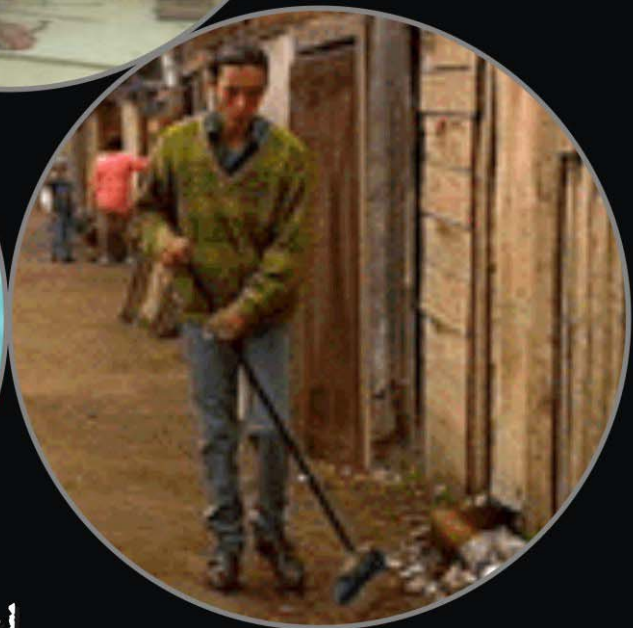


Review of Child Labour, Education and Poverty Agenda



Chile
Country Report
2006

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I Child Labor, Poverty and Education in South America

1.1 Socio-Economic Context

According to ECLAC (2005), the economy of Latin America and the Caribbean will grow by about 4.4% in 2005, which presents a relatively positive regional scene. The lower growth in comparison to the year 2004 (5.8%) is due to a slowing down of the growth of world economy and standardization of various economies of the region, which had registered strong rates of recovery (Argentina, Uruguay and Venezuela). For the year 2005 also, a growth rate of more than 6% is foreseen in the South Cone and about 4.4% in the Andean Community, which reflects the culmination of the recovery processes in Argentina, Uruguay and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, respectively. On the other hand, the projections for Brazil is of 4%, while that of Mexico and Central America is calculated at 3.7%.

The inflation rate will be kept in the same range as in previous years, i.e., 7%. However, in some countries slight inflationary increases are noticed because of increase in the tariff of regulated services and in the international prices of food and petroleum.

The fiscal policy of the year 2004 was characterized by an improvement in the public finances of various countries and for 2005 a controlled expenditure is projected, as well as slight increases in the level of collection. However, the high levels of debt noticed in some countries of the region make their growth vulnerable to increases in the interest rates in the United States.

Table No. 1
LATIN AMERICA: GDP PROJECTION, 2004-2005
 (Rate of annual percentage variation)

Country Scene 2005
Low Projected High

AMÉRICA LATINA: PROYECCIÓN DEL PIB, 2004-2005 (Tasa de variación porcentual anual)				
País	2004	Escenario 2005		
		Bajo	Proyectado	Alto
Argentina	9,0	6,0	6,5	7,0
Bolivia	3,8	3,0	3,3	3,4
Brasil	5,2	3,7	4,0	4,3
Chile	6,1	5,6	6,2	6,4
Colombia	4,0	3,1	3,5	3,6
Costa Rica	4,2	3,3	3,5	4,0
Ecuador	6,6	3,0	3,4	3,6
El Salvador	1,5	2,2	2,5	2,7
Guatemala	2,7	2,5	3,0	3,7
Honduras	5,0	3,8	4,2	4,5
México	4,4	3,5	3,8	4,0
Nicaragua	5,1	3,5	4,0	4,5
Panamá	6,2	4,0	4,5	5,0
Paraguay	2,9	2,4	3,0	3,4
Perú	5,1	4,0	4,5	5,1
República Dominicana	2,0	2,2	2,5	2,7
Uruguay	12,4	5,7	6,0	6,3
Venezuela	17,3	5,0	6,5	8,0
Caribe	4,1	3,5	4,0	4,5
Total	5,8	4,0	4,4	4,7

Fuente: Elaborado por el Centro de Proyecciones Económicas (CPE) de la División de Estadísticas y Proyecciones Económicas de la CEPAL, según información oficial de cada país.

AMÉRICA LATINA: EVOLUCIÓN DE ALGUNOS INDICADORES SOCIOECONÓMICOS, 1990-2002

País Año	PIB per cápita (Tasa promedio anual de variación) a/	Desempleo urbano	Remuneración media real c/	Salario mínimo urbano	País Año	PIB per cápita (Tasa promedio anual de variación) a/	Desempleo urbano	Remuneración media real c/	Salario mínimo urbano
		Promedio simple del período b/ (porcentajes)	Tasa promedio anual de variación				Promedio simple del período b/ (porcentajes)	Tasa promedio anual de variación	
Argentina 1990-1999 2000-2002	2,6 -6,6	11,9 17,4	0,6 -4,6	0,8 -6,4	Honduras 1990-1999 2000-2002	-0,2 0,9	6,1 6,0	... ...	1,0 4,4
Bolivia 1990-1999 2000-2002	1,6 -0,1	5,5 8,2	3,0 2,6	7,4 6,1	México 1990-1999 2000-2002	1,5 0,8	3,6 2,5	0,8 4,7	-4,7 0,6
Brasil 1990-1999 2000-2002	0,2 1,0	5,6 6,8	-1,0 -2,7	-0,4 5,0	Nicaragua 1990-1999 2000-2002	0,2 0,7	14,3 10,9	8,0 3,4	-1,8 -4,6
Chile 1990-1999 2000-2002	4,2 1,9	7,2 9,1	3,5 1,7	5,9 4,6	Panamá 1990-1999 2000-2002	2,9 -0,6	16,6 16,1	... ...	1,5 3,3
Colombia 1990-1999 2000-2002	0,6 0,1	11,6 17,7	1,3 2,7	-0,4 0,8	Paraguay 1990-1999 2000-2002	-0,6 -2,7	6,3 11,8	0,3 -1,4	-1,6 2,4
Costa Rica 1990-1999 2000-2002	2,6 -0,3	5,4 6,0	2,1 1,9	1,1 -0,3	Perú 1990-1999 2000-2002	1,3 0,9	8,5 9,1	-0,8 1,5	1,4 3,9
Cuba 1990-1999 2000-2002	-3,6 3,0	... ...	... ...	... ...	Rep. Dominicana 1990-1999 2000-2002	2,7 3,1	16,9 15,1	... ...	2,6 1,6
Ecuador 1990-1999 2000-2002	0,2 1,5	9,4 11,0	5,3 ...	0,9 2,9	Uruguay 1990-1999 2000-2002	2,4 -6,2	10,0 15,3	0,5 -4,2	-5,9 -4,5
El Salvador 1990-1999 2000-2002	2,6 0,1	7,8 6,6	... ...	-0,5 -2,6	Venezuela c/ 1990-1999 2000-2002	0,3 -2,6	10,3 14,3	-3,9 -2,2	-3,0 -4,6
Guatemala 1990-1999 2000-2002	1,4 0,1	4,3 3,6	5,4 1,1	-9,8 4,3	América Latina 1990-1999 2000-2002	0,9 -0,4	7,3 8,5	......	......
Haiti 1990-1999 2000-2002	-2,8 -1,5	... ...	... ...	-8,3 -10,8					

Fuente: CEPAL, sobre la base de cifras oficiales.

a/ A partir del valor del PIB per cápita en dólares, a precios constantes de 1995. La cifra correspondiente al 2002 es una estimación preliminar.

b/ En Chile, Guatemala, Nicaragua, República Dominicana y Venezuela se refiere al desempleo total nacional. Además, en reemplazo de los períodos 1990-1999 y 2000-2002 se consideraron las siguientes alternativas en estos países: Guatemala 1991-1999 y 2002, Honduras 1990-1999 y 2001-2002, República Dominicana 1991-1999 y 2000-2002 y América Latina 1992-1999 y 2000-2002.

c/ Por lo general, la cobertura de este índice es muy parcial. En la mayoría de los países se refiere sólo a los trabajadores formales del sector industrial. La cifra correspondiente al 2002 es una estimación preliminar.

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of official figures.

a/ On the basis of per capita GDP value in dollars, at 1995 constant prices. The figures corresponding to 2002 are a preliminary estimate.

b/ In Chile, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Dominican Rep. & Venezuela, it refers to the total national unemployment. Moreover, in substitution of periods 1990-1999 and 2000-2002 the following alternatives were considered in these countries: Guatemala 1991-1999 and 2002. Honduras 1990-1999 and 2001-2002. Dominican Rep. 1991-1999 and 2000-2002 and Latin America 1992-1999 and 2000-2002.

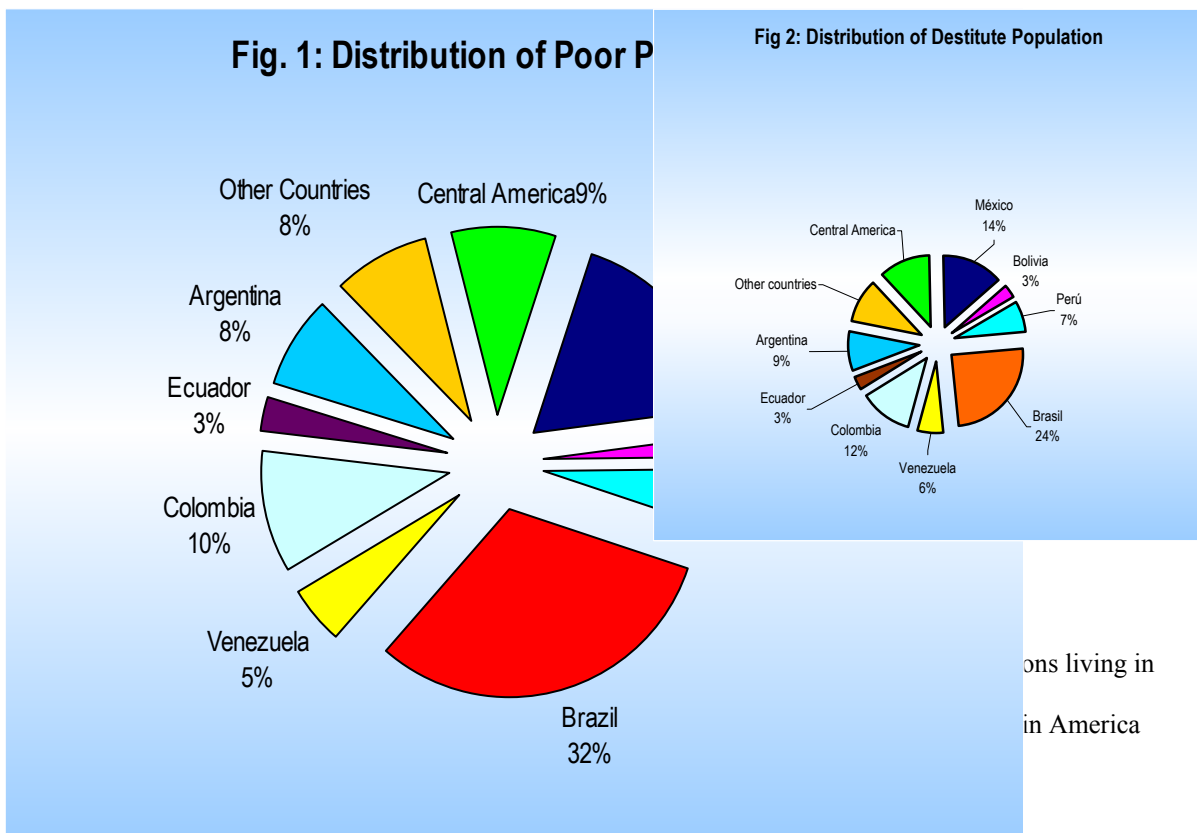
c/ Generally, the coverage of this index is very partial. In most of the countries it refers to the formal workers of the industrial sector. The figures corresponding to 2002 are a preliminary estimate.

As regards the current decade, the growth of GDP in Latin America, a necessary condition, but not enough to reduce poverty, has not been able to achieve sufficient rate to compensate the increase in population. In fact, the evolution foreseen for product per inhabitant, is insufficient for countering the deterioration produced in the period 2001-

2003; as a result the projected percentages of poor and destitute persons will still be higher than those registered in the year 2000.

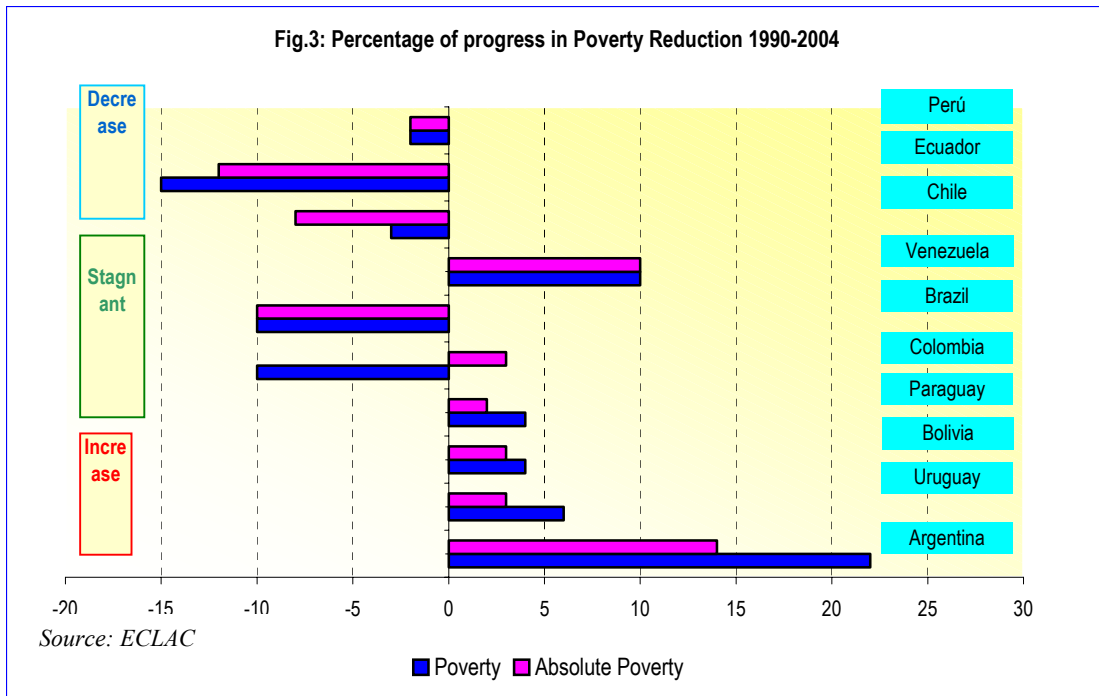
In the earlier described economic context, the poverty continues to constitute a challenge of great magnitude for countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, especially in the future, for achieving the goal¹ of reducing absolute poverty by half. In the year 2000, the region had achieved a percentage progress in reducing extreme poverty by close to 40%, which was very much in accordance with the period elapsed until then for achieving the millennium goal. The economic crisis, which affected various countries in the subsequent years, implied that in 2002 the degree of achievement would be up to 27.6%. On achieving the targets fixed for the year 2004², the said indicator would be placed at about 34.2%, which though constitutes an important advancement, is considerably less than the expected progress of 56%. Taking the macroeconomic behaviour of countries in 2004 as a reference, it could be expected that only in Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama and Uruguay, besides Chile, the percentages of progress would be equal to or higher than 56%. On the other hand, Argentina and Venezuela will continue to produce higher levels of destitution than in 1990.

The incidence of poverty and destitution in rural areas of Latin America continues to be higher than in urban areas. In fact, in the former, poverty covered 38.4% of population, in rural areas it was 61.8%. Likewise, the incidence of absolute poverty in rural areas exceeded by more than 24 percentage points in comparison with urban areas. As regards geographic distribution of poor people in the region, half of it is concentrated in two countries: Brazil (32%) and Mexico (18%).



1.2 Poverty Trends

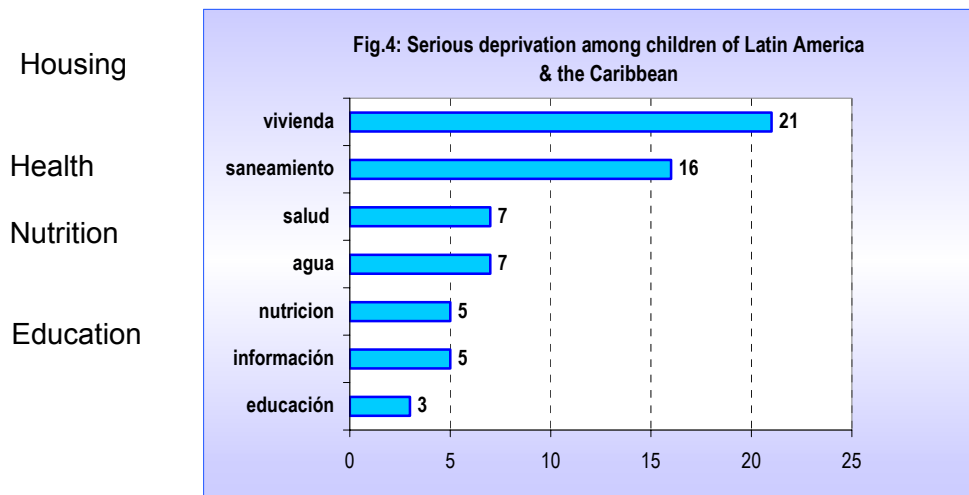
In the ambit of countries, the latest available estimates show that the evolution of poverty and destitution is highly heterogeneous. Some countries achieved significant progress in the reduction of these phenomena, while others suffered important setbacks. To the later group belong countries such as Argentina and Uruguay, which in the beginning of the decade were affected by a severe economic crisis. In fact, poverty in Argentina (Gran Buenos Aires), which had come down from 21% in 1990 to 20% in 1999, doubled and went up to 41% in 2002. The destitution trend was even more regressive, since it grew by more than three times, moving from 5% in 1999 to 19% in 2002. On its part, after having gone down from 18% to 9% during the 90s, the incidence of poverty in Uruguay increased by 6 percentage points in 2002; in spite of that, both poverty (15%) as well as destitution (2.5%) are kept at the lowest level in the region. The urban areas of Bolivia and the metropolitan area of Paraguay also experienced in the last few years increase of around 3 percentage points in poverty, and, in a less pronounced manner, in destitution, reverting the falling trend of the period 1990-1999.



On the other hand, countries such as Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela show stagnation in the process of overcoming poverty, on indicating variations lower than one percentage point in their poverty rate. Venezuela is the only country of the group, which shows an important deterioration in the period. Lastly, the decreases in the incidence of poverty higher than one percentage point in the South Cone correspond to Chile, Ecuador and Peru. It is worth mentioning, in particular, the case of urban areas of Ecuador, where improvement in the poverty and absolute poverty indices reached 14 and 12 percentage points respectively, showing an important recovery after recession at the end of 90s. Likewise, Chile's condition needs to be highlighted, since it is the only country of Latin America in which sustained progress was experienced as regards poverty alleviation since 1990.

Among the poor of Latin America and Chile, about 55% are children below 15 years. Poverty affects 58% of children below 5 years and 57% of those belonging to the age group of 6 and 12 years.

The poor children constitute more than 50% of population of the region living in poverty, covering 83 million children below 12 years. The figures provided by UNICEF (2005)³ for the region indicate that poor children face, among other things, a serious denial of rights associated with housing, sanitation, health, water, nutrition, information and education. According to one study in Latin America and the Caribbean, more than 20% of children are deprived of some of the seven factors analyzed. 7% do not have access to drinking water, nor health services and 16% do not have latrines or toilets at home. More serious is the condition in rural areas, where 40% children are denied at least two of these rights. For example, 20% children in rural areas do not have drinking water.



1.3 Employment Trends

³ UNICEF, State of the World Children 2005

The economic growth experienced by the region in the current year translated into a slight improvement in the labor market condition. The average urban unemployment rate in the region reduced from 11.3% in the first three quarters of 2003 to 10.5%. Most of this decrease is attributed to the significant improvement in Argentina, Uruguay and Venezuela, countries where unemployment in the previous years had gone up significantly due to economic crisis.

In general terms, no significant change is observed in the labor situation of Latin America and the Caribbean. The economic recovery did not result in significant improvements in the average incomes of the salaried people, and was also unable to stop significant fall in the quality of employment. In fact, in the last 13 years, the trends of occupational structure⁴ have been maintained:

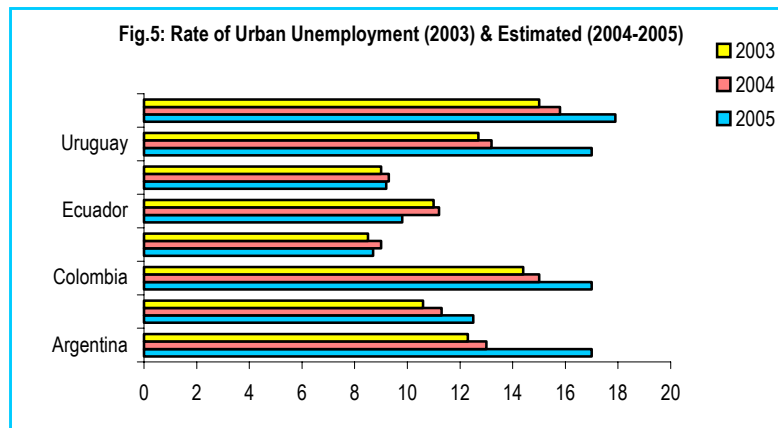
- The informal nature of employment is increasing. Increase in employment corresponded mainly to the informal sector between the years 1990 and 2003. It is calculated that during this period, out of every 10 persons employed, six worked in informal sector. Greater increase of the informal nature is seen among men, but it is in the employment among women, where the level of informal nature is higher. At present, one out of two working women is engaged in the informal sector.
- Privatization and outsourcing of services is continuing. Between 1990 and 2003, nearly 9 out of 10 newly employed worked in the private sector and 9 out of 10 newly employed were engaged in the service sector. The phenomenon of outsourcing increased more among men, but it basically affects women: 85% of women employment is concentrated in the service sector.
- Social security cover is decreasing. Nearly 5 out of 10 new salaried persons have access to social security services and only 2 out of 10 new salaried persons in the informal sector had this coverage in 2003. The decrease was equal among men and women.
- The young people continue to be the worst affected by unemployment. The unemployment rate among youth for the 11 countries under study is double the rate of total open urban unemployment.

As regards poverty and employment, two groups are identified in the South Cone with respect to the work profile of the poor⁵. One of them is characterized by high rates of unemployment among the poor – which is more than 20% - and is linked to a low occupational density and a greater number of unemployed per household. The second group consists of countries with more pronounced poverty rates, in which reduced rates of unemployment and high levels of work density are noticed, which imply the presence of a large number of persons involved in low productivity activities. Nevertheless, all countries share some

⁴ ILO Labor Panorama 2004, Latin America & the Caribbea. Lima

⁵ ECLAC 2004. Social Panorama of Latin America 2002-2003, LC/G.2209-P; Economic Study of Latin America and the Caribbean. LC/G.2255-P/E, Santiago deChile

common features among which comes to light the precarious labor insertion of a high proportion of poor employed.



The statistics show that higher rates of unemployment among the poor are reported in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Uruguay and Venezuela, with values that fluctuate between 20% and 28%. It is necessary to highlight here that these countries also show higher percentages of households with at least two persons unemployed and the lowest proportions of families with at least two employed.

One aspect that explains the high unemployment among poor households of this group is related to its high education level with respect to the one noticed in other countries, since most of the work expectations derived from the same could be translated in longer periods of employment search. In turn, in some of the countries with higher incidences of poverty such as Bolivia and Peru, the unemployment among poor households is less than 5%, and the percentage of households with at least two employed exceeds 50%. However, this does not help in a greater capacity for income generation mainly due to the fact that the labor insertion of persons involved corresponds to activities of very low productivity.

As per the above, the occupational density⁶ of poor households is expressed in a heterogeneous manner among countries, maintaining a certain relationship with poverty rates of the latter. In fact, while in Chile, the mentioned indicator hardly surpasses the value of 0.21 (i.e., one employed per five members of household), in Peru, Paraguay and Bolivia, it exceeds 0.35 (one employed per three members). On the other hand, the employment density is also an indicator, which is presented in a differentiated manner among poor and non-poor groups in the interior of the same country. In fact, in 16 countries, the employment density of non-poor households exceeds by 0.15 points or more than the value observed in households having scarce resources.

⁶ It corresponds to the number of employed divided by the number of persons of the household

According to ECLAC (2004), as regards the conditions of employment corresponding to poor households, their predominant feature is their insertion in low productivity sectors. In 13 countries of the region, 70% or more of those employed from the poor households, work in establishments of up to five persons, they are domestic employees or those who work on their own without any professional or technical qualification. However, this feature also affects an important group of non-poor employed, which gives an indication of a general regional condition about labor insertion in precarious conditions. In fact, even in countries with low levels of poverty, except Chile, it is common to find that 40% of the non-poor employed operate or work in informal sector, and their percentage exceeds 60% in various countries with high incidences of poverty.

1.4 Employment and Children

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the ILO estimates (2002) indicate that approximately 27.7 million persons between 5 and 17 years are involved in economic activities due to poverty, which is equivalent to 8% of the world total involved in this age group and 20% of the total number of children between 5 and 17 years in the region. Out of the total of child workers, 22 million are less than 14 years of age.

Table No. 3. Rate of Child Labor

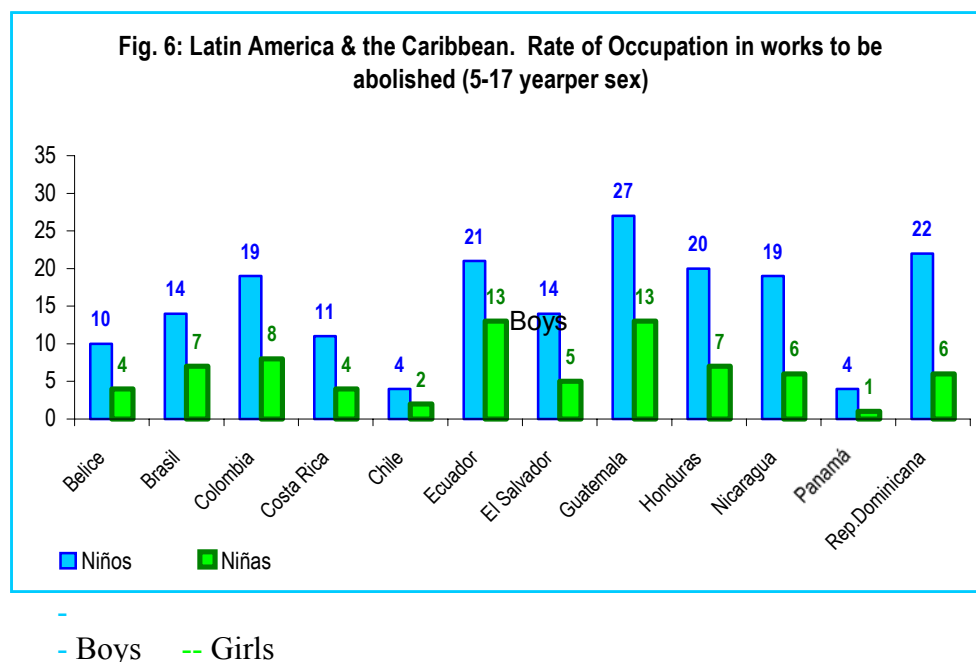
Countries	Total Rate	Boys	Girls
Bolivia	21	22	20
Brazil	7	9	4
Colombia	5	7	4
Ecuador	6	9	4
Paraguay	8	10	6
Venezuela	7	9	5

Source: ILO 2004. Children involved in child labor are those who are less than 18 years of age and who declared in the interview that they had worked a minimum of one hour during the previous week in the production of economic goods and services, as per the definition established in the system of national accounts of UNO.

A UNICEF study shows that the rural areas and peripheral zones of cities constitute the main focus of concentration of child and teenage workers. At least 50% of child labor is concentrated in farming communities, followed by urban informal and the domestic sectors. Only 10% of the working children do so in the formal economy.

In countries of Latin America and the Caribbean where data is available, the statistics show that an important proportion of employed children are involved in jobs to be eliminated or abolished. The ILO (2004) shows that out of 10 involved in jobs to be abolished⁷, seven are girls/boys, a trend which is noticed in all the countries under study.

⁷ The works to be abolished or eliminated are those which are banned by the relevant instruments of ILO, Convention No. 133 on Minimum Age for Admission to Employment, and No. 182 on the worst forms of child labor. In this regard, see later, for the Chilean case, the official definition of “Unacceptable work”.



In all the countries there is a higher rate of male child labor in jobs to be abolished than in the case of female child labor. This fact stands out in South Cone, Ecuador where more than one out of five children are involved in jobs to be abolished. The countries with greater involvement of female child labor are Ecuador and Guatemala, both with a female child labor involvement ratio of 13%. In these countries, the relative importance of jobs to be eliminated increases as per increase in the age of children. This is shown by higher rates of involvement by children between 15 & 17 years of age in works to be abolished compared with the rate for those belonging to the age group of 5 and 14 years.

The percentage distribution per residence area shows that in eight out of 12 countries under study (Belize, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua & Panamá), a large number of children involved in jobs to be abolished live in rural areas.

The percentage of children involved in jobs to be abolished in a country is determined – as per ILO (2004) – by different socio-economic aspects of their surroundings. The analysis of these variables in the region shows on the one hand, that higher is the human resource development⁸ in a country, less is the rate of child involvement in

⁸ Measured by the Human Dev. Index (HDI), UNDP, which considers indicators of health, education and economic welfare.

jobs to be abolished. On the other hand, higher the level of human poverty⁹, higher is the rate of involvement of children in jobs to be abolished.

Likewise, the ILO Report underlines that higher levels of investments by governments in education and higher number of literate adults are associated with lower levels of child labor to be abolished.

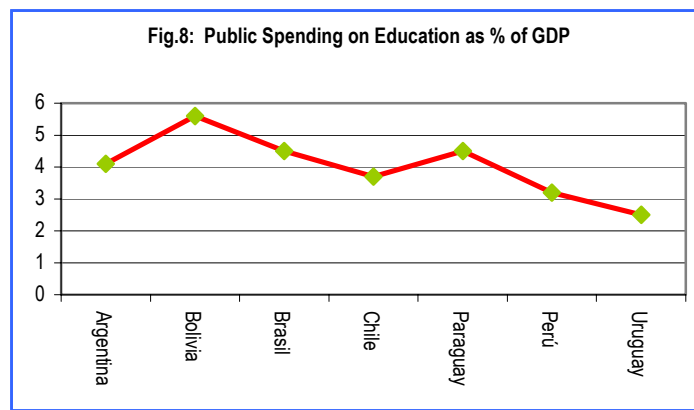
As regards economic variables, it is noted that lower the value of product per person, higher will be rate of involvement of children in jobs to be abolished. Likewise, higher proportions of population below poverty line are accompanied by higher rates of jobs to be abolished. Labor productivity measured in terms of product per worker, shows a negative relation with the incidence of jobs to be abolished. This highlights the importance of increasing productivity for improving work conditions in Latin American countries. Lastly, while higher is the percentage of dependent persons (above 64 years and below 15 years of age), higher is the percentage of involvement of children in jobs to be abolished.

The analysis of abovementioned indicators brings to light the most negative relationships between child labor to be abolished and public spending on education, per capita GDP and labor productivity. This indicates the need to take into account these factors in designing national policies meant to eliminate child labor. It also highlights a close positive relationship between child labor to be abolished and poverty index, which is consistent with earlier studies that highlight structural causes such as low national income, social exclusion and lack of decent work for adults.

1.5 Education Trends

Public investment in education being made by countries is of vital importance since it affects the type and quality of education being offered. The efforts the countries make to finance education is measured in terms of how many public resources have been assigned for the purpose in relation to the general wealth of the country. In the South Cone, the average expenditure is 4% of GDP and it fluctuates between 2.5% in Uruguay and 5.6% in Bolivia.

⁹ Measured by the Index of Human Poverty, IHP, which takes into account non-economic indicators like the probability of not reaching the age of 40 after birth, adult illiteracy, lack of access to drinking water, and lack of nutrition.



According to UNESCO (2000), generally it is not possible to establish relationship between the levels of wealth of countries (measured through per capita GDP) and the level of public spending on education, neither the level of expenditure per student as percentage of per capita GDP. However, there is a strong relationship between the level of a country's wealth and expenditure per student in PPA dollars. This means that countries with higher levels of per capita GDP spend more per student in absolute terms, although in all cases some variation is noted, which indicates that the level of economic development does not constitute a rigid determinant of expenditure per student (in absolute terms) since there are countries which achieve higher spending than expected according to their wealth level.

A first indicator to analyze the behaviour of education in the South Cone countries is the minimum number of years that a person should spend in the school system (compulsory schooling). The laws of every country fix compulsory schooling up to certain age, though the age of commencement, completion and duration of the same may vary from country to country. The requirement in Latin America varies from six to 12 years of schooling, which would correspond, in most of the cases, to primary education and lower secondary education. Chile is the only country of Latin America, which has adopted 12 years of compulsory schooling. The countries of South Cone, as the table shows, have the average of the region; six countries have defined 10 or more years of compulsory schooling and four countries have established eight or nine years.

Table No.4: Years of Compulsory Schooling & Level of Completion

Countries	Duration of compulsory schooling	Population age 15-24 yrs.	
		6 or more years of schooling (%)	10 or more years of schooling (%)
Argentina	10	97	54
Bolivia	8	75	43
Brazil	8	59	21
Colombia	9	75	41
Chile	12	96	61
Ecuador	10	-	-
Paraguay	8	82	31

Peru	10	-	-
Uruguay	10	97	47
Venezuela	10	89	40

Source: ILO 2004. Regional Program of Educational Indicators; ECLAC Social Panorama 1999-2000.

The Latin American and the Caribbean region has made significant progress in the coverage of primary education; at present the net rate of primary schooling for boys is 92% and for girls 86% (UNICEF 1999). Although the achievement of countries in terms of primary education coverage can lead us to conclude that this level of education does not present serious problems, this indicator hides the weaknesses in the system, and the data do not provide information about the permanence nor about the duration of primary education. In fact, if one takes into account the levels of schooling of different countries, one concludes that in fact completion of primary cycle of education continues to pose challenge for various countries in the region. For example, Brazil has a net enrollment rate of 98%. Nevertheless, less than 75% population between 15 and 24 years has had only six years of schooling.

On the other hand there is a serious problem of inequality as regards access, since the coverage is concentrated in the age group of 4 to 6 years and among groups belonging to the higher socio-economic strata of urban sectors. The school attendance in urban areas of those who live in very poor homes is substantially lower than those of the rich group (especially in the age group of 13-19 and 20-14 years). Likewise, the percentages of population with less than five years of education are much higher in rural areas than in the urban, and the average years of schooling is systematically much lower in the former.

As regards taking care of demand for secondary education, it does not achieve the level of coverage of primary education. In the South Cone countries, the net rate of enrollment varies between 42% in Paraguay and 74% in Argentina. The low coverage at this level, accompanied by a significant difference in accessing secondary education in these countries has strong implications in the globalized economic context, where secondary education becomes a minimum necessary condition for developing a competitive work force. In South Cone, the net rate of enrollment indicates that on an average only 58% of young people in the age group of secondary education is enrolled in some educational institution of the said level. This puts the sub-region at risk of increasing the gap with respect to the developed countries. This situation is further aggravated in countries that do not achieve this rate and in this group are included Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay and Venezuela.

1.6. Poverty and Education

Historically two indicators have been used to measure social impact of education: the level of adult literacy and the years of schooling. Around 41 million people are illiterate in 24 countries (about which information is available) of Latin America and the Caribbean. This represents 13% of population in the age 15 years and above in

these countries. The said rates vary from 2% in Guyana to a maximum of 50% in Haiti.

Chile and Argentina are the only countries of the region in which most of the adult population has undergone at least 10 years of schooling (58 and 51%, respectively). On the other hand, in Paraguay and Brazil, less than a third of adult population has this level of schooling. In the rest of the countries, the percentage fluctuates between 43 and 34 per cent. Explanation for this inequality can be associated with differences in the levels of relative development of these countries as well as deep internal social disparities.

Here it is important to mention that more than half of poor households in Latin America are headed by someone who did not finish first six years of schooling and that only 8% of poor family heads completed 12 years of schooling. In South Cone, the proportion of family heads, who completed less than six years of schooling comes to or exceeds 50% in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Paraguay and Peru. It is worth observing that the average years of schooling of family heads (males/females) shows a strong association with the education level of the rest of the adult members of the family. The figures show that the education level of poor families continues to be considerably lower than observed or noticed in non-poor families. In more than half of the countries under study, the average level of schooling of non-poor families exceeds by three years or more compared with families living below poverty line; something similar is the case of education levels of spouses. It must be kept in mind that higher levels of adult literacy are accompanied by lower levels of child labor.

These very differences between poor and non-poor households are noticed among children between the age group of 6 to 15 years. These indicate a higher school drop out in primary school among households living below poverty line. Argentina and Chile constitute the only case in which these differences do not exceed half year of schooling, while in Brazil and Uruguay, these differences are of one full year.

In a study on the link between poverty and education, it is especially relevant to analyze the transfer of educational inequalities among households, i.e., in what measure the education levels of parents condition the educational achievements of their children. An important data in this context is the indicator, which outlines the differences between the years of schooling achieved by children above 25 years and those completed by the head (male/female) of the household. In the case of poor households in which the head (male/female) has had between zero and five years of schooling, differences are noticed that range from two years in Guatemala to more than five years in Argentina, Chile, Peru and Uruguay.

Although this proves that children have been able to overcome the education capital of their progenitors; only in Argentina and Chile it has meant that they have been able to reach the threshold of 12 years, a level necessary to significantly reduce the

possibilities of falling in poverty¹⁰. On its part, when the analysis involves households in which the head (male/female) has had six or more years of schooling, significant differences are noticed. This means that as per ECLAC (2004), the growth of education capital among the poor has primarily occurred due to increase in the minimum degrees of schooling, and not necessarily due to increase in the years of schooling at the medium and higher levels.

¹⁰ As per the Social Panorama of Latin America (1994) “maintaining good possibilities to access welfare implies as a minimum to complete the secondary education cycle (12 years or more of schooling)”.

II. Elimination of Child Labor in Chile: Analysis from a Triangular Paradigm

2.1 Poverty in Chile

Since the 90s, the Government of Chile has implemented a series of policies meant to eliminate poverty. 71% of the total public expenditure is on social sector, which directly translates into a sustained reduction in the rates of poverty and destitution, especially the latter. However, since 1996, the speed of this reduction in the rates is coming down, especially in terms of destitution or also the so-called “absolute poverty”.

In the year 1998, studies on impact of social spending¹¹ highlight two central conclusions: i) that the social programs covered a small percentage of poor population. The most extensive Program SUF¹² only achieved a coverage of 32% in a strata that covered 20% of the most poor population and ii) that the programs were not focused only on the poor¹³. For example, under two most extensive programs, the SUF and the PASIS¹⁴, the focus achieved only about 38%, which meant that about 62% of the target persons are not poor.

This background, together with a complex international economic scenario, served as a warning for changing the strategy from a traditional focus, which concentrated its coverage on public services in the 90s, to a strategy of articulation between economic and social policies centered on family and community for tackling poverty in the country. This strategy is implemented since 2002 through a program called Chile Solidario, which focuses on families under absolute poverty. Additionally, the Government of Chile has prioritized investment on education as one of the priority tools for reducing poverty.

In terms of impact, the said focus has implied that in the year 2003, people in the lowest rung of the country saw their income levels rising¹⁵. In fact, at the end of 2003, the total poverty of the country went down by 20 percentage points, from 38.6% in 1990 to 18.8% in 2003, involving 2,907,700 persons, out of which 4.7% are destitutes (728,100 persons) and 14.1% are poor but not destitutes (2,179,600).

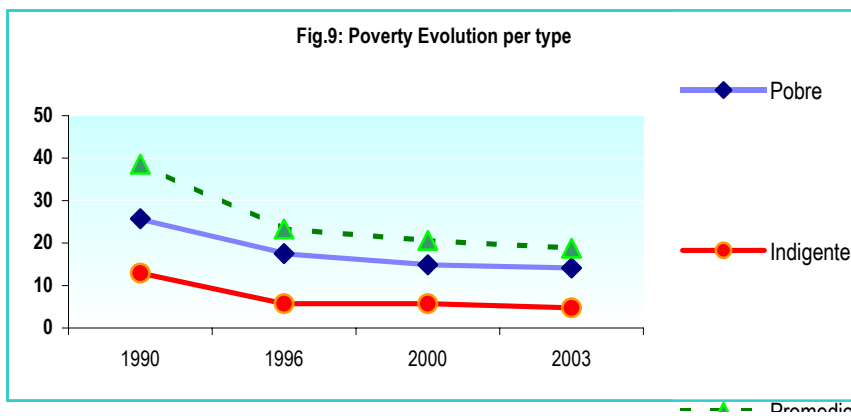
¹¹ World Bank, 2001. Poverty & Income Distribution in a High Growth Economy: The Case of Chile 1987-9, Report No. 22037-CH, August 30, 2001 Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Sector Unit Latin America and the Caribbean Region.

¹² Subsidio Unico Familiar (Family Subsidy)

¹³ The same study of World Bank states that those who receive SUF, only 56% are poor and those who receive PASIS, only 36%.

¹⁴ Social security pensions

¹⁵ Min. of Planning & Cooperation. 2004. Vol. 1: “Pobreza, Distribucion del Ingreso e Impacto Distributivo del Gasto Social”, Division Social, Agosto, 2004.



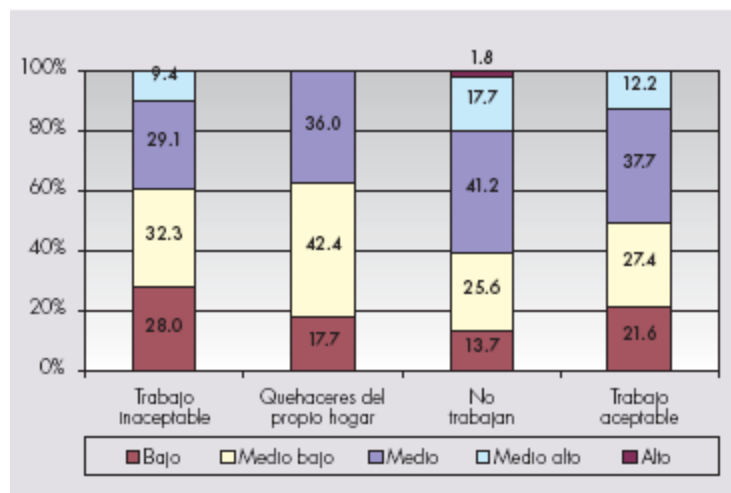
-----Poor - - - - -Destitute

On analyzing poverty and destitution trends according to age groups, one notices that these affect children and teenagers more intensely. In fact 29% children below 18 years are poor, while 9% live in destitution. While 46% poor are below 18 years of age.

Poverty and Child Labor in Chile

As per information given by INE, Survey on Child Labor, the link between poverty and child and teenage labor is confirmed in Chile. Its prevalence in the lowest, medium and low & medium strata of households shows a much higher proportion of unacceptable work and household tasks than in the rest of the strata. (See Fig. 10).

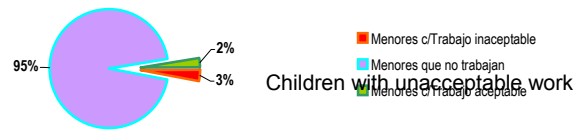
Fig.10: Distribution of child labor as per social strata



Only 13.7% persons below 18 years who do not work, are placed in the lowest strata. In the highest strata, the total number of children and teenagers examined (1.8% of the sample) belong to groups of persons who do not have jobs. While higher is the level of household poverty, higher is the probability that children and teenagers do unacceptable work and household tasks.

The results of National Sample of Child and Teenage Activities (2003)¹⁶ and the System of Registration of the Worst Forms indicate that in Chile 5.4% children and teenagers in the age group of 5-17 years (196,000) work in the market at least one hour per week (See Fig. 11). Out of these, 3.0% (107,676) work in unacceptable conditions. It means that they do not attend school, work in the street, and/or in longer or night shifts. And 2.4% (88,428) carryout tasks under acceptable conditions. It means, they are teenagers who work in the formal sector, or children below 12 and 14 years, who do protected work and also go to school.

Fig.11: Distribution of children & teenagers as per activity in Chile



- Minors with unacceptable work
- Minors who do not work
- Minor who do acceptable work

- *Unacceptable Work*

The category of “unacceptable work” is used as official definition in the Chilean context in the report of the First National Survey on Child and Teenage Labor and Registration of Worst Forms. The definition takes into account peculiar features of the country, such as mainly urban population, a higher educational coverage, and scarce presence of children in the formal sector of the economy.

Thus, the “acceptable work” would be the one “which is done as per law by teenagers of 15 years or above” and “light work, or for few hours, which can be done in a protected manner by children between 12 and 14 years of age.”¹⁷ On the contrary, the “unacceptable work” is classified as per the following table:

¹⁶ The survey is representative of urban – rural sectors at national level.

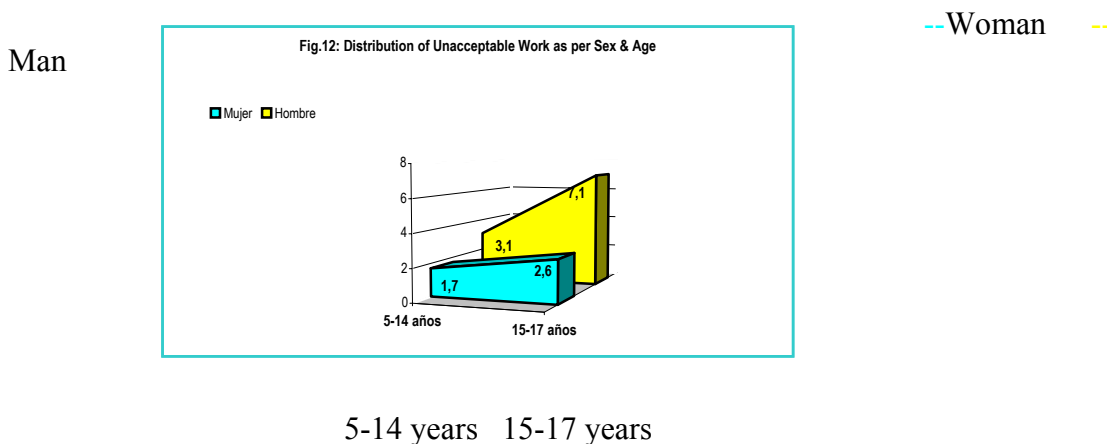
¹⁷ Child & Teenage labor in figures. Summary of first national survey and register of its worst forms. ILO/Min. of Labor & Social Security, 2004.

Table 5: Features of Unacceptable Work

<p>Child Labor: Children of 11 yrs and below who work Children of 12-14 years who work for 14 hrs. or more p.w. &/or don't study</p>
<p>Teenage work 15 to 17 years, who work 21 hrs. or more p.w. y don't attend school</p>
<p>Work in the streets Night work Illegal work Teenagers who work 49 hrs. or more exceeding the maximum full legal shift</p>

We use these categories in this research since these are official definitions. However, we calculate that these do not necessarily agree with the international standards which the country has incorporated in its legal framework, such as ILO Conventions 138 and 182, nor with the position of Global March against Child Labor. In fact, given the minimum age suggested by Convention 138 is 15 years not only concerning formal sector but also the entire economy, it appears to us that tolerance for these forms of labor is questionable for children of this age.

Most of those who work in unacceptable activities are men. Additionally, and as was expected, the rate of unacceptable work is more among teenagers between 15 and 19 years than among children (average rate of 4.9 in the age group of 15-17 years). And it is more for men than for women (average rate of 4.0 among men, compared with an average rate of 1.9 for women).



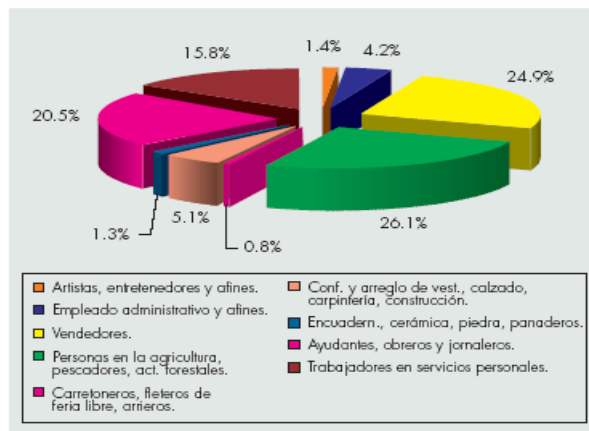
As regards sector wise distribution, although there are more boys and teenagers in urban sector than in the rural; in the latter, the rate of children involved in unacceptable work is more (5.3 rural compared with 2.6 urban).

In absolute numbers, the urban sector presents greater concentration of working children (81,783 urban compared with 25,893 rural). However, in the rural sector, the conditions are more serious; it is more frequent that the work is done in the family, including involving mothers and children, which makes it difficult to differentiate between work for family and work for market. Moreover, in rural sectors, the cultural factors play a major role, according to which the training of children by family heads includes training in one trade, which generally means that they work as helpers or trainees for jobs that their fathers perform. According to the census data of 2002, when we separate 20% of the most vulnerable families of the country, we find that 53% belong to the rural sector.¹⁸

In the last decades since the increase in export of farm products, the seasonal work in agriculture has gone up. In this type of work, normally all family members participate, including children and teenagers below 18 years.

With regard to the most frequent jobs (see Fig. 13) of children and teenagers, who do unacceptable work in cities, are those of sales persons, waiters and packers in supermarkets (jobs which are concentrated in the age group of 15 –17 years).

Fig. 13: Distribution of children as per occupation



- Artists, entertainers, etc.
- Admin. assistants, etc.
- Salespersons
- Work in agriculture, fishermen, forestry

- Stitching, carpentry, footwear, constr.
- Binding, ceramics, stone, bakery.
- Helpers, workers, daily wagers
- Work in personal services

¹⁸ This concept refers to child welfare, related with the capacity to generate incomes, is based on a combination of indicators which include physical capital of the family (quality of dwelling), its infrastructure (electricity, water, sewage system, etc.), durable equipment or assets which the family has accumulated (TV, fridge, washing machine, etc.) and the human capital of its members (education). Joseph Ramos in “Como ha cambiado la vida de los chilenos: Analisis comparativo de las condiciones de vida en los hogares con menor bienestar socioeconomico (Censos 1992-2002)”.INE, 2004.

-Others

In the second category of work are children who work to help their parents, such as car attendants (especially small ones), or in construction work, like masons or helpers, loaders or in other similar works. In rural areas, almost all the cases are concentrated in the farming sector, in works such as harvesting, sowing, sale of agriculture products and cattle rearing. Some teenagers also use heavy machinery and operate tractors, etc.

The seasonal agricultural work is carried out by children, mostly by boys between the age group of 5 – 14 years (12,678 children, corresponding to 70.5% of those involved in seasonal work). These children mostly work to help their parents during half or full shift, though a small percentage of them has to complete tiring shifts which go beyond 49 hours per week. The teenagers who work in agriculture and face even worse conditions are mostly boys, though a significant percentage of girls are also involved (73.2% versus 26.8%). Though their work is somewhat better regulated (most of them have fixed period contracts or oral agreements), almost 60% of them have to work longer shifts of 49 hours or more.

12.4% children and teenagers who do unacceptable work, do so in the street. Most of them are children below 15 years, which puts them in a special risk situation. “Although the figures are not of great magnitude, the existence of individual cases should constitute a sign of warning as regards need for protection and social integration of this group exposed to social risks which harm their development”¹⁹. In short, out of children between 5 and 14 years, who do unacceptable work, 16.0% (10,924) work at night. 29.6% teenagers also do so (11,719). The following table describes the type and structure of unacceptable work carried out by children and teenagers:

Table 6: Composition of Unacceptable Work		
Total no. of children & teenagers in unacceptable works 107.676 (3,0%)		
5 –11 yrs (36.542)	12-14 yrs (31.587)	15-17 yrs (39.547)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work in the street 5.127 • Work during night: 3.086 • Work 14 hrs & more: 9.563 • Do not attend school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work 14 hrs. & more 30.243 • Work during night 7.838 • Work in the streets: 3.419 • Do not attend school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work 21 hrs & more do not attend school: 17.573 • Work during night: 11.719 • Work in the street: 4.754 • Work 49 hrs or more: 14.913
Source: ILO: IPEC Project: Gov. of Chile:Min. of Labor, National Institute of Statistics, INE & National Service for Children, SENAME. 2004.		

- *Domestic Work*

The household tasks are classified in this category. Data from the National Survey of Children and Teenagers’ Activities (2003) show that more than 42,000 children and teenagers carry out this type of activity, devoting a major part of their time to half shift (21 hrs or more) per week to domestic work.

¹⁹ Results of National Survey on Child Labor. Web Page, Min. of Labor.

In spite of the fact that these tasks are not recognized nor accounted for as work, one survey on the use of time could detect domestic work for the age group of 5 – 17 years, clearly showing intergenerational reproduction of sexual division of roles (see Table 8). In this segment 84.8% are women, and out of these 24% are teenage unmarried or married mothers or are living together without children, and only 15% are men.

Out of this total number, those women have been separated who are either teenage mothers or have built their own family, since the number of hours spent on household chores and the nature of their activities are different from those of girls.

Table 8: Distribution of children in tasks of their own homes as per sex (21 hrs or more per week)

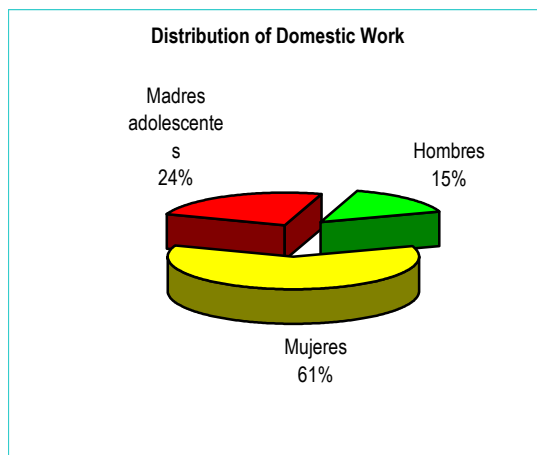
Sex	Number	Percentage	Rate on total of children & teenagers
Men	6.394	15,2	0,3
Women	25.541	60,7	1,5
Teenage mothers (married or living together)	10.148	24,1	43,3
Total	42.083	100	1,2

Source: ILO,IPEC Project; Gov. of Chile: Min. of Labor, National Institute of Statistics, INE & National Service for Children, SENAME. 2004.

As can be seen in Fig. 14, 61% of those who do jobs in their own household are girls and teenagers. The work done by men – as per traditional differential of gender roles – only constitutes 15% in this group. Teenage mothers (married or living together) represent 24% of the group that carry out tasks of their own household. This changes if we take into account all teenagers who are similarly placed, since 43% exclusively perform domestic chores, postponing the rest of the activities, which are typical of their age.

Fig. 14: Distribution of Domestic Work

Teenage mothers 24% Men 15%

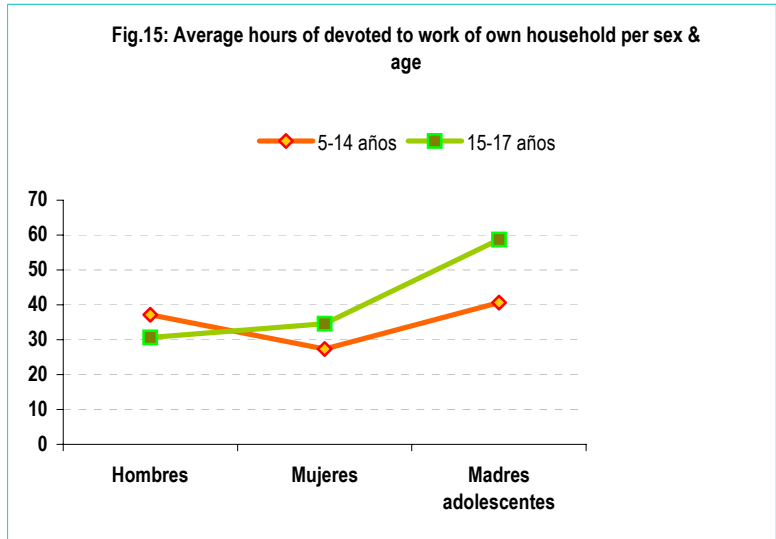


Women 61%

As has been mentioned, girls and teenagers who are involved in the domestic chores of their own families at least 21 hours per week equivalent to half a shift of work, 76% of them devote less than 49 hours to chores, while 24% corresponding to more than 9,000 girls and teenagers, work longer than this shift.

In cities, children mainly look after their small siblings or other relatives, and also perform tasks such as cleaning, arranging, sweeping and similar tasks. Most of them declare that they simply do “household chores”. In rural areas, on the contrary, a greater difference is observed gender wise: girls basically perform the same tasks as they do in urban areas, while boys admit doing work related to agriculture, mainly looking after animals or family orchard. Among teenagers, the tasks are different more among sexes. In urban areas, men devote themselves to the work of looking after their siblings and family members; women do all the work typical of a household (washing, cooking, looking after small siblings) and mothers looking after their children. In rural areas, men exclusively do agricultural related family work, while women and young mothers generally perform out all domestic chores.

This reality causes worry, since long shifts devoted to chores becomes a serious impediment for attending school. Especially for small children between the age group of 5 to 14 years, who represent 16% children, who work 49 hours and more in their own family. On an average, children and teenagers devote 38 hours per week to their household chores. This value is much more, because of logical reasons, for teenage mothers or those who are married or are living together with their partners. Excluding them, the average number of hours devoted to household work by men and women, is 32 per week (nearly 4.5 hours per day).



Men Women Teenage Mothers

As regards location wise distribution, just like children and teenagers between 5 – 17 years who do child labor, those who devote themselves to household chores mainly live in urban areas (77%). However, this phenomenon has a greater incidence in rural areas, especially in the case of women. 2.5% women between 5 and 17 years who live in rural areas devote themselves to the work of their own family, compared with 1.3% of the urban area. Even girls between 5 & 14 years of age assume these responsibilities.

In urban areas, it is observed that girls and teenagers substitute their mothers in household work and in taking care of their siblings. In this case, apart from cultural problems, there are problems of accessibility to systems of child care compatible with the needs of women who work, whether they have spouse or not.

Lastly, it is also worth noting that more than 42,000 girls and teenagers between 15 & 17 years of age are devoting so much time looking after their siblings, cleaning, cooking for family and taking care of the aged. This time, according to their age, should have been spent on studies. It is also surprising that in this group there are girls who are hardly 15 years of age and who are fully responsible for their family.

Within this universe, there is an important number of teenage mothers, which is 24% of women in this age group, who carry out tasks typical of their family; it is worth stating that 24,000 teenagers below 18 years belong to this category. Out of these, 16% are married or are living with their partners. This phenomenon affects in such a manner that they abandon the school system, thus remaining in the vicious circle of poverty. Some of the different reasons for the same, are family disintegration, diseases and /or addictions that cripple the family head or mothers and, especially, abandonment of women by family heads, who are then forced to maintain the family, and their condition is perpetuated thus impeding the education of their daughters.

- - Conclusions

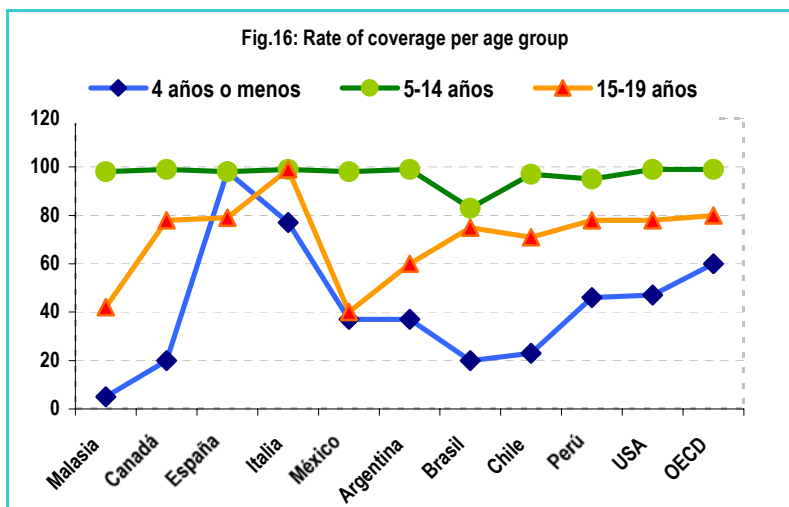
1. The National Survey on Child Labor confirms link between poverty and child labor, given the fact that majority of children and teenagers involved in unacceptable jobs and tasks in their own families belong to the low-income groups. It is evaluated that for many families child and teenage work becomes a “good alternative” for immediately raising their incomes that allows them to fulfill the social patterns of consumption and achieve acceptable levels of living. This is done while sacrificing their future welfare which they would get with a better education for their children.
2. There is a relationship between child labor and the education level of the family head. As per the survey, more than of half children and teenagers who do unacceptable work or domestic chores, belong to homes in which head of family did not complete secondary school education. On the contrary, where children and teenagers doing such work do not exist, the level of education of family heads is found to be higher.
3. Children and teenagers who perform family work are the ones who suffer more from the problem of school drop out, since 33.2% (13,697 children and teenagers) are marginalized in the education system. A significant number of them have already stopped going to school and, out of those who still attend school, many regularly miss classes or are not in the grade, which corresponds to them.

4. As regards association child labor as a factor which eliminates poverty. In public policies of the country, there is inverse relationship, which means that child labor breeds a poverty cycle. For this reason, from the point of view of policies concerning education, the period of compulsory schooling was increased to 12 years. There are programs for retention of children in school such as schools for everyone and special subsidy to schools which bring down drop out rates. Likewise, Chile Solidario Program meant to benefit 225,000 poor families, tackles child labor and encourages retention of children in school or their re-linking with school in case children and teenagers belonging to target families drop out.
5. Relation between percentage of adult unemployment and child labor. The basic principles of the National Plan for Prevention and Progressive Eradication of Child and Teenage Labor underline that “the statistics show that socio-economic conditions have a direct bearing on the increase or decrease in the number of children and teenagers who get involved in the labor market, as per cycles of expansion or recession of economy.” The methodology designed for measuring child labor in our country is a free time survey, which was carried out in 2003. This serves as an instrument to measure the magnitude of child and teenage labor in the country. However, the results were not analyzed in relation to the figures of adult employment and economic indicators.
6. Regarding comparison between the salary of adults and children. The National Survey data do not provide figures about the income received by children and teenagers for the work done in the informal sector of the economy. In the case of teenagers above 16 years and below 18 years, who work in the formal sector, the minimum established wage is \$ 95.927, which is different from the minimum general wage of adults, which today stands at \$ 127.500, with the exception of women workers who work in individual houses and receive a minimum wage similar to the one received by teenage workers (\$95.625).

2.3 Education in Chile

Between 1965 and 2002, the country considered eight years of compulsory education. Since 1990, Chile has implemented an Educational Reform characterized by a full school shift, use of private service providers, study plans based on competence, evaluation of academic results and a solid material base for learning.

Since 2002, the coverage is increasing and the number of years of compulsory education has gone up to 12, i.e., primary and secondary education cycles are completed. The above has meant that there is primary education which is practically universal, there is a net coverage of secondary education of 75% and more than a third children in the age group of 18 and 24 years are enrolled in tertiary education (higher or university technical education).



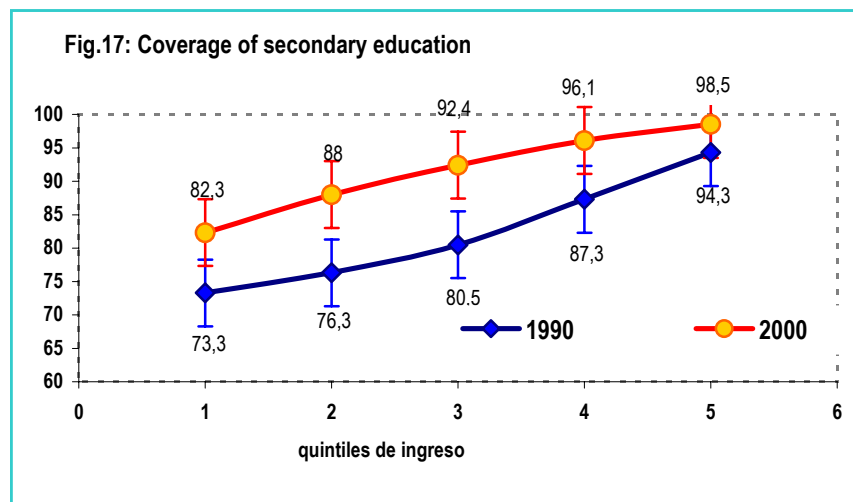
Parallel to this, a series of modifications have been introduced to improve quality, such as special programs meant to benefit schools for the most vulnerable pupils (P900) and an increase in public spending on education. Programs which try to retain children in schools have also been strengthened. These relate to School Meal Programs, student health, oral health, schools for all and pro retention subsidy.

Today the average schooling in Chile is 10 years (Barro and Lee 2000)²⁰. The considerable increases of education coverage are mainly due to increase in enrollment in primary and secondary education. However, as per Tokman 2004²¹, this large coverage has not been provided with so much support in the pre and high school cycles. Different from high rates of primary and secondary enrollment, 97% and 71% respectively, the coverage of other education cycles is still very low compared internationally. As regards, pre-school education, the rate of enrollment close to 23% is less than various Latin American countries and is well below the OECD average of 63%.

Additionally, it is important to note that increased coverage has been provided with an equalizing bias for primary and secondary education, but not so for tertiary and pre-school, where the increases are more for students coming from well-off families (Tokman 2004). For example, Fig. 17 shows a decrease in the gap of coverage in primary and secondary education per income quintile, though this is still very high, almost 16%.

²⁰ Barro, T and X.Lee. 2000. "International data on Education Attainment: Updates and Implications." CID. Working Paper 42.

²¹ Tokman, Andrea, 2004. "Educacion y Crecimiento en Chile". Central Bank of Chile. Working Paper No. 289, Dec., 2004.



Income quintiles

Between 1990-2003, the proportion of children between the age group of 7 – 13 years, who do not attend primary school, has gone down considerably. Currently the figure is 0.7%²². The main reasons for not attending school in this age group are²³: “disease that does not disable” (24.8%), “economic difficulty” (15.2%) and “not interested” (11.6%). On asking the population that last attended school, it was found that 37.9% went to school for the first time this year, 28.3% never attended and 15.7% last went to school last year. With respect to what they wanted to do next year, 56.6% expressed their interest to study and 29% did not know what they would do next year.

As regards the teenage population, for the same period the coverage of secondary education increased substantially. The increase was of 12.3 points, going up from 80.3% to 92.6%. The increase in secondary school coverage was noticed among all income groups. Between 2000 and 2003, the secondary education coverage registered a greater increase in population in the first to third quintiles, while a greater increase was observed in the first quintile, from 82.3% in the year 2000 to 87.5% in 2003. The above implies that more young persons with few resources are attending an educational institution.²⁴

Between 1990 and 2003, the number of children in the age group of 14-17 years not attending school decreased from 19.7% to 7.2%. Between 2000 and 2003, this proportion decreased from 9.9% to 7.2%. The sectors of poor teenagers give much lower indicators of school attendance. However, between 2000 and 2003, main progress was noticed among children living in poverty and destitution. During the said period, absenteeism among destitute children in schools reduced by 4.4 percentage points, from 19.0% to 14.6%, respectively. Among poor non-destitute children, it reduced from 13.1% to 9.9%.²⁵

²² MIDEPLAN Survey CASEN 2003

²³ MIDEPLAN Survey CASEN 2003

²⁴ MIDEPLAN Survey CASEN 2003

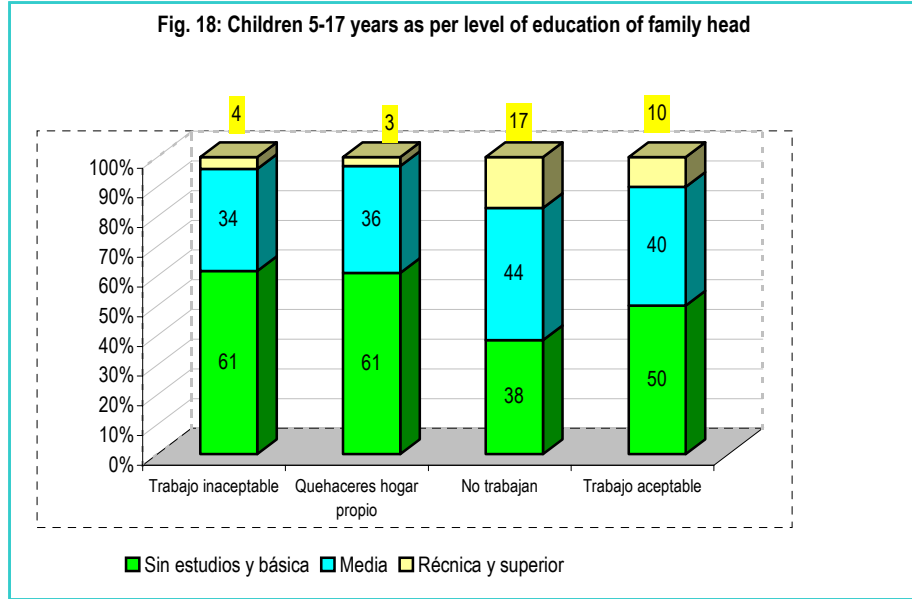
²⁵ MIDEPLAN Survey CASEN 2003

As regards education cost²⁶, Chile follows the spending patterns of most of the countries: more spending on higher education (secondary and tertiary). In fact, spending per student is 1,940, 2016, 7483 dollars PPA in primary, secondary and tertiary education, respectively. Although Chile registers high values of spending per student, in relation to WEI countries, it is far from the OECD average, which is 4,470, 5,501 and 11,109 dollars PPA, in the said levels, respectively. In Chile, the total spending in relation to GDP is 7.4%, much above the average of OECD countries, which spend 5.9% of GDP on education. This shows Chile's interest and involvement in education. Looking at Chile's spending on education under different heads, we find that 13.5% of total public spending is on primary education and 2.7% on tertiary education.

²⁶ Min. of Education. A Look at Education: Results of the World Project on Indicators WEI 2003. Technical Note, Dept. of Studies and Statistics. September 2003.

Education and Child Labor in Chile

According to the survey, more than half the children and teenagers who do unacceptable jobs or domestic chores belong to families in which the head has not completed secondary education. On the contrary those families, which do not have children and teenagers doing such activities have higher levels of study (See Fig. 18).



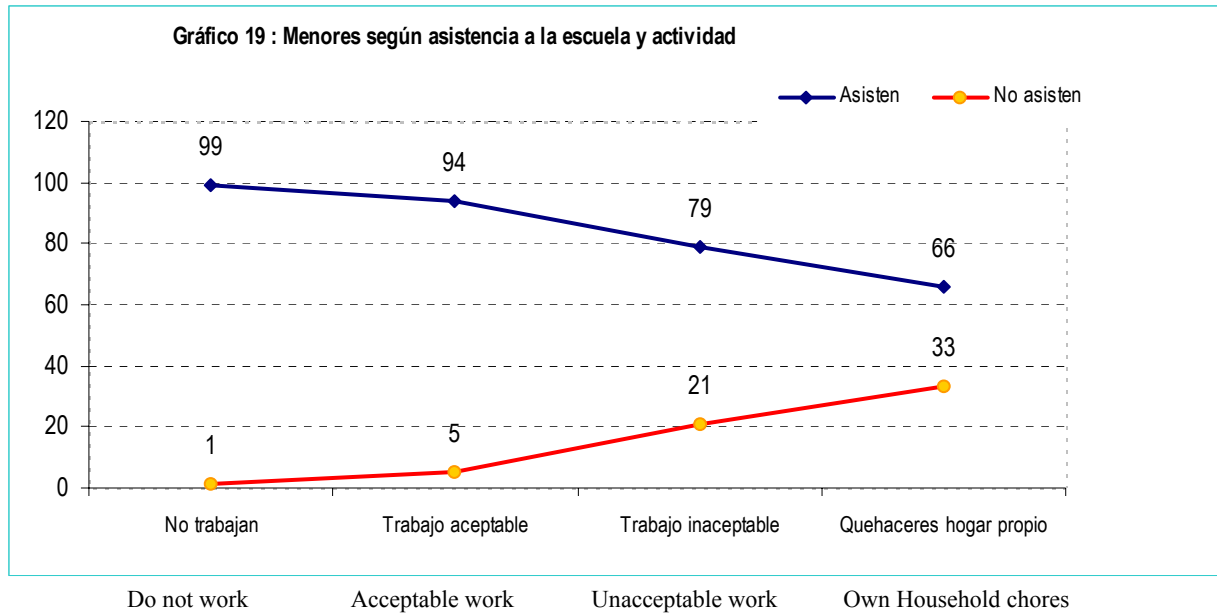
--Without primary education --Secondary --Tech. & higher education

Children and teenagers who do unacceptable work as well as teenage girls who devote their time to household chores reduce part of their time and energy for studies. In some cases, they stop attending classes resulting in delay in their studies. On other occasions, the fatigue does not allow them to assimilate knowledge and they leave their studies, thus reducing their future opportunities. 21% (22,334 cases of children and teenagers involved in unacceptable jobs do not attend school, compared with 1% (37,284) of those who do not work.

Children, teenagers and teenage mothers involved in their own family chores are the ones who have more problems of school drop out, since 33% of them (13,697 children and teenagers) remain out of school system.

Fig.19: Children as per school attendance & activity

---Attend ---Do Not attend



Children and teenagers who help in their own household chores find themselves in a specially vulnerable situation with respect to their education, and they are marginalized for future opportunities which education could have provided them.

An important part of them has already stopped attending school, and out of those who still go to school, many do not attend classes regularly or are not studying in the corresponding grade. The results of survey show that children and teenagers who do unacceptable jobs lag behind much more than those who do not work. However, children and teenagers who perform household chores are the ones who are harmed more in terms of their educational opportunities and are the ones who suffer more backwardness in their studies.

Gender discrimination operates from early age since only 51% children and teenagers who do these tasks are studying in a grade, which corresponds to them and as is known, a greater percentage of these children are women.

The reasons for not attending school are clearly different according to gender. While in the case of men, the reasons are mainly economic (41.1%) and problems of behavior or learning (47%); among women, the causes refer mostly to pregnancy and motherhood and their involvement in work or search for work. There is also high percentage of physically challenged or sick persons belonging to both the sexes.

III. Public Policy on Child Labor, Poverty and Education

3.1 Ministry of Labor and Social Security

It's mission is to study, formulate and propose policies, plans, programs and rules for creating a system of labor relationship that may promote cooperation between workers and entrepreneurs and their respective organizations, as well as adequate resolution of conflicts, thus directing public efforts towards this objective and combining them with social sector, wherever appropriate. The strategic objectives of the Ministry are:

- To propose and promote labor norms that may promote equality and cooperation in labor relations.
- To study, disseminate and/or do follow-up of implementing laws and other labor norms and evolution of labor market.
- To promote, guide, coordinate and/or execute social plans and programs that may generate employment, improve employability and labor conditions, and strengthen trade union organizations and micro-enterprises.
- To improve and strengthen internal management system so that it may promote fulfillment of the mission.

The measures adopted by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security in the field of child labor are in tune with the powers provided under the Labor Code. These include supervision of employment conditions of teenage workers involved in the formal sector of the economy, through the Directorate of Labor, and training of workers above 15 years, through National Training and Employment Service.

It also proposes legal modifications for promoting the work protection of teenage workers. Currently, together with the National Service for Minors and ILO, a catalogue of dangerous occupations for teenagers is being prepared. A proposal is being designed for modifying the labor code concerning teenage workers with a view to integrate the Organic Law of Education of 2003, which increased the compulsory schooling from 8 to 12 years in the country.

According to information given by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, child labor in the formal sector in Chile is an issue which is almost nonexistent, very well regulated, and the enterprises generally follow the rules; they do not risk penalties for employing persons below 15 years, they take authorization from parents, they see to it that the jobs are not dangerous and that the children continue to be in school (children above 15 and below 16 years). Because of what has been mentioned earlier, the issue does not figure in its goals; however, the Ministry notifies the goals of the plan of prevention and eradication of child labor, which are of inter-sectorial nature.

In June 1996, the Government of Chile, together with ILO/IPEC, signed a Memorandum of Understanding (renewed in the year 2002). The Ministry of Labor and Social Security accepted the challenge of coordinating, at national scale, the

preparation of a Policy and an Action Plan meant to prevent and eradicate child labor, as also to improve protection for teenage workers under the provisions of Law.

In this context, through a Presidential Decree No. 131, a National Committee for Eradicating Child Labor and Protection of Child Workers, currently National Advisory Committee for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor was constituted. It comprises government representatives, employers, workers and civil society. The Committee is a multi-sectorial body made up of representatives from Ministries, public and private institutions, technical cooperation organizations (See Table 9).

Table 9: Members of Advisory Committee for prevention & eradication of Child labor			
Public Ministries	Other public Institutions	Foundations	International Organizations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministry of Labor & Social Security • Ministry of Education • Ministry of Health • Ministry of Justice • Ministry of Agriculture • Ministry of Planning & Cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Directorate of Labor • Mayors' Network for Children • Carabineers of Chile • National Association of Exporters of Non Traditional Manufactured Products • Chilean Association for United Nations • Teachers' Association 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integra Foundation • Parliamentary Committee for Children • Confederation of Production and Trade • Workers Trade Union • Catholic Church • Methodist Church of Chile • NGOs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • United National Guild Confederation of Medium, Small, Microindustry, Services and Artisans of Chile, CONUPIA- • ILO/IPEC (advisory organization) • UNICEF (advisory organization)

- ***Plan for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor***

In the year 2001, the Committee, as part of its commitment, formulated a Plan for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor in Chile within the context of National Policy on Children established for the period 2001-2010.

To promote the goal of eradicating child labor, a series of measures have been adopted and projects implemented such as seminars, awareness campaigns, training programs, and research concerning child labor, among others. These have been carried out in collaboration with governmental, entrepreneurs, workers, civil society and international organizations, such as UNICEF and ILO.

The Plan is based on the doctrine of human rights of children. This perspective considers the indivisibility and interdependence of the totality of rights, putting emphasis on the integral relationship between civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights (See Annex-2).

From the above, it is understood that from the social point of view, child labor can be seen “as an expression of an economic, social and cultural system, which does not adequately guarantee employment conditions, quality of life and incomes required by

their populations, which may allow children to grow up in an harmonious and integral manner.”²⁷

The basic principles of the Plan moreover underline that, from the socio-cultural perspective, the statistics indicate that the socio-economic conditions of the environment directly influence the increase or decrease in the number of children and teenagers getting involved in the labor market according to the cycles of growth and recession of economy. On the other hand, it also observed that even when child labor occurs preferably in the poorest strata, not all poor families allow their children to get involved in the labor market in a permanent manner. This indicates that there are cultural factors, which encourage or discourage the role of families in providing children to the labor market.

Studies show that incentives for child labor come from families themselves; on other occasions, the motivation originates from the very interests of children and teenagers. In the first case, child labor forms part of the economic strategy of the family group which encourages the child to earn income in order to help the family’s economic condition; and in the second case, encouragement comes from the desire to generate incomes for themselves for financing consumptions which are not within the reach of their families.

One of the most serious consequences produced by child labor at a tender age is their absence from the school system. Some specialists say that the permanent type of child labor (which runs parallel to the academic year) inexorably forces them to drop out from the school system.

The Plan for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor proposed strategic areas, objectives and actions for achieving this final objective. The strategic areas and the objectives thereof are given below:

- A. Awareness for creating a responsible attitude among people so that children’s rights are not devalued and violated by child labor. The objective of this area is “to generate more national awareness about child labor and its link with devaluation and violation of the rights of children and teenagers, especially in relation to their right to education.”
- B. Production of data related to child labor. With the objective of “identifying the quality and lack of data and information on child labor at national, regional and local level and to promote compilation of data which may be require, evaluating its availability and use by the concerned organizations involved in the progressive elimination of child and teenage labor.”

²⁷ Min. of Labor. Plan for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child and Teenage Labor in Chile. Santiago, 2001.

- C. Normative and supervisory aspects. With the purpose of “promoting legal and normative reforms, in particular, those favoring the policy of progressive elimination of child and teenage labor, for creating a legal framework, in tune with the Convention and International Treaties which may guarantee restrictions, regulations and prohibitions necessary for the protection of the rights of children and teenagers.”
- D. Specific objectives by age group
- Children & teenagers involved in the worst forms of child labor. This has the following objective: “To elaborate a profile and identify at national and local level, children and teenagers involved in all activities defined as the worst forms of child labor and provide them social, legal and educational assistance for their integration.”
 - Children below 15 years of age. The objectives are: “To achieve the goal that children below 15 years stop working and reintegrate themselves in the school system in order to remove illiteracy, gender disparities and ensure them equality of opportunity in their future lives” and “develop measures for providing them educational, legal and social assistance and economic subsidies to working children below 15 years, who have dropped out of school system, with the purpose of reincorporating them in the school life and rehabilitate them socially by offering support.”
 - Teenagers between 15 and 18 years. The objectives for this group are: “To ensure permanence of teenagers in the school system by providing necessary legal, economic and social assistance to those who are outside the system and to those who are working, for their reintegration in the education system” and “ensure that regulated and legal conditions of teenage work are fulfilled.”
- E. Follow up and measurement of the Plan progress. The objectives of this are: “To design and execute a system of follow up, measurement and evaluation of the progress in achieving the Plan objectives, as also its effective implementation and achievements of policies, programs and projects which are developed at national level in the framework of Plan.”

In the framework of the actions of Plan for Preventing and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor, in the year 2003, a project entitled “ National Diagnosis on Child Labor and System of Registration of the Worst Forms” was carried out, a joint initiative of the Ministry of Labor, National Statistical Institute and National Children’s Service, which got the technical and financial support from ILO/IPEC.

The National Statistical Institute used a survey designed to measure child and teenage labor for the first time at national level. The survey covered 16,308 families at national level, between February and April 2003, period during which one could also include seasonal agricultural and other related works done during vacations (February) as well as work done during school period (March – April). It used an innovative methodology, based on the use of daily time of children and teenagers

with a view to indirectly detect cases of child labor not identified as such, by providing reliable data on the subject²⁸. A more serious analysis of these data is carried out in point II.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Security notes progress in the National Plan of Prevention and Eradication of child labor. Within this it mentions the legal and normative ambit since, between the year 2000 and 2005, laws have been promulgated to eradicate child labor and its worst forms, such as the law of child pornography related with the commercial sexual exploitation of children; the age for admission in employment was increased from 14 to 15 years and 12 years of schooling was made compulsory. Other specific groups have also been identified for public policies. Likewise, for creating awareness about the magnitude and nature of child labor in the country and in its dissemination, an ambit about which seminars were organized on child labor in all regions in 2004. An area where no clear progress was seen is the area of follow up and evaluation of measures.

The goals for the next period include incorporation of child labor within the indicators of achievement of social policies, particularly those related with poverty and education and complete the list of dangerous occupations with a view to fulfill the provisions mentioned in Convention 182.

3.2 Ministry of Planning and Cooperation: Chile Solidario Program

From 1990 onwards, the government has started various initiatives, programs and policies meant to overcome poverty. Among them, Chile Solidario Program, a system of social protection started in the year 2002 with holistic perspective, which combines assistance and promotion for tackling absolute poverty, with a coverage of 225,073 families and 15,675 persons above 65 years in individual households.

The program is part of a new generation of policies, which should allow removing serious social and family anomalies, as also improving conditions of children (boys/girls). In fact, one of the conditions for accessing the program is to keep the children in school, a requisite, which also has to be met in the case of Family Subsidy Program (SUF).

The program is coordinated and supervised by the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation, MIDEPLAN, in a decentralized manner with a series of social public and private networks existing at national, regional and local levels depending on the needs and demands of families involved in the program.

The selection of participating families is governed by a series of criteria meant to verify and certify the condition of poverty and need. For families to qualify under absolute poverty, Ministry of Planning and Cooperation uses technical instruments and procedures for certification and verification which at least examines the family

²⁸ It is the only survey of Latin America and the Caribbean, which uses this methodology that should be kept in mind while comparing data. Web page Ministry of Labor.

income and their conditions that do not allow them to fulfill one or more basic needs and fully participate in social life.

The program takes into account three components and services: I) psychological support and a voucher for family security; ii) preferred access to monetary subsidies (Family subsidy, SUF²⁹; pension assistance, PASIS³⁰; subsidy for consuming drinking water and using sewerage systems³¹; and iii) preferred access to programs of social, public and private advancement in the areas of health, education, work, dwelling and justice.

The first component, which serves as the entry point for the Chile Solidario Program, is implemented by the Solidarity and Social Investment Fund (FOSIS), together with municipalities. The FOSIS, assigned by the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation, designed the Bridge Program for serving the beneficiaries of the program.

Every family selected through the already indicated criteria is assigned a Family Support from the corresponding community, which carries out a first visit to the house of the family for inviting it to join and participate in the program. The family participation is voluntary and if it accepts the offer, then a commitment of participation is signed, which contains general clauses with respect to the role of Family Support and also that of the family. The psycho-social intervention which is carried out, has a duration of 24 months and consists of a sequence of working sessions with the family at its place on the basis of a pedagogical methodology, which allows the family to fulfill stages in the process of intervention.

The target families are systematically monitored by public officials, whose duty is to ensure that the families get an effective access to subsidies and public services. Additionally, they are provided with a support service for finding employment and/or training for the family head (male/female). (For a detailed description of this Program, see Annex 3).

- *Child Labor in Chile Solidario*

Given that in families under absolute poverty, where one notices a higher incidence of child labor and its worst forms, the Chile Solidario Program, undoubtedly, provides basic contribution to eradicate the problem. With a view to prevent child labor, the program takes into account a series of minimum requirements for target families. Among these the following requirements are important for preventing child labor:

Work: That no child below 15 years should drop out of school due to work.

²⁹ The family subsidy (SUF) is meant for families with scarce resources and which have children below 18 years or disabled persons of any age. Law 18,020.

³⁰ It creates a system of pensions for disabled and old persons who do not have resources. Decree Law No. 869.

³¹ It creates a subsidy for payment of drinking water and using sewerage system which benefits the users who have scarce resources. Law 18.778.

Family dynamics: That there is equitable distribution of household chores (among all family members, irrespective of gender and according to age).

Education: 1) That pre-school age children attend some nursery educational program; 2) That in the presence of working mothers or in the absence of any adult to look after them, the children are under the care of a nursery, 3) That children up to 15 years of age attend some educational facility, 4) That children who attend pre-school, primary or secondary education should benefit from the corresponding program of school assistance, 5) That children above 12 should know how to read and write, 6) That children with disabilities who are in a position to study are included in the regular or special schooling system, 7) That there is one adult in charge of child's education, who is certified as authorized and should be in regular contact with the school.

- ***Foundation for Overcoming Poverty: Adopt a Brother Program***

On its part, the private sector, with state contribution via MIDEPLAN, has also developed initiatives meant to strengthen the Plan for Overcoming Poverty and Educational policy. This is the case of Foundation for Overcoming Poverty in Chile, FUNASUPO. (For more information, see Annex XX).

In line with the Plan for overcoming poverty and the policy of school retention, the Foundation has developed a program "Adopt a Brother". The target population of this program is children between 8 and 12 years, with scarce resources, who study in municipal schools and who are in a condition of psycho-social vulnerability.

Its objective is to strengthen the capacity of children in the social and emotional ambits, develop their skills, reinforce self esteem and create study habits for achieving effective use of educational opportunities and a better integration in the family and community setting. For the above, a program of educational and emotional accompaniment has been created through tutors consisting of volunteers-students from higher education.

3.3 Ministry of Justice: National Children's Service

The National Children's Service (SENAME), in its capacity as public organization has the mission "to contribute towards protection and promotion of the rights of children and teenagers, which are vulnerable to violation and towards social integration of teenagers who have violated the penal code" (For a detailed description, see Annex 4).

The strategies and measures proposed and formulated by SENAME are in tune with the principles enshrined in the Convention on the Right of the Child and incorporated in the "National Plan and Policy for children and teenagers (2001/2010)". Especially those which favor prohibition of all types of ill treatment, abuse and exploitation

including economic exploitation, offering a series of programs promoting respect for children's human rights and involving the family and social settings in their protection.

As regards child labor, the SENAME defined its contribution in the prevention and eradication of child labor, focusing its attention on those children and teenagers who are affected by the worst forms of child labor. Its function is defined from two ambits: i) contribution to the designing and implementation of programs or projects together with other sectors of public tasks, and ii) direct participation in the administration and development of projects meant to prevent and tackle child labor, especially its worst forms. The above, as an effective contribution to strategies completed within the framework of Action against CSEC³² and the Action Plan for Preventing and Eradicating of child labor.

SENAME, on the basis of Reform, directs its efforts towards strengthening, preventive and corrective measures, by assigning human and financial resources towards creation of Offices for the Protection of Rights, Centers for Infant-Child Care and rehabilitation projects related to ill treatment, drugs, street children and CSEC, encouraging measures for the promotion and protection of children's rights in coordination with key departments & stakeholders such as health, education, justice, municipalities and social programs like Chile Solidario. There is a close coordination with national and international institutions and entities, which strengthens their capacity for technical and/or financial actions. Important among these are the following:

- **ILO:** With the help of ILO, especially with IPEC (International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor), programs concerning the worst forms of child labor including CSEC, have been designed in the year 2002, and a new agreement reached through negotiations which will allow joint actions for the period 2005-2007 in research, registration and child care. Currently, a training project is being implemented for imparting training to teenagers above 16 years involved in the worst forms of child labor and at risk of worst forms of child labor in which SENCE is also participating.
- **Carabineers of Chile:** Convention Framework of Collaboration which provides for assistance and cooperation for elimination of commercial sexual exploitation of children; protection of the rights of children and teenagers and contribution for improvement in police procedures concerning the same, in order to provide complete protection for their rights, all this within the ambit of their respective powers.³³ Qualitative information about children and teenagers identified in the worst forms of child labor at local, regional and national levels with a view to design policies and programs meant to eliminate them in a progressive manner.³⁴ Special Convention which guarantees development of projects "System of Registration of the Worst Forms of Child

³² ESCI Commercial Sexual Exploitation of children

³³ Res.Ex. No. 0011/B, dt. Jan. 4, 2005

³⁴ Res.Ex.No.0012/B, dt. Jan.4, 2005

Labor” in order to have quantitative information about the worst forms of child labor.

- **Collaborating Institutions accredited by Sename:** Conventions on action concerning child labor have been established with NGO Raíces, NGO Desarrollo Raíces, Corporación OPCION, Foundation Tierra y Esperanza, Arzobispado de Concepción, NGO Paicabí, PRODENI, NGO Cordillera, Foundation El Peregrino, Foundation Crate, ICHEH, Foundation Sotto Il Monte, SERPAJ.
- **Municipalities of the thirteen regions of the country:** Conventions have been signed with more than 40 municipalities of the country and agreements reached with 71 communities for the functioning of Offices for the Protection of Rights.
- **Universities:** Some of the activities about child labor and worst forms have been developed with universities such as the University of Chile and the ARCIS University, especially about studies and training in CSEC.
- **Public Ministry:** Convention for forming a commission for national coordination and regional commissions between the Division of Care for Victims and Witnesses of the Public Ministry and the National Children Service. It’s objective is to establish technical and general outlines for regional action concerning care, protection and reduction in the secondary victimization of children and teenagers, and encourage training and awareness processes among different social stakeholders.³⁵
- **Police Investigation Agency:** A Convention for Collaboration has been approved and it’s objective is to guarantee development of project “System of Registration of the Worst Forms of Child Labor” for gathering qualitative and quantitative information on children and teenagers involved in the worst forms of child labor at local, regional, national levels, in order to design policies and programs oriented towards their progressive elimination.³⁶
- **Directorate of Labor:** A commitment of participation as supplier of information from the System of Registration of WFCL is in force. It’s formal ratification for the said project is currently on.
- **Ministry of Labor:** With this Ministry a periodic contact is maintained for developing projects and activities related with child labor, transfer of technical information and participation of National Advisory Committee for prevention and elimination of child labor. Currently, a commission comprising the said ministry, including the Directorate of Labor, ILO and SENAME is functioning, with the objective of reviewing economic activities, which involve children in dangerous works and prepare a list of WFCL for their incorporation in the Labor Code.
- **Ministry of Education:** The System of Registration of WFCL has been included in the Labor Program 2004-2005, within the framework of Convention signed between Sename and MINEDUC³⁷. It’s purpose is to identify children through key educational agents.

³⁵ Memorandum No. 373 DN Sename, Jan. 2003.

³⁶ Res. Ex. No. 0044 B, Jan.13,2005

³⁷ Res. Ex. No. 000690, Feb 04, 2005.

The programs developed by the institution concerning child labor started in 1996 and focus attention on working children. In the year 2001, and in the framework of worst forms of child labor, the first pilot experiment meant to rehabilitate victims of commercial sexual exploitation of children is started in collaboration with NGO Raices, which is in force.

In 2002, SENAME together with ILO, Ministry of Labor and National Statistical Institute developed a project “National Diagnosis of Child and Teenage Labor and their Worst Forms”. SENAME assumes special responsibility of coordinating the designing and starting a System of Registration of WFCL, an initiative which is functioning together with other institutions and services. Additionally, it finances a qualitative study on the characteristics and needs of children and teenagers involved in the WFCL.

Likewise, in 2002, SENAME and ILO/IPEC Program agreed to carry out an action program on commercial sexual exploitation of children in the context of prevention and progressive elimination of WFCL, covering initiatives in the ambit of research, awareness and care for victims. A study is being conducted to get updated information on the magnitude and features of commercial sexual exploitation of children in Chile, and valuable inputs have been received for elaborating a planned and specialized response at national, regional and local levels. Likewise, through an awareness program focused on the metropolitan region, a communicative action program has been formulated concerning the issue. Lastly, a Project meant to provide care to victims of commercial sexual exploitation in the Bio Bio region is being implemented.

In 2004, a study on the impact of measures carried out in the field of commercial sexual exploitation of children is conducted to discover important elements for formulating measures and intervention models, for defining the terms of reference of future studies and awareness campaigns in the field of commercial sexual exploitation of children. Additionally, the availability of projects is extended to cover victims of CSEC and the number of projects increased from two to ten in the I, II, V RM and X regions, including the one developed in partnership with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) for training of professionals and technicians.

For the year 2005, as a result of budgetary increase, six new programs will be implemented. These will focus on providing care to the victims of CSEC and will be implemented in the regions : III, IV, VI, VII and IX.

The type of projects that SENAME implements for achieving its goal of preventing and progressive elimination of child labor and its worst forms in partnership with services and public/private institutions, have the following features:

Table 9: Description of the Project type implemented and their objectives

TYPE OF PROJECTS	OBJECTIVES
Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, CSEC	Support processes of rehabilitation of children & teenagers, victims of CSEC and their reintegration in the family and society through implementation of programs of holistic intervention in an interdisciplinary manner.
Working children	Contribute to promote the rights of working children/teenagers and prevent violation of their rights and exploitation through integration process and strengthening of family resources and those of community and society groups.
Office for Protection of Rights, OPR	Fully protect rights of children, teenagers who are excluded and vulnerable, in a certain territory, by implementing a model of administrative intervention and non jurisdictional. Especially in OPR, on detecting children involved in child labor in the local context, it will contribute to prevent other damages such as school drop out and/or discharge of their roles as providers and/or the risk of other violations.
Community Centers for Children's Rights, CCR	Promote the exercise and enjoyment of the rights of children whose level of vulnerability does not require specialized interventions, through implementation of learning projects in a group manner, meant to correct conditions of vulnerability of rights, via implementation of the processes of restoration of rights, by incorporating families and communities, in sectors characterized by inequality of conditions and life expectancy. In particular, the rights to education of children will be strengthened, and their involvement in economic activities will be reduced and knowledge about "labor rights" will be promoted among population above 15 years, involved in this type of situations.
System of Registration of WFCL	Find out how many children and teenagers are involved in the WFCL at national level, and stop their situation of serious vulnerability of rights through strategies of protection and adequate intervention.
Study on CSEC	Find out the magnitude of CSEC in Chile and its features.
Study on WFCL	Find out needs of children and teenagers involved in the WFCL and their perception with respect to their life expectancy.
Study on actions for CSEC	Evaluate the results of different experiences and actions concerning the problem of CSEC, of intervention, of studies, legislation and international laws and social awareness implemented by public institutions between 2001 and 2003.

3.4 Ministry of Education

As regards prevention of child labor, the program of the Ministry of Education meant to retain children in the school system constitutes a very clear policy initiative in this sense. Among these programs are: School for All, Pro Retention Subsidy, Full School Shift that guarantees 12 years of compulsory education. Additional efforts are provided through programs such as School Meals, Child Health and Oral Health.

Full School Shift. In 2003, the Ministry makes secondary education compulsory and free, and the State is given responsibility to provide access to all children up to the age of 21 years at this educational level. In this manner, the government seeks to achieve the goal of providing a minimum of 12 years of education to children and young persons.

In the beginning of the 90s, the average schooling of Children was 8.7 years, while in the year 2000, it went up to 9.2 years; however, the average schooling of the poorest persons is only 7.8 years. It is estimated that nearly 300,000 Chileans below 21 years, especially those belonging to the poor sectors, have not finished secondary education. Given the fact that the children of poor families have higher probability of dropping out of school³⁸, it has been considered necessary to provide incentives so that this age group can remain school for completing 12 years of schooling.

³⁸ According CASEN 2000 Survey, about 128,000 children between 14 and 19 years are out of school system. In the poorest families, the ratio of children who do not attend school is 46%.

Therefore, the Constitutional Reform is accompanied by a Complete Schooling Program, which includes giving a direct subsidy for retention of children in school.

Pro-Retention Differentiated Subsidy. Given to educational institutions, which take care of the poorest students who study in primary and secondary schools. Moreover, a further strengthening of measures is contemplated to tackle the problem of school drop out, teenage pregnancy and standardization of studies, among others.

Pro-Retention Differentiated Subsidy is an additional contribution by government for education. It is differentiated because it gives more resources to educational institutions, which look after the poor students and it is pro retention because its objective is that students in the drop out risk stay in school and complete their 12 years of schooling. These additional funds are directly given to the municipal and private subsidized schools, which have been able to retain students till the secondary school level and students who have passed out after this level. It is expected that the subsidy will benefit approximately 126,000 children who belong to 209,000 families in absolute poverty, focus of Chile Solidario Fund.

School for All Program. It seeks to keep children in secondary school so that they complete 12 years of schooling and receive quality education. This program is implemented in those educational institutions, which face greater educational and social difficulties and is meant for persons who came from families with low education background.

The Program's objective is that students of schools, which participate in the program, remain in school and acquire higher levels of learning and education, as well as develop individual personality that may allow them to have a vision of optimism about their future personal and professional life, especially taking care of their social and educational backwardness.

The Program operates from each school, where the educational community meets, analyze its condition and commits itself to develop action plans that may ensure a longer stay in school and higher perseverance of students in their secondary studies. Each educational community receives support from the Ministry of Education for tackling necessary changes in the educational and social fields; a support which is translated in a variety of programs, such as standardization, continuous training for teachers and managers, improvement of participants, scholarships, strategies of participation of school community, advice in the psycho-social aspects and projects related to psycho-educational care.

With the objective of supporting retention of children and young persons in conditions of bio-psychological vulnerability in the school system, various support programs are being run in areas of nutrition, student health, mental health, oral health, student residences, recreation, school material, nursery education and scholarships. *(For more information, see Annex 5, which gives description of the program).*

The main purpose of the above programs is that children and young persons in conditions of social, economic psychological or biological disadvantage are included and retained and achieve success in the education system. For this, quality products and services are provided in order to promote equality of opportunities in the education system. The target groups are children, young persons and adults inside or outside the education system at the level beginning from Pre-Kinder and Kinder to primary and secondary school, with special emphasis on the children of families targeted by Chile Solidario Program.

3.5 Public Institutions and Mechanisms of Coordination

The National Policy and Integrated Action Plan for Children and Teenagers established a management model³⁹, i.e., an institutional system in which duties, responsibilities and powers of participating institutions are defined, and also mechanisms of coordination through which these operate.

The model seeks to guarantee joint work and inter sectorial and inter institutional coordination of government agencies involved in the implementation of policies meant to promote rights and welfare of children and teenagers. Thus creation of an organization for doing a follow-up of National Policy has been established⁴⁰ and given official character with the creation of a Council of Ministers for Children and Teenagers in the year 2002⁴¹. This agency is in charge of giving account of progress made in the implementation of the Plan before the President of the Republic every 14th day of August. Moreover, it also involves civil society, through a Consultative Committee of Civil Society⁴², in coordination with the Council of Ministers through an executive office.

In this Action Plan, designed for children and teenagers, 22 institutions in charge of implementing the tasks under program also participate⁴³. The ministers participate in

³⁹ National Policy and Integrated Action Plan for Children and Teenagers 2001-2010. Govt. of Chile, Dec. 2001.

⁴⁰ National Policy and Integrated Action Plan for Children and Teenagers defines authority in charge of follow up of the Plan, comprising the Minister of Planning and Cooperation, who presides, Min. of Education, Min. of Health, Min. of Justice, Min. of Labor and Min Director of National Service for Women, with permanent participation of the following authorities: Under Secretary Interior, Under Secretary Housing and Urbanization, Under Secretary Public Works, Under Secretary General of Government, Director of Budgets and Director of the Division of Inter-Ministerial Coordination of the Ministry Secretariat General of the Presidency. It will have an Executive Secretariat in charge of MIDEPLAN, an authority technically supported by the Inter-Sectorial Technical Committee for Children, comprising representatives of all the institutions at the central level of the State administration, which offer programs, services and benefits to children and teenagers. This authority was created in June 2003.

⁴¹ MIDEPLAN Response to Observations of the Committee for Children's Rights of the United Nations. 18th Dec. 2001.

⁴² The Consultative Committee of civil society consists of the institutions: Society for Industrial Development, Entrepreneurial Action, ASONG, ACCION, Network of NGOs on Children, Federation of Professional Unions, and others such as CUT, FENIPROM, CODENI.

⁴³ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Min. of Health, Min. of Justice (Dept. of Children and National Service for Children), Min. of Education, Secretariat General of Government, Min. of Planning and Cooperation, Min. of Labor and Social Security, Min. of Public Works, Transport and Communications, Min. of Housing and

the Council of Ministers for Children, headed by the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation and in charge of submitting annual report about the condition of children in the country before the President of the Republic.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Security exercises the role of coordination of National Advisory Committee for preventing and progressive elimination of child labor and takes part in the inter-sectorial discussion on child related issues: Council of Ministers for Children and Panel on the Worst Forms of Child Labor, among others.

This ministry coordinates the work related to child labor with international organizations such as ILO and UNICEF. Both these organizations participate in the National Advisory Committee for prevention and progressive elimination of child labor.

In the national ambit, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, National Service for Children and ILO form the nucleus group of the Advisory Committee. Joint meetings are held frequently with the participation of UNICEF, Health, Ministry of Planning and Cooperation and the Police. The so-called “nucleus group” meets every month and sometimes more frequently because joint actions are being conducted. Among these is a pilot program for training of teenagers rescued from the WFCL, especially CSEC, in which National Service for Training and Employment and the System of Registration of WFCL participate. The Committee meets every quarter in an extended form. In the meeting, each institution gives account of the actions taken and year-end summary is presented. These serve to measure the progress achieved in the implementation of the program.

The Ministry of Labor proposed to act with more vigor in child labor elimination this year. For this purpose, it looked for coordination with Education for concrete measures, particularly because of the importance these have for retention of children in school system and the new on going programs, which are linked to this objective.

The Education includes Advisory Committee; however, it had no presence in the mechanisms of coordination till 2005 when, because of coordination among ministries, the celebration of International Day against Child Labor was included in the school calendar after a decree was signed by two Ministers and the President. On this date, posters concerning the issue were distributed in all the educational institutions (subsidized, private subsidized and municipal schools) of the country.

The Advisory Committee for prevention and elimination of child labor is a subcommittee within a Committee for Children. The latter debates on specific issues and includes goals associated with the task of eliminating child labor and its worst

Urban Dev., National Service for Women, FOSIS (Fund for Solidarity and Social Investment), National Disability Fund, National Board for Kinder gardens, National Board for School Assistance and Scholarships, Div. Of Social Organizations, Institute of Provisional Standardization, Fundacion Integra, Family Foundation, Directorate General of Sports and Recreation, National Council for Drug Control and National Institute for the Youth.

forms. This Committee for Children submitted a policy report of Ministers in 2003 and a technical report in the beginning of 2005, but this mechanism has not been functioning on a regular basis.

For implementing Plan actions, there is no specific budget; there are neither resources assigned for inter sectorial actions. The Labor Ministry budget only considers resources for meeting the cost of a professional post related to child labor with coordination role, and has funds for the task of dissemination, though it does not have budgetary provisions for other actions of major importance.

On its part, the National Advisory Committee does not have budget, which prevents it from developing a program in an orderly manner. Since the budgets are inter-sectorial, the progress depends on the resources contributed by each institution for the purpose. For this, every Ministry depends on its own budget for carrying out measures under the Plan, which fall under its mandate.

3.6 Laws of the Government of Chile

Chile has committed itself to eliminate child labor and its worst forms. For this purpose, it has signed a series of international conventions and promulgated its own laws for protecting children and teenagers. Likewise, it has adopted different public policies involving civil society.

- International Commitments

1919-1921: Seven ILO Conventions referring to child labor are ratified. These are:

- Conventions 5 and 6 of 1919, on the minimum age for admission to industrial employment and night shifts;
- Convention 7 of 1920, on the minimum age for employment at sea;
- Conventions 10, 15 and 16 of 1921, about the requirement of minimum age for admission to employment in agriculture, trimmers and stokers, and concerning the compulsory medical examination of children employed at sea, respectively.
- 1989: The International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is ratified. This clearly establishes protection of children and teenagers against economic and social exploitation.
- 1990: The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child is ratified. This recognizes the rights of children to be protected against any form of economic exploitation and work, which could be harmful for his/her physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social health (Art. 32, No.1).
- 1999: The ILO Convention 138 is ratified, whereby States commit themselves to follow a national policy in order to ensure an effective prohibition of child labor and progressively raise the minimum age for admission to employment, which is fixed at 15 years.

- 2000: The ILO Convention 182 is ratified. This refers to the worst forms of child labor and urges States to take urgent measures for its prohibition and elimination as also to protect them against all forms of exploitation, which could be prejudicial and harmful to the welfare of children and teenagers. The National Congress, following the principles of Convention 138, modified its law in 2000, which was prevalent till then through Law No. 19,684 of Labor Code, increasing the minimum legal age for employment of children, from 14 to 15 years.

Of special significance are: ILO Convention 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment (February 1999) and ILO Convention 182 (June 2000). With the signing of the latter, a commitment is made to adopt urgent and effective measures to eliminate the worst forms of child labor for all persons below 18 years of age.

- 2003: The Congress approves the Optional Protocol of the Convention on the Rights of the Child related to sale, prostitution and use of children in pornography. The said Protocol imposes obligations on the States to punish offenders in these illegal cases and rehabilitate the victims.

- *National Commitments*

- 1996: A Memorandum of Understanding is signed between ILO/IPEC and the Ministry of Labor and Social Security.
- 1996 (August): Through a Presidential Decree, a National Committee for Elimination of Child Labor and Protection of Child Worker is established, currently National Advisory Committee for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor (hereinafter National Committee). In it participate representatives of different government organizations, social organizations, employers and workers and also international organizations.
- 1999: A Framework for Action is formulated against commercial sexual exploitation of children.
- 2001: Dissemination of Policy and Integrated Action Plan for children and teenagers.
- 2001-2010: The National Committee formulates and publishes a Plan for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child and Teenage Labor in Chile 2001-2010. The government, civil society, entrepreneurs and workers commit themselves to progressive elimination of all types of unacceptable work, as well as protection of working conditions of teenagers. The National Committee is in charge of implementing actions to do follow up of results achieved.
- 2002: The Memorandum of Understanding signed in 1996 is extended, confirming the commitment of Chile in its fight for elimination of child labor.
- 2003: Regional Committees for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor are established in all the regions. Likewise, a Constitutional Reform is promulgated that makes secondary education compulsory and free. The Reform authorizes the government to guarantee access to the said education level for all children up to the age of 21. In this manner, the

government seeks to achieve a minimum of 12 years of schooling for children. This means a significant step towards prevention of child labor and their retention in the school system. Moreover, it will directly affect the work code, which makes the fulfillment of working conditions mandatory.

- 2002-2004: ILO and Ministry of Labor and Social Security carry out a Project called “National Diagnosis of Child and Teenage Work and Identification of its Worst Forms”, with the assistance of SENAME and the National Statistical Institute (INE).

- *Legal Norms*

- 1999: The legal aspects concerning sex crimes are reformulated through the adoption of Law No. 19,617.
- 2000: The Senate approves Law No. 19,684, modifying the labor code, which increases the minimum age for admission to employment from 14 to 15 years, thus meeting the standards of ILO Convention 138.
- 2003: The government promulgates the Constitutional Reform, making secondary education compulsory and free up to the age of 21 years.
- 2004: Law No. 19,927 is promulgated in order to fight pedophilia, child pornography and their network in internet.

As regards child and teenage work in the informal sector of the economy and the worst forms of child labor, the law applied is the one, which regulates the protection of children and their rights, i.e. the Law of Minors No. 16,618 (1967) in force and modified in May 2002 by Law No. 19,806. This law principally refers to a system of protection measures, which shall be applicable in conditions of child labor. There are also certain penalties, which shall also be applicable in case of violation. In spite of recent modifications, which have partially removed the shortcomings, it does not adequately protect the rights of children and teenagers.

CHILEAN LABOR LEGISLATION FOR CHILDREN BELOW 18 YEARS

The children cannot be forced to work. Law No. 15,684 only allows work for teenagers between 15 and 18 years if they meet the following conditions:

i) written authorization from their parents or guardians; ii) work contract and legal wage; iii) day shifts not exceeding 8 hrs; iv) light jobs that do not affect their health, safety or morality, v) underground mining work not allowed, and in places where alcohol is sold, vi) between 15 and 16 years they should certify their school attendance.

IV Analysis of Instruments of Cooperation in Child Labor, Poverty and Education

4.1 International Labor Organization: Program for Elimination of Child Labor, IPEC

After ratification of ILO Conventions 138 and 182, the ILO/IPEC Program provides technical and financial support for actions taken by the State of Chile for eliminating child labor.

The program defines issues for the region and, in the context of the country, takes into account the established law and plans for elimination of child labor and its worst forms. In the case of Chile, it involves National Advisory Committee for Prevention and Elimination of Child Labor, the Plan designed for the period 2001 –2010 and takes into account Committee’s proposals for giving concrete shape to measures to be undertaken jointly.

In the year 2004, ILO organized a workshop with stakeholders dealing with the issue of CSEC in Chile, with a view to specify work to be done between 2002 and 2004 subsequent to the National Diagnosis on Child Labor and its worst forms. The problem of CSEC was part of the proposal made by ILO for the region and in this framework the national stakeholders contributed ideas and their experience for defining the action program to be implemented from the end of 2004 till the year 2007.

Currently, IPEC carries out a Project “Creating Networks against Exploitation” which is basically focused on the condition of children and teenagers who are sexually exploited. Among its activities are⁴⁴:

- Extension of the system of Registration of the WFCL in the entire country, including education and health sectors. This project is undertaken with SENAME.
- A pilot project for preventing CSEC.
- Strengthening of supervision of projects that provide care. By the end of the first six months of 2005, 16 projects were being carried out in the country, under the care of institutions, which collaborate with SENAME.
- Study on the implementation of New Law on CSEC meant to evaluate its functioning and then training of key stakeholders, with the objective of overcoming problems that were detected and extension of the network.
- Awareness campaigns against sexual exploitation of children with focus on the WFCL. It takes into account a strategic planning, which includes, in the first place, mass media and then different stakeholders so that a slow and gradual process is developed to reach out at the community.

⁴⁴ Interview with the IPEC/ILO Program Coordinator in Chile. Maria Jesus Silva. 06/06/2005.

- A demand study on the CSEC is being conducted to know the profile of exploiters, clients and pimps. This project is part of major project that covers four countries: Paraguay, Colombia, Peru and Chile.
- ILO promotes a sub-regional Plan – Mercosur and Chile – within the region, initiated in 2002. In this context, a study on social policies and a judicial study have been conducted. Now another study on the child labor indicators in Mercosur-Chile is being conducted. This plan has different components and trade unions are one of them.

Currently, the measures adopted by IPEC/ILO are focused on the WFCL, particularly the CSEC since it is a priority issue in the policies of elimination of Child Labor, promoted by ILO and in part by the National Plan for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor in Chile.

Besides, IPEC carried out an impact evaluation of the Program on CSEC 2002-2004, through a study conducted by the University of Chile, which concluded that it was not possible to determine the real impact of the Awareness Campaign, since it coincided with the much discussed case of Spiniak⁴⁵ and the indicators about the progress in actions had not been determined previously. The evaluation also included interaction with children and teenagers, victims of sexual abuse as part of a program implemented in the VIII region. For this, the results of this program were compared with the Program Raices carried out in the metropolitan region and greater progress of the program was noticed in the VIII region, which are explained by the characteristics of the people covered, who in their majority had family support, different from the case of Raices Program, mainly consisting of street children. Moreover, the evaluation noticed the need to integrate training in the work related to the program and/or strengthening of contacts among networks in the field of education and training.

IPEC still does not conduct a progress evaluation concerning elimination of child labor and its worst forms. This fact is based on recent figures, that estimate the magnitude and characteristics of this phenomenon in the country and which serve as a necessary base for measuring the progress in this sphere. It considers other achievements, such as designing of an intervention model for rehabilitation of CSEC, which is being replicated and the increase in the number of specialized projects on CSEC, which has gone up from two in 2003 to 16 projects in the first half of 2005 in the entire country.

Likewise, it considers that the System of Registration of the WFCL is relevant because it enables us to detect such cases and guide children and teenagers towards the existing programs and do a follow up action.

⁴⁵ This pertains to the discovery of a network of sexual exploitation of children and teenagers headed by an entrepreneur, which caused public outcry in the country.

IPEC/ILO is coordinated with international organizations such as UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO and Migrations⁴⁶.

At national level, it is linked to the organizations, which participate in the National Advisory Committee for prevention and elimination of child labor, universities (ARCIS and Univ. of Chile), NGOs such as Raices, National Television of Chile, which is supporting the ongoing awareness campaign.

It conducts periodic meetings, bimonthly or monthly, with National Service for Children and Ministry of Labor and Social Security, and with all institutions with which activities of common agreement are carried out as per need.

It also interacts with civil society through participation of institutions represented in the Committee, which contributed in the creation of the Plan for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor. IPEC includes the opinion of children from institutions, which are directly working with them and through schools, which also get the opinion of working children and teenagers.

From the point of view of ILO Program, progress has been made in achieving some of the objectives of the Plan for prevention and progressive elimination of child labor, such as creation of data and awareness; in the legislative sphere, the law to penalize child pornography, increase in compulsory schooling to 12 years; in the field of education, pro school retention programs and also actions focused on priority groups such as children and teenagers in WFCL. The objective of evaluation and follow up is pending, though the results of the programs carried out were evaluated.

4.2 UNICEF

The institutional mission for UNICEF establishes a role of cooperation with States, both in public and private sectors, so that children's rights are put into effect as recognized in Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

As regards the issue of child labor, UNICEF has been collaborating since the beginning as an Advisory body of the National Committee for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor and has executed joint measures with public and private stakeholders working in this area in Chile. Some of the important actions undertaken are supporting the initiative of Global March against Child Labor and the actions of the Program Hogar de Cristo, covering street children and involving work with families of affected children and teenagers and activities of awareness and training conducted jointly with teachers' unions.

The Committee seeks to encourage a greater commitment from institutions representing workers and entrepreneurs, with a view to sensitize them about the problem.

⁴⁶ Migrations currently supports the implementation of programs of specialized intervention carried out by SENAME through its collaborating institutions.

In general terms, the actions of the UNICEF Office in Chile seeks to strengthen the work carried out by other institutions, by including other stakeholders and providing technical support since the resources of UNICEF-Chile are limited, given that they are associated with macro-economic and social indicators of the country.

Currently, it is preparing a study on the good practices of child labor elimination in Chile in collaboration with ILO and seeks to create a permanent technical group with the existing concrete programs for elimination of child labor. This is in response to the presence of initiatives, which have not been disseminated and the need to delimit interventions, which are in harmony with the CRC postulates, since there are programs oriented towards improving the working conditions of children and teenagers who run the risk of legitimizing their illegal conditions such as the child labor involving small children.

Likewise, it is carrying out an analysis of public policies directed towards creation of indicators that may allow it to establish the effects of social policies on the prevention and elimination of child labor. From its perception, the adequate functioning of social, economic and employment policies should not allow creation of excluded human groups thereby reducing the group of children and teenagers who require specialized programs.

From the point of view of UNICEF, there is a difficulty in the country to carry out inter-sectorial work, particularly in the field of education, as it is perceived as less permeable to initiatives of other sectors and which has expelling features. In this area, training of teachers in Child Labor is considered relevant for them to contribute to the retention of working children in the school system, especially in places where it has not been able to improve quality of education such as the rural sectors. In these sectors there is seasonal agricultural work involving children and teenagers, who stop going to school before finishing their academic session and then rejoin the school very late. As a result, they are forced to repeat the courses and suffer from lack of motivation to continue their studies.

UNICEF participated in designing and supporting the Policy and Integrated Plan for children and teenagers. While disseminating this instrument, it had the participation of institutions and showed the need for international work for achieving results. For UNICEF this initiative has lost rhythm at the time of implementation and is lacking in follow up and evaluation, though there is an initiative by the Council of Ministers for Children for implementing supervision of children, and for which indicators are being prepared.

Coordination between ILO and other offices of UNICEF is being established in the international ambit. In Chile, work has been carried out with all the participating institutions of the National Advisory Committee for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of child labor and collaborations established depend on the nature of issues. There is collaboration with some regional governments and municipalities.

From its point of view, the success of collaboration is conditioned by the political influence of persons in those institutions and the times through which the general social policies are passing, such as the employment; the latter relating to public ambit.

Since its participation in the National Advisory Committee for Prevention and Elimination of Child Labor, it is observed that the participation in the period subsequent to the National Diagnosis on Child Labor has come down. Today, basically SENAME and Ministry of Labor, Teachers' Unions, ILO and UNICEF are active.

The Committee does not have common resources; therefore, it is not possible to rigorously implement the plan. More than its orderly implementation, there are a series of activities, which are considered relevant for achieving results and objectives proposed by the Plan.

Due to reduced participation, the role of auditing is being weakened, which is done by NGOs inside the Committee. These NGOs keep a record of activities carried out by them in relation to the issues included in the actions of the Committee at the time of evaluation.

The opinion of children has been included through an opinion study about child labor, which is incorporated in the information provided by UNICEF and they think that it serves as a resource for anticipating difficulties of intervention for eliminating child labor.

The most relevant actions of the Committee have been the designing, elaboration and implementation of National Survey on Child Labor, the programs concerning CSEC, and the System of Registration of WFCL. The latter, because of the relevance it has for sensitizing police personnel so that they perceive children as victims of exploitation and not responsible for the same. On the other hand, their results, more than statistical analysis, merit a qualitative analysis with a view to detect the type of inter-sectorial work that may allow tackling the problem. The Committee has not implemented follow up actions and evaluation of the Plan.

4.3 UNSECO

UNESCO's strategies and actions contribute towards the achievement of UN Millennium goals, particularly those referring to the following:

- Reduce by half the proportion of people living under absolute poverty by 2015.
- Achieve universal primary education in all countries by 2015.
- Remove gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005.
- Help countries to adopt national strategies for a sustainable development by 2005, with a view to reverse loss of environment resources by 2015.

In Chile, UNESCO collaborates with “Forum on Education for All”, constituted in 2003 by representatives of associations of agencies, educational institutions, universities, research centers, NGOs, Teachers’ Unions, Ministry of Education and UNESCO. The latter promotes activities that encourage creation of proposals on educational issues, so that all children, young persons and adults can receive quality education.

Two years after its formation, this initiative was able to consolidate itself as a permanent and plural example of information and debate. This year is particularly favorable for its work, considering that elections will have to take into account opinions and political proposals for change and support required by education. In such a context, the Forum seeks to discharge its role by compiling demands and proposals of citizens by promoting that these are translated into actions in order to improve the quality, equality and participation of society.

In UNESCO’s opinion, the education systems are based on a model of homogenous education at a time when globalized society is increasingly characterized by its diversity:

“Working with diversity as a positive aspect is a challenge, which our educational systems manage with difficulty. The systems favor homogenous work schemes, with uniform time schedules and progress rates, or select the students according to the features, which may allow having “similar” groups, either in terms of social status, skills or other criteria. All this facilitates the bureaucratic administration, but takes us away from the reality of the present day world which is getting increasingly more diverse: it generates social inequality and takes away from diversity the possibility of contributing towards learning. The studies show that in heterogeneous classes all the students learn more and better. Developing a school to better manage the wealth of diversity means not only accepting it, but also using it for supporting the creation of learning for students. Unfortunately, the majority of schools in Latin America and the Caribbean still do not know how to go about it.

In this context, the creation in Chile of School Councils as spaces for participation is a fundamental step for creating opportunities favoring a flexible educational management, with more resources that guarantee relevance of learning developed in the school. Likewise, these offer an opportunity for opening educational centers for the community, allowing it a necessary dialogue. For school, it means a nexus between teachers, parents and the world.”⁴⁷

The UNESCO Project for the region of Latin America and the Caribbean is carrying out a project “Changing the education from the land of Neruda” in the VII region of the country. It proposes to face the challenges of improving human capital trained in the region through a regional and participatory proposal, so that it can promote inclusion of international markets in the region.

⁴⁷ www.unesco.cl

This innovation is sustained in an analysis done two years ago by the regional government and the Association of Municipalities, on the basis of which the authorities looked with concern at the low results of learning obtained by students who attend municipal schools. Before this great challenge, the said organizations went to the Ministry of Education and the Regional Office of Education for Latin America and the Caribbean (OREALC/UNESCO), looking for support for creating and implementing strategies of change that were in consonance with the regional needs. The four organizations have formulated a Five Year Plan, which is focused on four lines of follow up actions. All these propose to change education at the classroom level, for which changes are required in school management, in the management of municipality and province and in policy formulation as well as in educational plans for the region, within the framework of National Policy on Education.

UNESCO in Chile is not doing any specific program concerning child labor; however, in other countries of the region, it is doing a project “Education and Child Workers”, which is described in Annex No. 6.

- EFA Plan

The EFA Plan proposes special measures for keeping child workers in school. As is described in Chapter II, Chile has incorporated the goals and strategies directed towards the small children in its policies to a certain extent. The goals were reported in the evaluation done for EFA 2000.

As regards goals concerning access and coverage, at present, the primary education is practically universal, the net coverage of secondary education is about 75% and more than a third of those in the age group of 18-24 years are enrolled in the tertiary education. (See Table No. 10 and Analysis under Point II).

TableNo.10: Chile: Progress in relation to the Millennium Goals: Education and Gender				
Goals and Indicators	1990	1995	2001	2002
2. Achieve universal primary education	<i>2015 target = net enrollment to 100</i>			
Net primary enrollment ratio (% of relevant age group)	87.7	87.3	88.8	..
Percentage of cohort reaching grade 5 (%)	..	100.0	101.2	..
Youth literacy rate (% ages 15-24)	98.1	98.5	98.9	99.0
3.Promote gender equality	<i>2005 target = education ratio to 100</i>			
Ratio of girls to boys in primary and secondary education (%)	101.0	100.3	99.6	..
Ratio of young literate females to males (% ages 15-24)	100.4	100.4	100.3	100.3
Source: World Development Indicators database, April 2004				
Goal 2 target: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.				
Goal 3 target: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and to all levels of education no later than 2015.				

4.4 World Bank

The World Bank's strategy for the country is based on its support to infrastructure finance. However, the institution has approved a series of loans to finance the quality of education and elimination of absolute poverty in the country. As regards child labor, there is no direct support by World Bank. Indirectly, the support given by the institution can be summarized by the following three projects:

Permanent Education and Training Program

The objective of the project is to assist the government of Chile in establishing foundation for an articulated system of permanent education and training with the involvement of private sector (workers and employers). This objective will achieve (i) reduction in the social deficit in providing education and training for adults, especially unemployed youth and workers who live in conditions of poverty and (ii) increase in the standard of Chilean work force for improving productivity and competitiveness of the country. These two points are the specific objectives of the project and shall be achieved through three components: (a) Provision of new opportunities for education and training; (b) improvement in quality and increase in the coverage of technical/ professional education; (c) creation of instruments to support the provision of permanent education and training services. A fourth component, institutional strengthening, is included for ensuring an effective and efficient coordination in the project implementation at national and regional level and for strengthening institutional involvement.

Higher Education Reform

The objective of this project is to improve quality of secondary education in response to the social and democratic needs of society. Within this context, the program shall endeavor to develop the following objectives: i) raise equality and entry in the tertiary education system, ii) improve quality, efficiency and accountability of the system, iii) advancement in the earlier mentioned issues, through monitoring of results.

Adjustment of Social Security Sector

The project is meant to improve access of poorer citizens to social services in Chile. This will partly finance the Chile Solidario Program of the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation.

V. Analysis of Weaknesses in the Strategies of Coordination

1. The State of Chile and the institutions in charge of child related issues and responsible for eliminating child labor, assume the need for coordination and inter-sectorial work to achieve this objective. However, they do not have their own resources for implementing their actions across sectors. The measures involved in the Plan for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor are carried out as per the resources, which are assigned for different activities. The resources of each ministry as per the issue depend on the relevance of these measures in the diagnosis of priorities of each area; therefore, progress is not achieved as planned.

An example of the above in the ambit of the Plan for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor is that more progress has been possible by ILO contribution towards public allocations such as the National Service for Children and the National Statistical Institute, for conducting National Diagnosis on child labor and its worst forms, and towards SENAME for Program on the CSEC carried out between 2002 and 2004. Currently, Migrations support the increase of coverage in specialized projects of rehabilitation for children victims of commercial sexual exploitation, implemented by participating institutions of National Service for Children.

2. Though coordination mechanisms are defined and operate at the level of Council of Ministers, the specific supports of this Council to different units in charge of putting into operation the Plan for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor have neither been defined nor established for different units. In other words, clear and sufficient guidelines for combining and coordinating actions about the issue are missing. The sectoral character of budgetary allocations does not help in this region, since each Ministry uses its resources in independent manner. In this context, the measures taken so far depend more on the particular

will or interest of each Ministry that may make some effort to tackle the problem of child labor in a transversal manner.

3. Other reforms such as judicial reform in the area of sexual exploitation and increase in the compulsory schooling to 12 years, apart from the pro school retention program, or Chile Solidario, enjoy greater priority in the policies concerning social sector and have got their own resources for implementation. This could correspond to an emphasis on the public policies of general protection for children tending to decrease their social exclusion and, therefore, the tertiary intervention. However, in the discourse, it is necessary to reevaluate the policies of employment and their contribution in the elimination of child labor so that the reasoning is consistent.

On these lines, the omission of adult employment features, their wages and the wages received by children and teenage workers in the analysis of results of National Diagnosis on Child Labor is worth noticing. There is also lack of context for figures submitted with the global indicators of the country in the area of economic and social development, in spite of the fact that sensitiveness of the problem during periods of economic crisis is well known.

4. The National Advisory Committee for Prevention and Progressive Elimination of Child Labor does not any more have the level of participation of institutions which was achieved at the beginning of its actions, and organizations such as Ministry of Labor and Social Security, National Service for Children, ILO, UNICEF, some NGOs and Teachers' Unions have persisted as stable stakeholders. This Committee never had the presence of educational sector since its creation as an organization in the matter.
5. In spite of the fact that the main objective of the plan for prevention and progressive elimination of child labor is to do follow up and evaluation of actions, wide gaps remain. The activities of supervision, monitoring or evaluation that may give account of real effects (or an estimation of the same) are not observed both at the level of interventions that each Ministry carries out about the global impact of the program, either at national or regional level.

The above does not permit drawing lessons in relation to the models, and prevents creation of a process of feedback, which could be of great use for taking decisions. In fact, the modifications which each institution currently carries out in its intervention models as well as in its priority of actions, are basically derived from the process of internal institutional reflection, which is highly desirable, but undoubtedly, not enough if one does not think about a measurement of its real effects generated by different interventions on the elimination of child labor. It is worth stating that

without a system of Plan follow-up and evaluation, it will be impossible to measure the efficacy and quality of intervention.

In spite of the abovementioned shortcomings, it is important to underline that during the course of this research, one comes across replicable practices such as the methodology designed for the National Survey on Child Labor and the willingness of including in it the National Census, conducted every 10 years by the National Statistical Institute. Likewise, it is worth highlighting the definition of priority groups for the policies of elimination of child labor, such as the case of those victims of worst forms of child labor or unacceptable work.

VII List of Interviewees⁴⁸

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- Consuelo Contreras. Director. Corporation OPCION
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- Jimena Federici. Division of Management Control, Advisor Education, Ministry of Finance.
- Loreto Martínez. Head, Department of Protection of Rights, SENAME.
- Leonardo Moreno. Director, Fundación para la Superación de la Pobreza
- Ximena Ramos. Ministry of Labor. She belongs to the Minister's cabinet and is in charge of this division, Coordinator of National Advisory Committee for Prevention and Elimination of Child Labor.
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- Yasmin Soto. Division of Management Control. Advisor, Productive Growth, Ministry of Finance.
- Alfredo Astorga. OREALC / UNESCO Santiago.

⁴⁸ List in alphabetical order.

