from the Venezuela Living Standards Measurement Survey (*Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo*), referred hereafter as EHPM, carried out by the National Institute of

Statistics (INE)¹ for the years 2000 to 2004. The survey, part of the regional programme MECOVI implemented by CEPAL, was aimed at improving and extending information on household living conditions, information needed for the effective formulation and evaluation of poverty reduction programmes². The survey covered a wide range of socioeconomic and demographic variables in an effort to capture the various dimensions of poverty and living conditions.

1. For 2000, the EHPM survey sample comprised 16,807 households and 80,417 persons, representing 5,116,560 households and an expanded population of 24,179,360 individuals. The survey was addressed to all households, excluding people living in collective housing (hospitals, military bases, etc.). For 2001 the survey sample comprised 195,684 persons and an expanded population of 24,661,268 individuals. For the year 2002, the survey sample comprised 237,070 persons and an expanded population of 25,148,518. For the year 2003, the survey sample comprised 204,647 persons and an expanded population of 25,625,384. Lastly, for the year 2004, the survey sample comprised 166,320 persons and an expanded population of 26,146,074 individuals³.

7. The data used for this study are subject to several limitations for investigating the child labour phenomenon. First, no information on working children younger than 10 years old is available; for this reason the study focuses on children and adolescents from 10 years of age onwards. It is worth mentioning that the group of 5-9 year-old children – which could not be included in the study – accounts for a large share of the total children; in 2000, this age group numbered 2,739,520. Second, no information are available in the dataset on household chores, typically an especially important form of work for girls. Information on health is also missing, making it impossible to determine the health profile of the working and non-working children and to approximate the effects that work may have over the health of working children. Further, specialised questionnaires should inquire about the conditions in which work is being performed (for example, safety aspects on the workplace).

¹ The Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo in Venezuela is carried out by the INE twice a year.

² The Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL) has a regional program called "Mejoramiento de las Encuestas y la Medición de las Condiciones de Vida en América Latina y el Caribe" (MECOVI) which provides technical assistance to improve household survey information.

³ The datasets (2000 to 2004) refer to the second semester of each year .

3. A SNAPSHOT OF CHILD WORK IN VENEZUELA FOR 2000

3.1 Venezuelan national laws related to “child work” and “child labour”

8. There are two fundamental legal instruments regulating “child work” and “child labour” issues at a national level in Venezuela: the National Constitution of Venezuela, promulgated in 1999, and the “Ley Orgánica para la Protección del Niño y del Adolescente” – “Organic Law for the Protection of Children and Adolescents” - (LOPNA), promulgated in 2000.

9. In Article 78 of the National Constitution of Venezuela, children and adolescents are recognised as full legal persons, and the Venezuelan State is committed to apply the national legislation and international conventions that have been ratified by the country. Article 78 states: “Children and adolescents are full legal persons and shall be protected by specialized courts, organs and legislation, which shall respect, guarantee and develop the contents of this Constitution, the law, the Convention on Children's Rights and any other international treaty that may have been executed and ratified by the Republic in this field...”⁴

10. Article 89 forbids all work activities that may negatively affect the development of adolescents, establishing in paragraph 6 that: “Work by adolescents at tasks that may affect their overall development is prohibited. The State shall protect them against any economic and social exploitation”.⁵ An “adolescent”, as defined by the Venezuelan law, is any person from 12 to 17 years of age, while a “child” is considered a person below the age of 12 years.⁶ Children are not included in Article 89 because they aren't allowed by the LOPNA to work in any kind of economic activity.

11. The “Ley Orgánica para la Protección del Niño y del Adolescente” (LOPNA) is the instrument that regulates all issues related to children's and adolescents' protection, including protection from work. The minimum age for admission to employment is specified in Article 96, which establishes that adolescents or children under 14 years of age are not permitted to work. The National Council of the Rights of Children and Adolescents – the highest authority related to children's rights in the country – may, under special circumstances, authorize the work of children under the minimum age, as long as it does not interfere with education, health and integral development.⁷ However, in general, any work performed by children under the age of 14 years is not permitted by law.⁸

12. With regard to the “unconditional worst forms of child labour” there are several Articles that can be seen as the national expression of the ILO Convention n.182: Cruel treatment (Article 254); Forced work (Article 255); Sexual exploitation (Article 255); Use of children or adolescents to commit crimes (Article 264); Trafficking (Articles 266 and 267) and; Kidnapping (Article 268 and 272).

⁴ Embassy of the Venezuela in Canada, <http://misionvenezuela.org/espanol/ConstitutionoftheBolivarianingles.pdf>

⁵ Idem.

⁶ LOPNA, Article 2, http://www.cndna.gov.ve/Legales/lopna_contenido.htm

⁷ Consejo Nacional de los Derechos del Niño y del Adolescente <http://www.cndna.gov.ve>

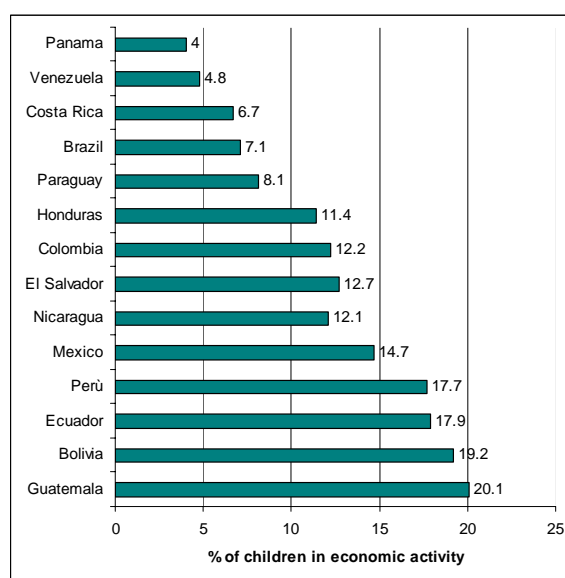
⁸ Employment of children from 8 to 12 years old is punished by law with fines to employers from 3 to 6 months salary (Article 238), and with prison from 1 to 3 years for employers of children under 8 years old (Article 257). With regard to employment of adolescents without the working authorization provided by the National Council of the Rights of Children and Adolescents, fines from 4 to 6 months salary are imposed on the employer as well.

3.2 Dimension and characteristics of child work in Venezuela

13. The analysis in this section is based on data from the *Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo* for the year 2000. This year provides a reference point for children's work in Venezuela, against which subsequent changes in the children's work situation stemming from the economic crisis of 2002-2003 can be compared.

14. **Work in economic activity:** Venezuela is characterised by a low level of child economic activity relative to other countries in the LAC region⁹ (Figure 1). In all, an estimated 4.8 percent of 10-14 year-olds was economically active in the 2000 reference year, 129,088 children in absolute terms.¹⁰

Figure 1. - Child economic activity rates for selected LAC countries



Notes: Estimates refer to the following age groups: Bolivia (7-14); Brazil (7-14); Colombia (7-14); Costa Rica (7-14); Ecuador (7-14); El Salvador (7-14); Honduras (7-14); Mexico (12-14); Nicaragua (7-14); Panama (7-14); Paraguay (7-14); Peru (7-14); and Venezuela (10-14).

Sources: UCW calculations based on: **Bolivia**, Encuesta Continua de Hogares (ECH), 2001; **Brazil**, Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios (PNAD), 2003; **Colombia**, Encuesta Nacional del Trabajo Infantil, 2001; **Costa Rica**, Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples (EHPM), 2002; **Ecuador**, Encuesta de Empleo, Desempleo, Subempleo y Empleo Infantil (ENEMDUR), 2001; **El Salvador**, Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples (EHPM), 2003; **Honduras**, Encuesta Permanente de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples (EPHPM), 2002; **Mexico**, Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares (ENIGH), 1996; **Nicaragua**, Encuesta Nacional de Hogares sobre Medición de Niveles de Vida, 2001; **Panama**, Encuesta del Trabajo Infantil, 2000; **Paraguay**, Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (EPH), 1999; 35) **Peru**, Encuesta Nacional de Hogares Sobre Medición de Niveles de Vida (ENNIV), 1994; **Venezuela**, Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo (EHPM), 2000.

15. One of the main limitations of the definition of economic activity is that it does not include activities falling outside the production boundary, while several of such

⁹ These numbers should be treated with caution as for each country they correspond to different age categories and different survey years.

¹⁰ "Economically active" is a term applied to persons who furnish the supply of labour for the production of economic goods and services during a specified time reference period. The production of economic goods and services also includes the production and processing of all primary products and goods – for the market or own consumption – and the production of all services for the market (UN System of National Accounts, http://unstats.un.org/unsd/cdb/cdb_dict_xrxx.asp?def_code=36). This concept encompasses most of the activities in which children are involved, including paid and unpaid work, legal and illegal activities, work in the formal or informal sector of the economy, and the production of goods for own use or for the market.

activities are commonly performed by children. Household chores are the most relevant example of this type of activity.

16. In Table 1, the percentage of economically active children is broken down by sex and age. Boys are three times more likely than girls to be in economic activity. This may reflect the unequal opportunities faced by boys and girls in the labour market. It may also reflect cultural and social patterns that produce a “gender specialization”, i.e., boys specialised in activities related to the labour market, and girls in non-economic activities, such as household chores, which are not included in the estimates. As age increases, children are drawn progressively into the labour market. This likely reflects the higher returns to work associated with higher ages as well as the more limited schooling opportunities at the higher grades.

Table 1. - Child involvement in economic activity, by age and sex

Age	Sex		Total (%)
	Male (%)	Female (%)	
10	2.4	1.0	1.7
11	2.8	2.0	2.4
12	6.1	2.1	4.1
13	10.0	2.1	6.0
14	14.6	5.0	10.1
Total	7.2	2.4	4.8

Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo (2000)

17. **School attendance:** School attendance at the basic level is high in Venezuela, but after the age of 13 years the percentage of children attending school decreases significantly and progressively (Table 2). Again, this is a likely reflection the higher opportunity costs associated with time in school as children grow older as well as the more limited schooling opportunities at the higher grades.

Table 2. - School attendance, by age and sex

Age	Sex		Total (%)
	Male (%)	Female (%)	
10	97.3	97.6	97.4
11	96.4	98.0	97.1
12	95.6	96.5	96.1
13	91.8	93.5	92.7
14	84.7	90.7	87.6
15	75.2	81.8	78.5
16	66.8	70.0	68.4
17	51.8	56.5	54.1
Total	82.8	86.0	84.4

Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo (2000)

18. **Children’s time use patterns and work intensity:** Understanding how children distribute their time across work and school is relevant for identifying the most vulnerable children. In Table 3, the child population is disaggregated into four non-overlapping activity groups – children engaged in economic activity only, those attending school only, those combining school and economic activity and those doing neither. From the table it emerges that most of those performing economic activity, are attending school at the same time.

Table 3. - Children aged 10-14, by activity status and sex

Sex	Economic activity only (%) (1)	School only (%) (2)	Combining school and economic activity (%) (3)	Neither in school nor in economic activity (%) (4)	Total eco. active (%) (1)+(3)	Total attending school (%) (2)+(3)
Male	2.9	88.9	4.3	4.0	7.2	93.1
Female	0.3	93.2	2.1	4.4	2.4	95.3
Total	1.6	91.0	3.2	4.2	4.8	94.2

Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo (2000)

19. It is important to look at the amount of hours dedicated to work activities by children combining economic activity and school (Table 4). If children work for a significant amount of time, their performance at school may be negatively affected. The sub-group that combines economic activity and schooling performs an average of 26.1 hours of economic activity each week (27.5 hours for boys vs. 22.9 for girls); if we bear in mind that adults' average working week is of 40 hours, such an amount of working hours suggests that economic activity could be interfering with education, representing a constraint on children's time for study.

Table 4. - Intensity of child involvement in economic activity, by activity status and sex (10-14 year olds)

Sex	Average weekly working hours	
	Economic activity only	Combining school and economic activity
Male	39.0	27.5
Female	31.3	22.9
Total	38.2	26.1

Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo (2000)

20. Children in the subgroup "economic activity only" are prevalently males, a fact that may be correlated with better labour market opportunities for boys than for girls. These children require special attention, as they accumulate human capital only through the skills they learn at work. Most of them will specialise in simple trades, developing very limited skills that will restrict their working possibilities to low remunerated jobs. They put in a relatively long working week of 38.2 hours. Boys in this subgroup spend 7.3 hours per week more on economic activity than girls (boys work 39.0 hours vs. 31.3 hours worked by girls).

21. "Inactive" children, i.e. those not involved in economic activity or in schooling, also represent an important policy concern. Research elsewhere suggests that they are the most vulnerable to enter into work in the presence of a shock (Rosati et al, 2003). Children in this group are also particularly disadvantaged in terms of human capital development, unable to benefit from formal schooling or from the "learning by doing" associated with some forms of work. Some children in this group might be actually unemployed, while others may be chronically ill or disabled. The largest proportion, however, are undoubtedly performing household chores, which are technically non-economic activities and therefore not captured in surveys looking only at economic activity. An in-depth analysis of inactive children requires data on time spent on household chores, health status and information on unemployment status; *Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo* (2000) dataset unfortunately does not contain this information.

22. **Involvement in child labour:** Not all child economic activity can be considered as "child labour", a narrower concept encompassing work which is

injurious, negative or undesirable to children.¹¹ There is at present no internationally agreed statistical definition of child labour, and therefore an unambiguous estimate of child labour in Venezuela or any other context is not possible. While international child labour norms provide a common conceptual definition of child labour¹², a wide variety of statistical definitions and measures are employed in the child labour literature and in programming and policy documentation on child labour.

23. Estimates of child labour are presented below based on national child labour legislation. Venezuela's national legislation sets a general minimum working age at 14 years; under special circumstances the National Council of the Rights of Children and Adolescents can authorise the work of 12 and 13 year old children, when it does not interfere with education, health and integral development, however no work for children below 12 is permitted. This description of the type of work that can be authorised by the National Council of the Rights of Children and Adolescents recalls the concept of "light work" contained in ILO Convention No. 138, though this is not explicitly mentioned. A national definition of light work has not been developed, therefore in this study light work is calculated on the basis of the definition of light work used in ILO/IPEC global estimates, i.e., work performed for less than 14 hours per week.

24. For a complete estimate of child labour for children aged 10-13 years in accordance with national legislation and with the ILO/IPEC definition of "light work", it is necessary to look at all below-age workers (all economically-active 10-11 year-olds) and all economically-active 12-13 year-olds except those in light work (Table 5). In 2000, 22,543 economically-active children were below the absolute minimum working age of 12 years, and an additional 41,252 (12-13 year-old) children in non-light economic activity were below the minimum age for this type of work¹³. Putting these groups together yields an estimate of 63,795 children 10-13 year-olds in child labour, out of a total of 74,992 children in economic activity. It should be stressed that this is a lower bound estimate, as it does not include involvement in unconditional worst forms.¹⁴ The estimate also does not include children in non-economic activity, as there remains disagreement about whether non-

¹¹ 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.

¹² 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. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) recognises the child's right to be protected from forms of work that are likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. In order to achieve this goal, the CRC calls on States Parties to set minimum ages for admission to employment, having regard to other international instruments. ILO Conventions No. 138 (Minimum Age) and No. 182 (Worst Forms) target as child labour 1) all forms of work carried out by children below a minimum cut-off age (at least 12 years in less developed countries); 2) all forms except 'light work' carried out by children below a second higher cut-off age (at least 14 years in less developed countries); and 3) all 'worst forms' of child labour carried out by children of any age under 18 years, where worst forms include 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.

¹³ Light work is calculated on the basis of the definition of light work used in ILO/IPEC global estimates, i.e., work that is less than 14 hrs./week.

¹⁴ Article 3 of ILO Convention 182 defines the unconditional worst forms of child labour as:

(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;

(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.

economic activity should be considered in child labour estimates, and, if so, beyond what time threshold.

Table 5. - Estimate of child labour involvement, based on national legislation and on ILO/IPEC definition of "light" work (10-13 year olds)

Sex	(a) children aged 10-11 years in economic activity		(b) children aged 12-13 years in economic activity <i>excluding</i> those in light economic activity ⁽ⁱ⁾		(a)+(b) Total in child labour, 10-13 years	
	% of total age group	No.	% of total age group	No.	% of total age group	No.
Male	2.6	14,845	6.5	33,499	4.5	48,344
Female	1.5	7,698	1.5	7,753	1.5	15,451
Total	2.1	22,543	4.0	41,252	3.0	63,795

Notes: (i) Light work is calculated on the basis of the definition of light work used in ILO/IPEC global estimates, i.e., work that is less than 14 hrs./week.

Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo, 2000

25. Although Venezuela's national legislation allows 14 year-olds to work, children of this age or older may be "child labourers" if these children are working under hazardous conditions, under any of the "unconditional worst forms of child labour", or if the work interferes decisively in their development (limiting, for example, their opportunity to attend school).¹⁵ By looking at the amount of working hours performed by 14 year-olds, it is possible to have an indication of the degree in which work interferes with school attendance. Fourteen year-old child workers put in an average of 32.6 weekly working hours per week, which represent three quarters of the total adult weekly working hours. This amount of working hours is likely to interfere broadly with the education of children.

26. **Work sector and modality:** The agriculture sector accounts for the largest share of child workers (Table 6). Almost 38 percent of the children between 10 and 14 years of age work in agriculture, against 36 percent in commerce, 12 percent in manufacturing and 11 percent in community and social services. But these totals mask important differences by sex. The largest proportion of working boys are found in the agriculture sector (46 percent), while working girls are concentrated in the retail, hotels and restaurants sector (62 percent). Girls are more likely to be involved in the community and social services sector than boys, while boys tend to be more concentrated in manufacturing activities than girls. The construction sector and the transportation and communications sectors are the exclusive domain of boy workers.

27. A wide range of occupations in the agriculture sector can be hazardous to the health of children. Tasks in this sector include working with sharp tools and power machinery, handling and spraying biological and chemical components (fertilizers and pesticides), caring for farm animals and herding sheep, the transportation of heavy loads and exposure to long periods in the sun with the risk of dehydration. Rural environments may also expose children to respiratory and parasitic infections, malaria, dengue, and bites from snakes and poisonous insects.

¹⁵ Article 89 of the National Constitution of Venezuela forbids all the working activities that might affect the development of adolescents, establishing in its 6th paragraph that: "Work by adolescents at tasks that may affect their overall development is prohibited. The State shall protect them against any economic and social exploitation".

Table 6. - Sector of child economic activity, by sex (10-14 year olds).

Sex	Industry	Number of economically active children	Percentage of economically active children
Male	Agriculture	45,043	46.17
	Mining and quarrying	-	-
	Manufacturing	12,562	12.88
	Electricity, gas and water	-	-
	Construction	1,853	1.90
	Retail trade, hotels and restaurants	27,584	28.27
	Transportation storage and communications	1,740	1.78
	Finance, insurance, real estate and enterprises services	-	-
	Community and social services	8,783	9.00
	Other	-	-
Total	97,565	100	
Female	Agriculture	3,895	12.36
	Mining and quarrying	-	-
	Manufacturing	2,339	7.42
	Electricity, gas and water	-	-
	Construction	-	-
	Retail trade, hotels and restaurants	19,389	61.51
	Transportation storage and communications	-	-
	Finance, insurance, real estate and enterprises services	-	-
	Community and social services	5,330	16.91
	Other	570	1.81
Total	31,523	100	
Total	Agriculture	48,938	37.91
	Mining and quarrying	-	-
	Manufacturing	14,901	11.54
	Electricity, gas and water	-	-
	Construction	1,853	1.44
	Retail trade, hotels and restaurants	46,973	36.39
	Transportation storage and communications	1,740	1.35
	Finance, insurance, real estate and enterprises services	-	-
	Community and social services	14,113	10.93
	Other	570	0.44
Total	129,088	100	

Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo (2000)

28. Table 7 shows the distribution of working children by modality of employment. The largest proportion of children in economic activity work for the family as unpaid workers (47 percent), followed by wage workers (31 percent) and self employed (22 percent). Once again, these totals mask important differences by sex. While 36 percent of boys work for wages, only 15 percent of girls receive payment for their work. The “unpaid family sector” accounts for the largest share of male and female working children, but girls are much more likely to work for their families than boys (58 percent against 44 percent). Girls also tend to work more in self employment than boys.

Table 7. - Modality of child economic activity, by sex (10-14 year olds)

Sex	Modality of child economic activity	Number of economically active children	Percentage of economically active children
Male	Wage worker	34,761	35.63
	Self-employed	20,327	20.83
	Unpaid family worker	42,477	43.54
	Total	97,565	100
Female	Wage worker	4,846	15.37
	Self-employed	8,489	26.93
	Unpaid family worker	18,188	57.70
	Total	31,523	100
Total	Wage worker	39,607	30.68
	Self-employed	28,816	22.32
	Unpaid family worker	60,665	47.00
	Total	129,088	100

Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo (2000)

29. **Household income and parental education:** As shown in Table 8, which breaks down children by activity status and per capita household income quintile, higher per capita household incomes are associated with a lower probability of working only (two percent of total children in the lowest quintile versus 0.7 percent in the highest). There appears to be a positive relationship between household income and the probability of children belonging to the “school only” subgroup; higher per capita incomes are associated with a higher probability of only attending school (89 percent of total children in the lowest quintile versus 95 percent in the highest). For the inactive children, the variation across quintiles is even more significant, with six percent of inactive children in the lowest quintile and one percent in the highest.

Table 8. - Child activity, by per capita household income quintile (10-14 year olds)

Per capita household income quintile	Economic activity only %	School only %	Combining school and economic activity %	Neither in school nor in economic activity %	Total
1- lowest	2.0	88.5	3.2	6.3	100
2	1.8	90.3	3.4	4.5	100
3	1.3	92.6	3.4	2.7	100
4	1.5	93.0	2.8	2.7	100
5	0.7	95.0	3.1	1.1	100

Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo (2000)

Table 9. - Children aged 10-14 years in economic activity, by mother's and father's level of education

Level of education	Children in economic activity by mother's level of education (%)	Children in economic activity by father's level of education (%)
None or preschool	13.9	14.1
Primary education	5.1	5.2
Secondary and higher	1.8	2.4

Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo (2000)

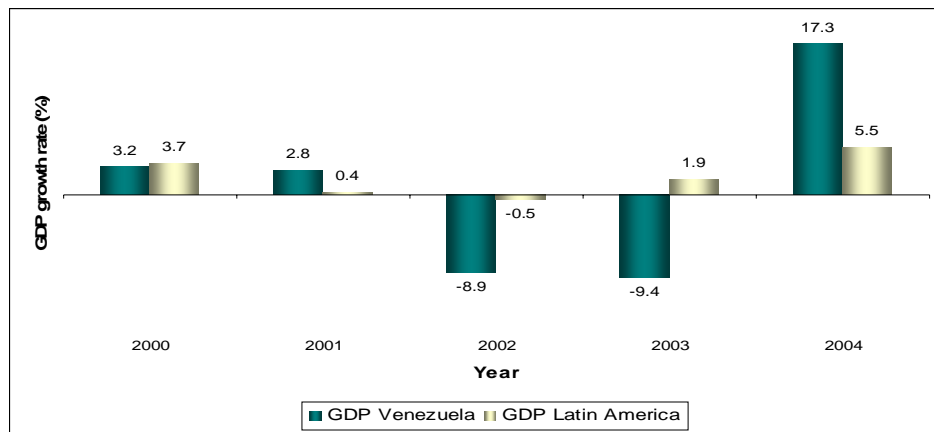
30. Parents' educational level appears positively related to school attendance and negatively to work involvement. Of total children who have mothers with no education or only with preschool, 14 percent are economically active (Table 9). As the mother's level of education increases, the percentage of economically active children declines. Just two percent of the total children who have mothers with secondary or higher level of education are “economically active”. The same results are found when analysing the correlation between the father's education and the economic activity of children. These relationships are likely at least partially the product of a disguised income effect, as higher levels of education are typically associated with higher levels of income.

4. THE ECONOMIC CRISIS OF 2002-2003 IN VENEZUELA BRINGS TO SURFACE CHILDREN'S VULNERABILITY

4.1 Overview of Venezuela: 2000-2004

31. Venezuela suffered two major macroeconomic downturns in 2002 and 2003. While the international market conditions were favourable for oil production and exportation, a situation of internal political instability and polarization of society led to the disruption of the Hugo Chavez government on 11 April 2002. The president was reinstated to power two days later, but the political tensions between Chavez supporters and the opposition remained high. In December 2003, the opposition called a general strike of the national oil industry (PDVSA) that lasted 64 days. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rate plunged dramatically – by 8.9 percent and 9.4 percent, respectively, in 2002 and 2003 (Figure 2).

Figure 2. - GDP growth rate of Venezuela and Latin America 2000-2004

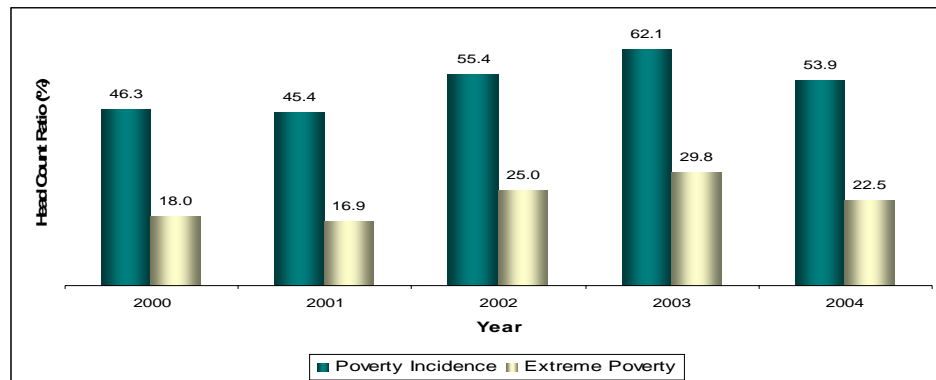


Source: Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL)

32. The Venezuelan economic decline starting in 2000 had devastating social consequences. Poverty incidence increased from 46 percent of Venezuelans living below the national poverty line in 2000 (second semester) to a peak of 62 percent in 2003 (second semester), of which 30 percent were considered “extreme poor” (Figure 3).¹⁶ The poverty measurement considered by the National Institute of Statistics is based on the comparison of per capita household income against two poverty lines – the extreme poverty line and the poverty line. The extreme poverty line corresponds to the per capita value of the cost of a food bundle, while the poverty line includes an allowance for the consumption of services (it is obtained multiplying the per capita value of the food bundle by two).

¹⁶ National Institute of Statistics (INE): <http://www.ine.gov.ve/indicadore sociales/LineadePobreza-Sep2006.pdf>

Figure 3. - Poverty and extreme poverty in Venezuela, 2000-2004



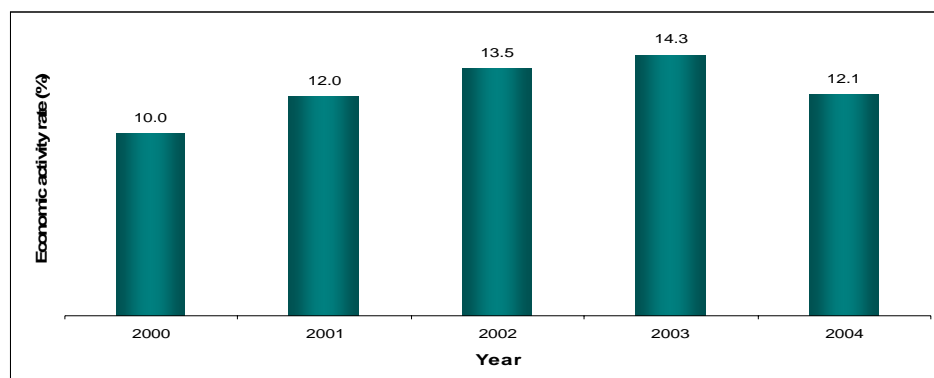
Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Venezuela (INE); All data points correspond to the second semester of each year

4.2 Impact of the economic shocks on child work and child labour

33. During socio-economic dislocations the pressure to put all hands to work increases, including the hands of children. This might be especially the case for the many poor households unable to cope with the collapse of income by selling assets or by receiving credit, because they lack sufficient assets and are unable to provide the collateral that lenders require. When survival is at stake, affected households may also cut back investments in human capital accumulation by withdrawing their children from schools or by obliging them to combine education with work. Hence, the consequences of economic shocks may be permanent, because working children leaving school “temporarily” often never return. On the other hand, as education and salaries are strongly correlated, these partially educated children will most likely end up in low wage, low skilled work.

34. Figure 4 suggests that the worsening of the economic situation in Venezuela triggered some of these household survival mechanisms; indeed, many children from 10 to 17 years of age were put to work. The economic activity rate for the children aged 10-17 years increased from 10 percent in 2000 to 14 percent in 2003. When the economic situation began to improve in terms of GDP growth rate – in 2004 GDP rose by 17 percent – children began to again be withdrawn from the labour market.

Figure 4. - Child involvement in economic activity, by year (10-17 year olds), 2000-2004

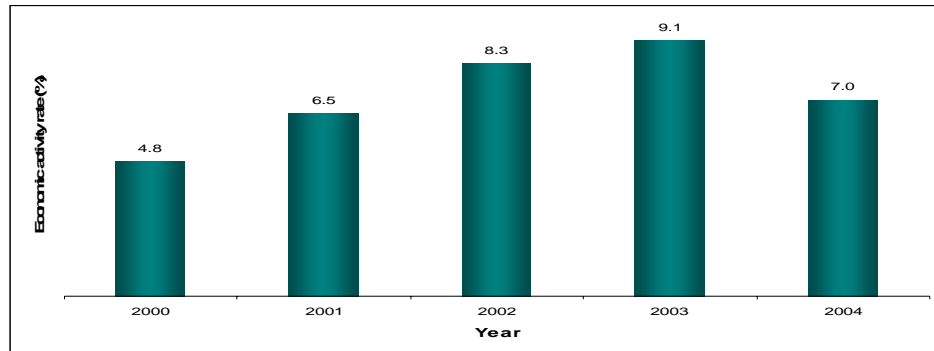


Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004

35. It is important to stress that most of the increase in the 10-17 year-old economic activity rate was driven by the contribution of the 10-14 years-olds (Figure 5). For

this age group the percentage of working children rose from five percent in 2000 to nine percent in 2003. The large contribution to the increase in work by children in the 10 to 14 age range may be explained by the fact that older children already have too much invested in education to be removed from education in order to work. It may also be explained by the fact that in the presence of a general reduction in household incomes the number of poor children increased, and poor 10-14 year old children participate much less in secondary education than better off children from the same age group.

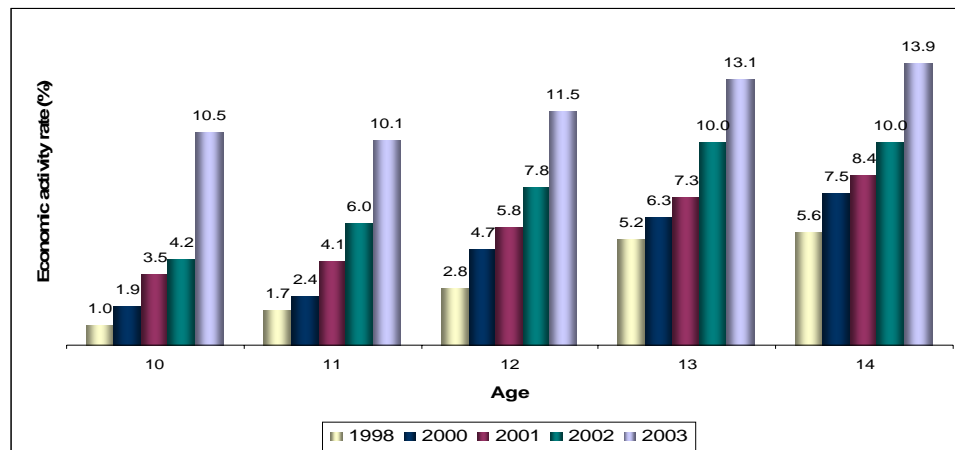
Figure 5. - Child involvement in economic activity, by year (10-14 year olds), 2000-2004



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004

36. If we look more in detail into this age range (Figure 6), we notice that the largest increases in work participation regarded the 10-11 year olds, the age in which children are most likely to still be in primary school. This may be due to the fact that employers facing an economic crisis may hire younger children to cut costs. Further, many parents suddenly unemployed may be obliged to also send to work their younger children in order to reach an acceptable minimum level of household consumption.

Figure 6. - Children in economic activity, by age and year, (10-14 year olds)



Sources: Understanding Children Work Database for year 1998; Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo for years 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2003

37. In Table 10, children are classified by activity status and by year. While the groups of “only in economic activity” and “inactive” children remained practically unchanged during the period 2000-2003, the percentage of children in only in school decreased, while the group combining school and economic activity increased. One

possible explanation for these results is that the children only in school were induced by the economic shock to combine economic activity and school. It should be kept in mind that children combining school and work will more likely drop out of school in the future because of difficulties in continuing studying while working.

Table 10. - Children aged 10-14, by activity status and year

	2000 (%)	2001 (%)	2002 (%)	2003 (%)	2004 (%)
Economic activity only	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.4
School only	91.0	89.8	87.9	87.0	89.8
Combining school and economic activity	3.2	4.7	6.5	7.5	5.7
Neither in school nor in economic activity	4.2	3.8	3.8	3.9	3.1

Sources: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo for years 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004

38. If we look at the changes during the period 2000-2004 in the distribution of children combining school and economic activity across per capita household income quintiles, we notice that the rise in the percentage of children working and attending school at the same time was especially strong for the lowest quintiles, although the increase touched the children from all household income levels. The highest quintile presents a low increase in the percentage of children combining school and economic activity. This confirms the idea that the crisis was especially hard to face for poor families leading them to put their children to work and to oblige them to study and work at the same time (Table 11).

Table 11. - Children aged 10-14 working and studying, by per capita household income quintile and year

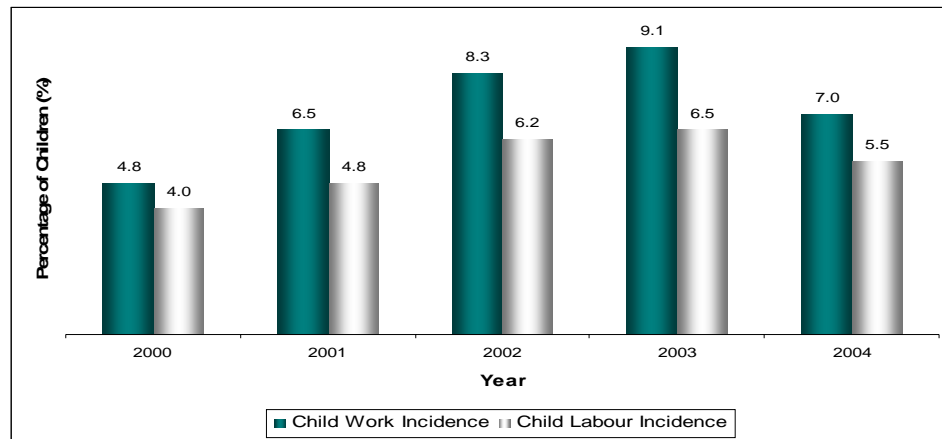
	2000 (%)	2001 (%)	2002 (%)	2003 (%)	2004 (%)
1- Lowest	3.2	5.1	7.3	8.2	5.9
2	3.4	4.2	6.9	8.3	6.7
3	3.4	5.6	6.5	7.0	5.6
4	2.8	4.7	5.3	7.0	4.4
5- Highest	3.1	3.2	4.7	4.0	4.3
Total	3.2	4.7	6.5	7.5	5.7

Sources: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo for years 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004

39. Figure 7 presents estimates of child labour for children between 10 and 14 years old.¹⁷ The definition of child labour used in this context includes all children in economic activity below 12 years of age and children from 12 to 14 years of age performing economic activity for more than 14 hours a week. Figure 7 shows that child labour increased from 2000 to 2003, but to lesser extent than children's work. The improvement of macroeconomic conditions during 2004, on the other hand, had a greater impact on children's work than on child labour. The different elasticities between children's work and child labour suggest that the increase in children's work mainly consisted in a rise in the share of children working less than 14 weekly hours, rather than of children working longer hours. One possible explanation is that children's work is a response to an adverse temporary situation, while child labour, in the sense of intense involvement in work, is a more structural phenomenon, more linked to chronic poverty and not likely to change substantially under favourable or unfavourable economic conditions.

¹⁷ For comparative reasons, estimates on child labour are calculated for the age range going from 10 to 14 years, though technically the minimum working age in Venezuela is 14 years.

Figure 7. - Child work and child labour in Venezuela 2000-2004 (10-14 year-olds)



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004

5. THE INFLUENCE OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS ON THE SECTORAL COMPOSITION OF CHILDREN'S WORK

40. In this section we will look at the possible impact of the economic crisis on the sectoral composition of work. Table 12 and Table 13 break down the economic activity of 10-17 year-olds and adults by industrial sector and year, while Table 14 shows the total Venezuelan GDP broken down by industrial sector and year.

Table 12. - Sector of child economic activity, by year (10-17 year olds), 2000-2003

Sector	2000 (%)	2001 (%)	2002 (%)	2003 (%)
Agriculture	3.15	2.99	3.08	3.47
Mining	0	0.03	0.01	0.02
Manufacturing	1.2	1.09	1.11	1.15
Electricity, gas and water	0	0	0.01	0.01
Construction	0.57	0.77	0.73	0.62
Commerce, hotels and restaurants	3.04	4.25	5.23	5.64
Transportation	0.35	0.4	0.5	0.42
Finance	0.08	0.17	0.15	0.2
Services	1.55	2.27	2.62	2.64
Other	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.07
Total	10.0	12.0	13.5	14.2

Sources: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo for years 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2003

Table 13. - Sector of economic activity, by year (18 year olds or older), 2000-2003

Sector	2000 (%)	2001 (%)	2002 (%)	2003 (%)
Agriculture	6.05	5.87	5.98	6.41
Mining	0.37	0.35	0.3	0.35
Manufacturing	8.05	8.06	7.37	7.28
Electricity, gas and water	0.4	0.39	0.34	0.34
Construction	4.97	5.25	4.89	4.39
Commerce, hotels and restaurants	15.63	16.66	16.88	16.12
Transportation	4.12	4.46	4.58	4.69
Finance	3.03	3.19	3.08	2.99
Services	17.67	19.12	18.88	19.5
Other	0.07	0.07	0.17	0.22
Total	60.4	63.4	62.5	62.3

Sources: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo for years 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2003

Table 14. - Growth rates by industry sector, 2000-2003

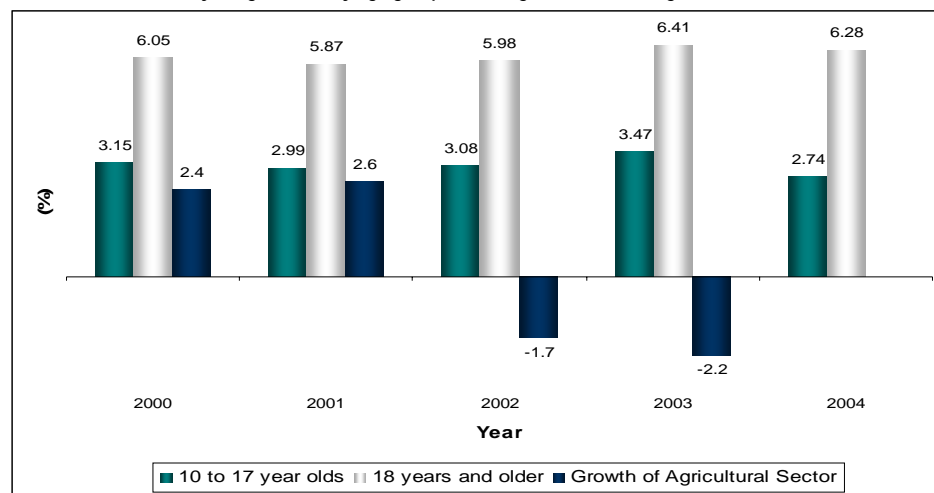
Sector	2000 (%)	2001 (%)	2002 (%)	2003 (%)
Agriculture	2.4	2.6	-1.7	-2.2
Mining	4.7	1.1	-12.3	-8.2
Manufacturing	2.1	-0.4	-11.2	-13.5
Electricity, gas and water	2.2	3.8	1.8	1
Construction	-2.7	13.5	-19.8	-37.4
Commerce, hotels and restaurants	4	3.4	-10.9	-11.4
Transportation	8.1	8.8	-3.8	-3.5
Finance	2.2	2.4	-3.5	-4.8
Services	2.2	1.8	-1.1	-1.4
Other	not available	not available	not available	not available

Sources: Comisión Económica para América Latina (CEPAL)

41. The agriculture sector accounts for one of the largest shares of the 10-17 year-old working population. Figure 8 shows that as the agriculture sector grew in 2000 and 2001, the participation of children, adolescents and adults in agriculture declined. When the sector contracted in 2002 and 2003, on the other hand, the economic activity of children, adolescents and adults in agriculture rose. One possible explanation for these results is that the growth and contractions of the agricultural sector were mostly driven by the industrialized agriculture, which is less labour

intensive. Hence, when the Venezuelan economic environment was positive for agriculture and the other sectors, people may have chosen to work in the more productive sectors (different from labour intensive, traditional agriculture) to earn higher salaries. This would explain the lower work participation in the agriculture sector even though the sector itself grew. On the contrary, as the crisis arose, vast contingents of workers lost their jobs and the agriculture sector contracted, many workers may have shifted to labour intensive traditional and subsistence agriculture to sustain the livelihoods of rural households. This could explain why despite the contraction of the agricultural sector in 2002 and 2003, adult and child work participation in the sector increased.

Figure 8. - Economic activity in agriculture by age group versus agricultural sector growth rates



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 for economic activity, growth rates from CEPAL

42. It is interesting to look at the sectors the children and adolescents moved to or withdrew from when they left or transited to agriculture. The construction sector, the commerce sector and the service sector appear to have absorbed and lost the child workers which respectively left and entered the agricultural sector. Besides agriculture, children and adolescents tend to be highly concentrated in the commercial sector (for details on the other sectors see Annex 2). Such concentration is due to the fact that this sector is widely informal and is characterised by some specific conditions promoting children's work, such as: easy entry, family ownership of enterprises, modest scale operations and skills acquired outside the formal school system.¹⁸

43. The economic crisis meant the destruction of many formal employments and produced a large increase in the informal sector. Although the surveys used for this study do not provide direct information on involvement in the informal sector, the distribution of working children by modality of employment can shed some light on the issue. As shown in Table 15, the percentage of children working as unpaid family workers rose drastically during 2000-2003 and absorbed most of the increase in child work during the economic crisis. The constant increase in the child economic activity rate from 2000 to 2003 was likely due, to a large extent, to the increased involvement of children in the informal sector of the economy.

¹⁸ ILO, 2004.

Table 15. - Modality of child economic activity, by year and age group

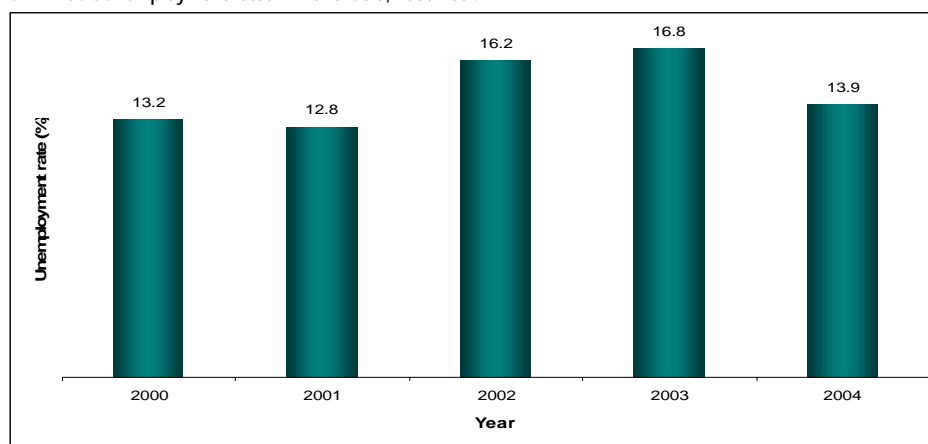
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
	%	%	%	%	%
10-14					
Wage work	30.68	24.46	19.32	17.63	25.74
Self employment	22.32	24.23	22.19	20.53	29.59
Unpaid family work	47.00	51.31	58.49	61.84	44.68
15-17					
Wage work	59.17	54.02	51.69	50.66	52.73
Self employment	24.04	27.64	26.51	25.89	31.37
Unpaid family work	16.79	18.34	21.80	23.45	15.91

Sources: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo for years 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004

6. INTERACTION BETWEEN CHILDREN'S WORK AND ADULT EMPLOYMENT DURING ECONOMIC SHOCKS

44. Figure 9 shows that the worsening of the economic conditions resulted in an increase of the adult unemployment rate from 13 percent in 2000 to 17 percent in 2003. Therefore, while children's work was rising, adult employment appeared to be moving in the opposite direction. This situation is likely to be the response of poor households to the collapse of adult incomes and the necessity of restoring incomes through the work of children.

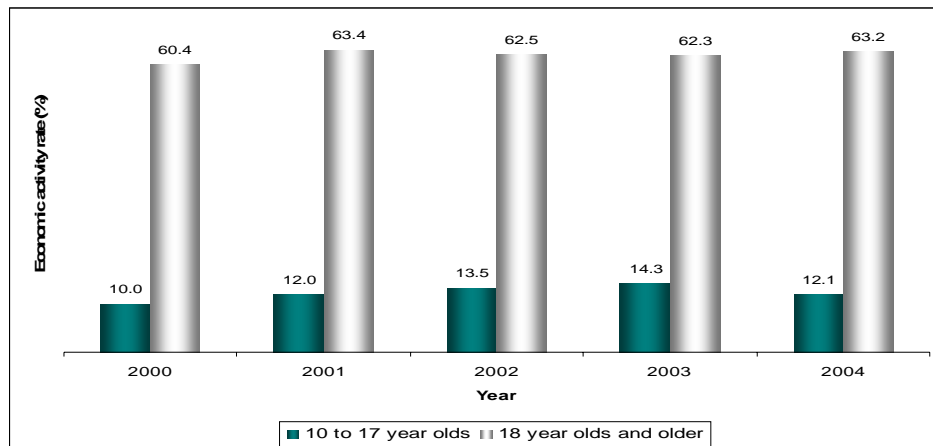
Figure 9. - Adult unemployment rates in Venezuela, 2000-2004



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Venezuela

45. Figure 10 presents the economic activity rate for 10-17 year-olds and adults for the 2000-2004 period. It illustrates that child and adult work moved in opposite directions from 2001 onwards. While adult economic activity declined from 63.4 percent in 2001 to 62.3 percent in 2003, child work increased from 12 percent to 14.3 percent in the same period. Venezuela's economic growth during 2004 was accompanied by an increase in the percentage of economically active adults from 62.2 percent in 2003 to 63.2 percent in 2004, while children employment dropped more than two percentage points, falling from 14.3 percent to 12.1 percent.

Figure 10. - Child and adult economic activity rates, by year



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004

46. To summarise, from 2000 to 2004 the adult economic activity rate behaved in the “expected manner”, rising and diminishing in the same direction of GDP fluctuations, while child work followed the opposite pattern, except from 2000 to 2001. The fact that children’s work increased in concert with adults’ work from 2000 to 2001 supports the hypothesis that will be presented in the next section, that child work increased despite a relatively favourable economic environment because Venezuelan households were able to foresee to a certain extent the political and economic shocks of 2002 and 2003 and used children’s work to counteract their negative expectations. From this perspective, child work could be revealing the expectations of the adult population about their future well-being, and could be used— under certain circumstances - as a crisis predictor.

7. DID CHILD WORK REACT TO THE CRISIS EXPECTATIONS?

47. If we look at children’s work trends we observe that during 2001, when GDP rose by 2.8 percent, the rate of children in economic activity aged 10-17 years increased by 2 percent (more than in 2002 and 2003). What might explain this apparently contradictory result? As many social phenomena, children’s work is the result of the interaction of a myriad of factors, both external and internal. Among the most important factors internal to the household are expectations about the future. Speculation about the future can be a crucial factor in determining household decisions, including those regarding the allocation of children’s time. If families perceive that their income and consumption prospects are in danger, they will put into action mechanisms to counteract these expectations. One logical behaviour of a household facing a negative political and economic scenario is to diminish present consumption, and in addition, to try to accumulate as many economic resources as possible in order to deal with the forthcoming crisis. A possible way to accrue resources is to put children to work so as to increase the total household income.

48. Shocks may be different in nature; while a natural disaster and a political crisis can lead exactly to similar economic results in terms of collapse in household income the social and economic dynamics of the stage preceding the two shocks differ widely – political crises generally develop progressively and have extended periods of incubation.

49. In Venezuela it is possible to trace the beginning of the political conflict back to the year 2000, when President Hugo Chavez promulgated a compendium of 49 national laws that were perceived by important sectors of Venezuelan society as a violation of civil and economic rights. The dialogue was then interrupted and other means of protest took place. The most important trade union and a substantial part of the industrial and service sectors called for a general strike on 10 December 2001. It was the end of a long chain of political divergences between the government and the opposition, and the prelude to the major political confrontation that immediately followed. Venezuelan households were receiving negative signals from the political and economic realms. The government was implementing a series of political and economic measures that appeared as a major change in the behaviour of the institutions, fuelling the sensation of risk and insecurity.

50. Some people who benefited from the government social programs may have had the feeling that these resources would be held back. Besides the political situation, during 2001 the Venezuelan economic situation was deteriorating. First, the oil prices dropped from 27.5 dollars per barrel in 2000 to 23.1 dollars in 2001 (see Annex 1) producing a contraction in the public budget. The positive growth registered during 2001 was due to the private sector of the economy that grew by 5.1 percent (compared to 4.5 percent in the previous year), while the public sector contracted by 1.3 percent. The slowing of the United States economy combined with the decision of the *Organización de Países Exportadores de Petróleo* (OPEP) of cutting the oil production of its members, also significantly affected the country's export revenues. Between February and September 2001, the OPEP agreements cut the oil production of Venezuela to 407,000 thousand barrels per day.

51. The deceleration of the Venezuelan economy during 2001, in addition to the political uncertainty on the stability of the government, may have played an active role in increasing children's work in 2001 by affecting negatively people's expectations. However, this hypothesis requires further research.

8. CONCLUSION

52. Venezuela is characterized by a low level of child economic activity relative to other countries in the LAC region. The number of Venezuelan working children is nonetheless large in absolute terms and merits policy attention. If we look at the picture of child work for 2000 what stands out is the fact that most of the children in economic activity between 10 and 13 years of age were not supposed to be working according to Venezuela's national legislation and according to the ILO convention No.138, because of the young age at which the work was performed or because of the long hours that work entails. Work under such conditions is most likely to damage the development of children and to interfere with their education, in turn damaging prospects for securing gainful employment as adults.

53. The increase in child economic activity produced by the crisis was largely absorbed by the agriculture and commerce sector and consisted for the most in a rise in unpaid family work. Both of these sectors are characterised by informal work. The agriculture sector exposes children to numerous health risks, while the commerce sector is mostly unregulated, insecure, and often exposes children to the well-known dangers associated with work on the street.

54. Children's vulnerability to child labour is also important. The study shows how the child economic activity rose significantly during the Venezuelan crisis of 2002-2003, especially for children aged 10-14 years, suggesting that children are used by households to mitigate shocks. The rise in child economic activity appeared to consist

mainly in an increase of children working less than 14 weekly hours, typically involved students being forced to also work. Although children did not abandon school to work it must be kept in mind that children attending school and working at the same time face a higher risk of dropping out of school in the future, because of the additional constraint work places on time and energy for study. This argues for policy interventions such as cash transfers contingent on school attendance, in order to mitigate the effects of economic shocks on children's schooling.

55. Children's work also increased substantially before the 2002-2003 crisis, when political instability warned households and influenced their expectations. The hypothesis advanced in the paper is that families foresaw the collapse of income that was going to take place and adjusted child economic activity to counteract their expectations. When the crisis came to an end and the economy recovered, many children were withdrawn from work. However, the incidence of children's work remained significantly higher than it was before the shock, suggesting that such shocks can have permanent effects on children's development and future prospects.

56. The study results point to particular vulnerability of children in the country. When the economic crisis arose in Venezuela, children only studying were forced to combine work and study. The characteristics of children's work in Venezuela call for the need to design survey instruments capable of investigating the working conditions of children. On the basis of more detailed information, policy interventions could be tailored to the real needs of those children working.

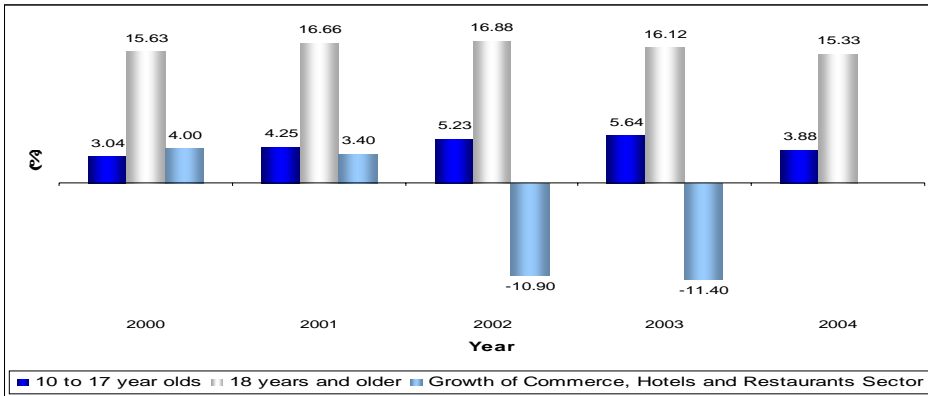
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APPENDIX I: Child and adult work by industry sector; industry sector growth rates

A.I Commerce sector

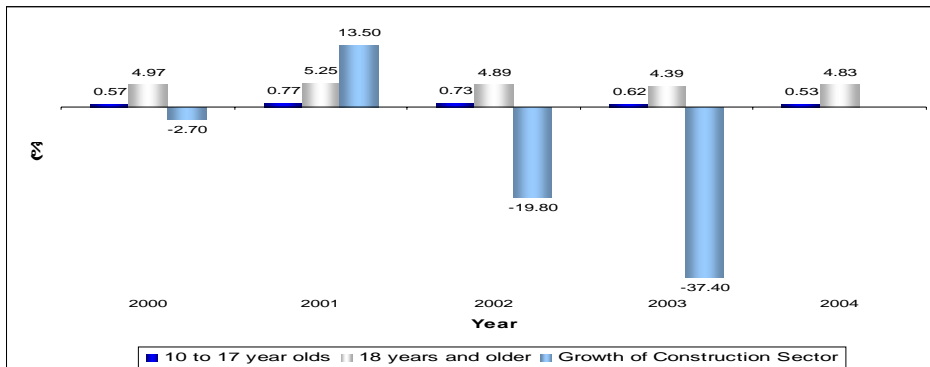
Figure 11. - Economic activity in commerce, hotels and restaurants by age group versus sector growth rates, 2000-2004



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 for economic activity; growth rates from CEPAL.

A.II Construction sector

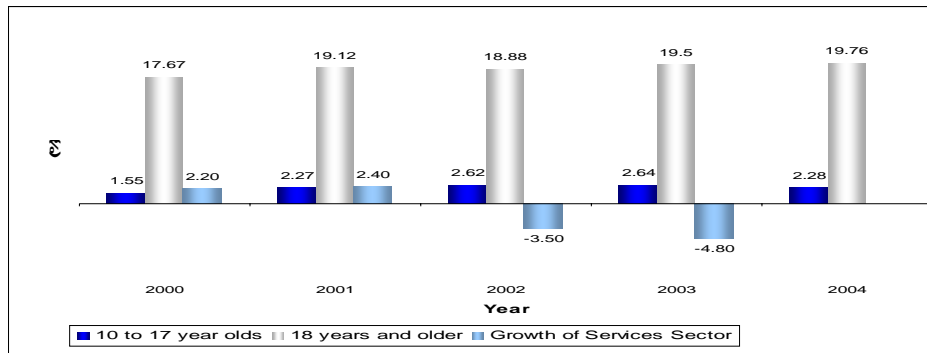
Figure 12. - Economic activity in construction sector by age groups versus sector growth rates, 2000-2004



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 for economic activity; growth rates from CEPAL.

A.III Services sector

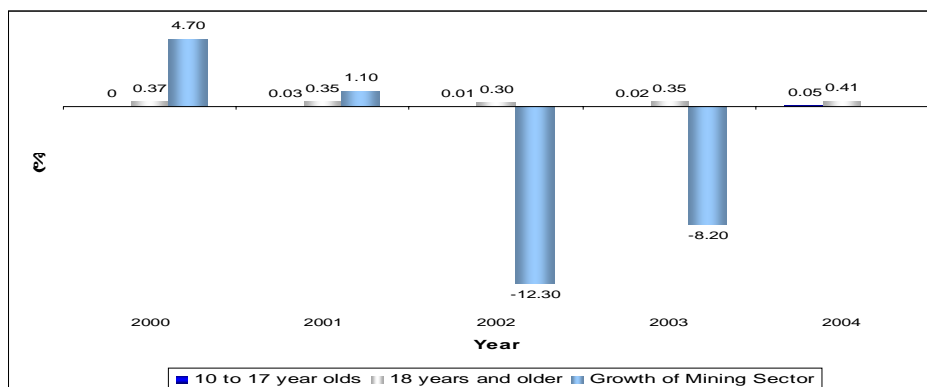
Figure 13. - Economic activity in services sector by age groups versus sector growth rates, 2000-2004



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 for economic activity; growth rates from CEPAL.

A.IV Mining Sector:

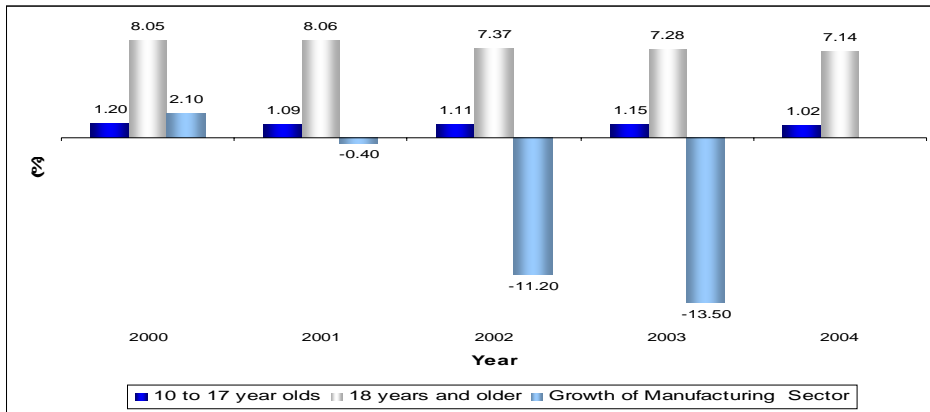
Figure 14. - Economic activity in mining sector by age groups versus sector growth rates, 2000-2004



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 for economic activity; growth rates from CEPAL.

A.V Manufacturing Sector:

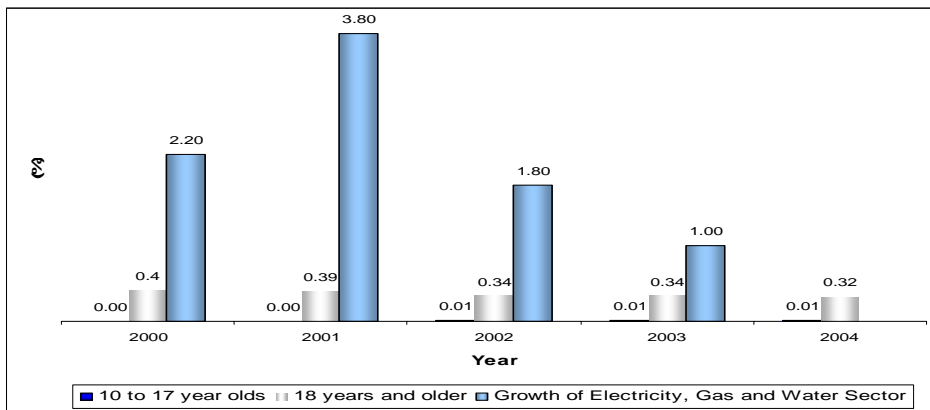
Figure 15. - Economic activity in the manufacturing sector by age groups versus sector growth rates, 2000-2004



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 for economic activity; growth rates from CEPAL.

A.VI Electricity, gas and water:

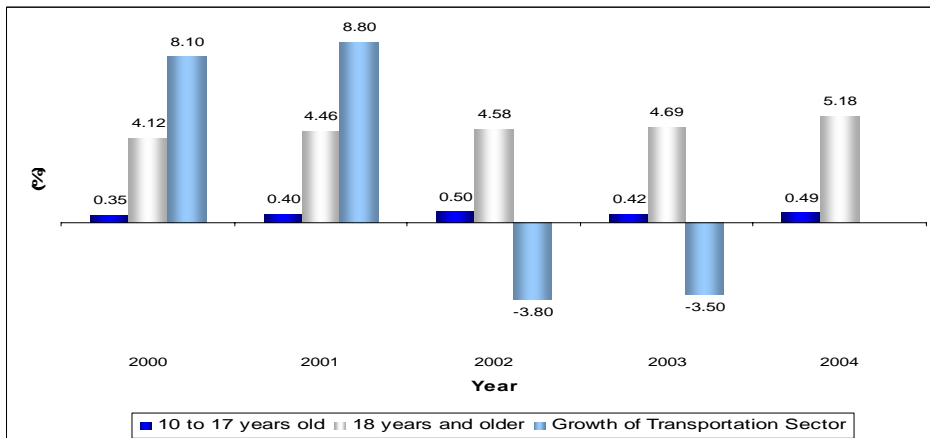
Figure 16. - Economic activity in the electricity, gas and water sector by age groups versus sector growth rates, 2000-2004



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 for economic activity; growth rates from CEPAL.

g) Transportation Sector:

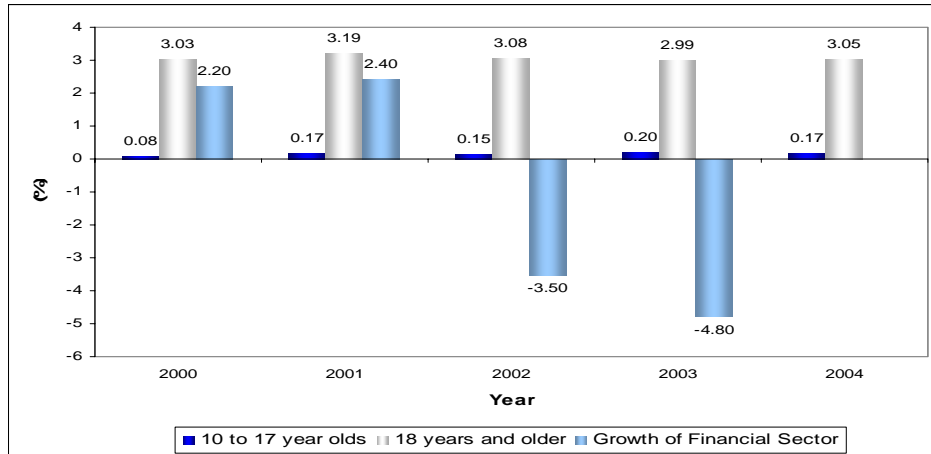
Figure 17. - Economic activity in the transportation sector by age groups versus sector growth rates, 2000-2004



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 for economic activity; growth rates from CEPAL.

A.VII Financial Sector:

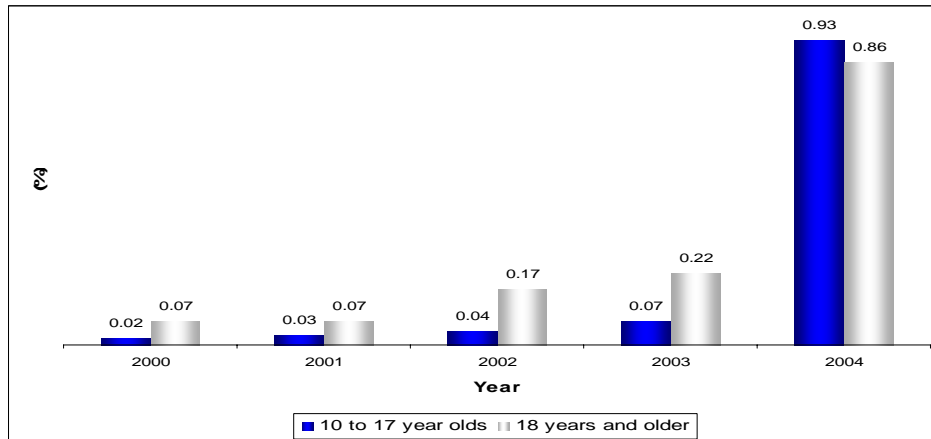
Figure 18. - Economic activity in the financial sector by age groups versus sector growth rates, 2000-2004



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 for economic activity; growth rates from CEPAL.

A.VIII Other sectors:

Figure 19. - Economic activity rate in other industry sectors, by age groups, 2000-2004



Source: Encuesta de Hogares por Muestreo 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 for economic activity; growth rates from CEPAL.

APPENDIX II: OPEP oil prices 2000-2004

Figure 20. - OPEP oil prices 2000-2004

