**Child Labor**

**Public Use Data Dictionary**

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# About the Data

## Overview of Organization

The WORLD Policy Analysis Center has collected and analyzed information on laws and policies relevant to human health, wellbeing, and equality in the following areas: child marriage, education, income, discrimination, work-family, equality, health, disability, child labor, as well as social, economic, civil and political rights.

In creating this dataset, our goal was to ensure the accuracy and timeliness of the data we present. We look forward to receiving feedback from data users if they believe that any individual countries have been placed in the wrong category. If you are aware of an error in our data, please contact us at world@ph.ucla.edu to report the error. Please provide a link to the relevant law from which the information can be verified.

## Building the Data Center

We examine constitutional and legal provisions as they set a foundation for citizens’ rights and are a first step toward improving outcomes. Across countries, having laws on paper does make a difference in practice. Laws and constitutional rights lead to change by shaping public attitudes, encouraging government follow-through with inspections and implementation, and enabling court action for enforcement. Even when local enforcement is inadequate, laws may still have an impact by shaping the terms of political debate and providing levers for civil society advocates. Laws are a mechanism by which power can be democratically redistributed, changes in institutions can be created to ensure greater fairness, and a social floor guaranteeing minimum humane conditions can be established.

When determining the laws, rights, and policies that should be included in the data center, we gave priority to policies that are supported in two ways: with research evidence on their importance to human development, health, or well-being in a variety of geographic, social, and economic circumstances; and with widespread global consensus on their value. If a policy mattered only under a very particular set of circumstances, it was unlikely to make our list.

#### **Data Sources**

In selecting data sources to analyze, we had several priorities. Did the source provide primary data on the question we were looking for? For example, if we were looking for information about minimum age of marriage laws, we would always prefer to read the laws themselves (a primary source) rather than a secondary summary or description of them. Primary sources allowed us to better understand the law or policy and helped us avoid errors that might have been introduced in the secondary sources. Working with primary sources also had the advantage of enabling us to provide links to actual legislation and constitutions for those interested in passing new laws or creating reform in their countries. Documents were reviewed in their original language or in a translation into one of the UN’s official languages.

When legislation was not available, either because it had not been collected or because we were examining areas that are often not legislated, such as education policy, we gave priority to country reports on their policies submitted to international organizations. We recognize the limitations of country reports, primarily that countries may claim to be doing more than they in fact are in order to cast a more favorable light on their approach, but this limitation is partially mitigated by countries’ awareness that nongovernmental organizations and experts will have the opportunity to make recorded comments on the accuracy of many reports to the UN that are linked to international agreements. We turned to official country reports for two reasons. First, as we reviewed the reports, it became clear that many countries do acknowledge gaps in their laws, policies, and programs. For example, many countries that charge tuition for education acknowledge this in their reports to the International Bureau of Education. Second, we saw them as a source for initial mapping that national governments, having filed the reports themselves, would find valid.

Although we used primary data and global sources whenever possible, we also used secondary sources when information was unclear or lacking on particular countries, or when a substantial number of countries were missing even from the most comprehensive sources. In choosing these secondary sources, we gave priority to those that were comparable across multiple countries, such as regional sources. When we were using information sources that covered a limited number of countries, we aimed to ensure that the information they contained could be made consistent with our other sources.

#### **Coding Frameworks**

Conceptually, frameworks had to be developed that allowed the comparison of laws and policies across all the world’s countries, even when there was a great deal of variation in the approach taken by individual nations. Questions that originally seemed simple to answer across all countries rarely were. For instance, countries do not simply prohibit or allow child labor below a certain age; many permit work below the minimum age in certain industries or under specific conditions. Once children are allowed to work, there is a range of legislation addressing when they can work, for how long, and under what conditions. As another example, we originally thought that the minimum wage could be captured by a few currency figures. However, we found enormous variation in everything from how the minimum wage was set to how it was determined, and whether and when it was increased to who was exempted. Despite this complexity, the minimum wage was straightforward compared to analyzing a question about equal rights in constitutions. What domains should constitutions cover in providing equal rights? Does it matter if they have a general equal-protection clause but do not spell out specific groups? Which named groups should be captured, and how can this be done consistently? As well, citizens are rarely simply denied or granted certain rights; these rights are subject to provisions regarding whether they can be denied under certain circumstances, whether the nation guarantees the right or just aspires to it, whether positive action can be taken for certain populations, and whether citizens are permitted to defend the right in court, among others.

In developing analytic approaches for each policy area, we began with the essential features, based in intrinsic characteristics of the policy or law, research evidence on important features, and global agreement where it existed. For example, in the case of child labor, international agreements and the evidence base distinguish light work from general employment and hazardous work. In the case of equal rights in constitutions, international agreements have forged consensus on the importance of equal rights across a wide range of features, including gender, ethnicity, and disability, among others; they also underscore the importance of equal rights in social and economic, as well as civil and political, areas.

After determining a set of key features, research analysts read laws and policies from 20 to 30 countries to develop closed-ended categories according to which these features could be coded while capturing the full variety of approaches taken by countries. They then tested this coding system on an additional 10 to 20 nations before implementing it for all countries.

Our priority was to ensure that the richness and variety of approaches that different countries took were well captured. At times, research teams would have already analyzed 60 to 80 countries before coming across a single country whose approach to a particular problem was different enough in important ways that it could not be adequately captured within the coding scheme. In these cases, the coding scheme was revised to add the elements necessary to capture new features of legislation and policymaking that had presented themselves. All previously coded nations were reviewed to determine whether the revised coding system would alter how they were analyzed. In other words, the new coding system, better adapted to the full variety of approaches nations around the world take, was applied to all countries in the end.

The data sources available contained systematic information on legislation and policies but not on implementation. To ensure consistent approaches across countries, reports that contained comprehensive information on policies but only limited incidental information on implementation were coded only for policies. Obtaining systematic sources of information on implementation should be a pressing priority for global organizations.

#### **Coding Process**

Coding is the process by which an individual researcher takes a piece of information in legislation, policy, or constitutions and translates it into a set of features that can be mapped, quantitatively analyzed, and readily understood and shared. For example, a researcher would review many pieces of labor legislation and use them to answer such questions as the following: At what age can children or youth engage in hazardous work? How many hours are they permitted to work per day or per week? To capture this information as reliably as possible, coding was carried out whenever feasible by team members fluent in the relevant language of the original documents or in the language into which it had been translated.

Although the coding was designed to be as straightforward as possible to increase reliability, some questions required judgment calls. To make our approach transparent and consistent, the rules for making these judgments were captured systematically in a codebook used by everyone involved in the particular database.

Policies, laws, constitutions, reports, and secondary sources were coded independently twice, and the results of each coding were compared to minimize human error. Where there was disagreement due to human error and the answer was straightforward, the coding was corrected. Where researchers arrived at different conclusions based on judgment, the two researchers discussed the best answer on the basis of coding guidelines and coded their consensus answer. Where they did not agree, a team meeting was called to determine the best way to proceed.

#### **Accuracy, Analysis, and Updating**

Nations that were outliers on particular policies were verified using external sources whenever possible. We recognize that even with all the efforts to provide information that is as accurate as possible, errors are nearly inevitable. The UN and other sources we used may not always have the most up-to-date legislation where primary data were used. Any error or omission in national reports that we used will also be reflected in our data. Finally, even with the double coding, the research team can make errors. We look forward to receiving feedback from readers if they believe that any individual countries have been placed in the wrong category. We will update country reports in our databases when we receive new primary sources of legislation or policy, indicating that changes should be made.

#### **National and Subnational Levels**

The WORLD Policy Analysis Center databases focus largely on the national level. However, in federal systems, states or provinces may legislate a variety of areas. In some cases, omitting subnational legislation is not a significant omission—in China, for example, laws can be passed by provinces as well as the national government, but most legislation is in fact passed nationally. In other countries, like the United States, legislation may be equally passed by the federal government and by states, but historically, once most states have had guarantees, these have typically become federal. However, in other federal contexts, like Canada, federal and provincial jurisdictions are quite distinct. Many social policies are under the jurisdiction only of provinces. In this case, not having subnational information is a greater omission.

Initial data analysis has focused on national-level law and policy collected by the UN and other global organizations. In the future, we hope that a team will be able to analyze information about state/provincial policies and laws in all federal systems for each area.

## The Child Labor Database

#### **Child Labor Rights & Protections**

The WORLD Policy Analysis Center reviewed original labor and child-related legislation from each UN member state as of October 2016to collect information about provisions pertaining to child labor. Variables in this publicly-available database were constructed utilizing global child labor standards enshrined in both the ILO’s Minimum Age Convention (C138) and associated Recommendations, as well as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The following sources were used to gather information on these protections:

* National labor codes and other child-related legislation obtained via International Labour Organization (ILO)’s NATLEX database;
* Official country websites;
* Foreign Law Guide;
* Global Legal Information Network;
* Lexadin;
* GlobaLex;
* For specific countries (where applicable): Pacific Islands Legal Information Institute, Commonwealth Legal Information Institute; and
* Hard copies of relevant legislation at ILO’s headquarters in Geneva, McGill and Harvard universities’ law libraries.

# Data

While exhaustive methods were used to collect data, comparable information was not always available for all 193 UN member states for every indicator. In these cases, the relevant variable will be blank in the datasets.

## Country Identifer Variables

| **Variable Name** | **Variable Values** | **Variable Description** |
| --- | --- | --- |
| country |  | Name of country |
| iso\_2 |  | 2-digit ISO country code |
| iso\_3 |  | 3-digit ISO country code |
| region |  | Country geographical region (World Bank classification) |
| World Bank Country Income Group  (wb\_econ) | 1: Low-income  2: Middle-income  4: High-income | Country income group classification  (World Bank: June 2018) |

The Child Labor Database

| **Variable Name** | **Variable Values** | **Variable Notes** |
| --- | --- | --- |
| What is the minimum age for admission to employment? (admiss\_age) | 1: No national minimum age  2: 12 or 13 years old  3: 14 years old  4: 15 years old  5: 16 years old or older | * *Employment* is any work that is not specified as hazardous or light work. * If a country allows children to work at a younger age with parental permission, the younger age is shown in the map. |
| What is the minimum age for admission to employment with exceptions?  (admiss\_age\_except) | 1: No national minimum age  2: 12 or 13 years old  3: 14 years old  4: 15 years old  5: 16 years old or older | * *Employment* is any work that is not specified as hazardous or light work. * *Exceptions* are cases where the legislation allows children to do work at a younger age under specific circumstances. For general employment and light work, exceptions include specific types of work, such as agricultural, temporary, or seasonal work; exceptions to allow children to work with family members; and exceptions that require only minister or government approval; or exceptions for when the work is deemed indispensable for the child or their family, because these may not be adequately protective in practice. |
| What is the minimum age for hazardous work?  (haz\_age) | 1: No national minimum age  2: 12 or 13 years old  3: 14 or 15 years old  4: 16 or 17 years old  5: 18 years-old | * *Hazardous work* is work that is harmful to children’s health, safety or morals. * For countries that define hazardous work in their legislation, that definition was used. * For countries that do not define hazardous work, we used the International Labour Organization’s definition: “(a) work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse; (b) work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces; (c) work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; (d) work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents, or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health; (e) work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.” [[1]](#footnote-1) * In cases where countries do not specify a separate minimum age for hazardous work, but do have a minimum age for admission to employment, the latter age was used based on the assumption that if children are not permitted to work, they are not permitted to do hazardous work, and similarly that once they reach the minimum working age, they will be permitted to engage in hazardous work. |
| What is the minimum age for hazardous work with exceptions?  (haz\_age\_except) | 1: No national minimum age  2: 12 or 13 years old  3: 14 or 15 years old  4: 16 or 17 years old  5: 18 years old | * *Hazardous work* is work that is harmful to children’s health, safety or morals. * For countries that define hazardous work in their legislation, that definition was used. * For countries that do not define hazardous work, we used the International Labour Organization’s definition: “(a) work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse; (b) work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces; (c) work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads; (d) work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents, or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health; (e) work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.” [[2]](#footnote-2) * In cases where countries do not specify a separate minimum age for hazardous work, but do have a minimum age for admission to employment, the latter age was used based on the assumption that if children are not permitted to work, they are not permitted to do hazardous work, and similarly that once they reach the minimum working age, they will be permitted to engage in hazardous work. * *Exceptions* are cases where a country allows children younger than the official minimum age to do hazardous work under specific circumstances thereby undermining protections. For hazardous work we took into account any exceptions to the minimum age excluding the following: (1) exceptions activated by “force majeure” (i.e., extraordinary circumstances such as war), and (2) exceptions for vocational training, as C138 authorizes employment for vocational trainings or orientation programs that are held in schools and approved by governmental authority.[[3]](#footnote-3) |
| What is the minimum age for light work?  (light\_age) | 1: No national minimum age  2: 12 years old  3: 13 years old  4: 14 years old  5: 15 years old or older | * C138 defines *light work* as work which is “(a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received”.[[4]](#footnote-4) * For countries that explicitly define light work in their legislation, that definition was used. * For countries that do not define light work, work that met the following criteria was considered to be light: (1) its description in legislation matched the definition of light work in C138 and (2) the legislation explicitly identified a minimum age for this type of work and this age was below the age for admission to employment. |
| How long are children protected from working 6 or more hours on a school day?  (age\_schoolhrs6) | 1: No national minimum age  2: Until 12 or 13 years old  3: Until 14 years old  4: Until 15 years old  5: Until 16 to 18 years old | * If legislation specifies that children can only do light work, which by definition should not interfere with schooling, it is assumed that they are protected from working 6 or more hours on a school day. * When legislation specifies a limit on the number of hours permitted on a school day, we used that number to measure if children are protected from working 6 or more hours. * In cases where labor legislation does not specify a maximum number of hours of work allowed on a school day, we used the maximum number of hours permitted per day (not specific to a school day) because it is assumed that these regulations will also apply to school days. * When countries state that work is prohibited during school hours but does not specify particular hour limitations, a 6-hour school day is assumed and combined with data on hours of rest guaranteed at night; the remaining number of hours is used to determine the hours of work permitted on school days. |
| How many hours are 12- year-olds legally permitted to work on a school day?  (schday\_12) | 1: 8 or more hours  2: 6 – 7.9 hours  3: 3 – 5.9 hours  4: 1 – 2.9 hours  5: Protected from any work  999: Only light work permitted | * In cases when a country explicitly specifies the maximum number of hours children are permitted to work on a school day, we used that. * When countries do not specify the number of hours of work allowed on a school day, we use the maximum number of hours permitted per day (not specific to a school day) because it is assumed that these regulations will also apply to school days. * When countries state that work is prohibited during school hours but do not specify particular hour limitations, a 6-hour school day is assumed and combined with data on the number of hours of rest guaranteed at night; the remaining number of hours is used to determine the hours of work permitted on school days. * *Protected from any work* means that children are not generally permitted to do any type of work at age 12. * *Only light work permitted* means that at age 12, children are only permitted to do light work, defined by C138 as work which is “(a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received”.[[5]](#footnote-5) |
| How many hours are 14- year-olds legally permitted to work on a school day?  (schday\_14) | 1: 8 or more hours  2: 6 – 7.9 hours  3: 3 – 5.9 hours  4: 1 – 2.9 hours  5: Protected from any work  999: Only light work permitted | * In cases when a country explicitly specifies the maximum number of hours children are permitted to work on a school day, we used that. * When countries do not specify the number of hours of work allowed on a school day, we use the maximum number of hours permitted per day (not specific to a school day) because it is assumed that these regulations will also apply to school days. * When countries state that work is prohibited during school hours but do not specify particular hour limitations, a 6-hour school day is assumed and combined with data on the number of hours of rest guaranteed at night; the remaining number of hours is used to determine the hours of work permitted on school days. * *Protected from any work* means that children are not generally permitted to do any type of work at age 14. * *Only light work permitted* means that at age 14, children are only permitted to do light work, defined by C138 as work which is “(a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received”.[[6]](#footnote-6) |
| How many hours are 16- year-olds legally permitted to work on a school day?  (schday\_16) | 1: 8 or more hours  2: 6 – 7.9 hours  3: 3 – 5.9 hours  4: 1 – 2.9 hours  5: Protected from any work  999: Only light work permitted | * In cases when a country explicitly specifies the maximum number of hours children are permitted to work on a school day, we used that. * When countries do not specify the number of hours of work allowed on a school day, we use the maximum number of hours permitted per day (not specific to a school day) because it is assumed that these regulations will also apply to school days. * When countries state that work is prohibited during school hours but do not specify particular hour limitations, a 6-hour school day is assumed and combined with data on the number of hours of rest guaranteed at night; the remaining number of hours is used to determine the hours of work permitted on school days. * *Protected from any work* means that children are not generally permitted to do any type of work at age 16. * *Only light work permitted* means that at age 16, children are only permitted to do light work, defined by C138 as work which is “(a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received”.[[7]](#footnote-7) |
| How long are children guaranteed 12 hours off from work at night for rest?  (age\_nightrest12) | 1: No national minimum age  2: Until 12 or 13 years old  3: Until 14 years old  4: Until 15 years old  5: Until 16 to 18 years old | * *Hours off from work at night* are uninterrupted hours off work at night that children are guaranteed for rest. * If legislation specifies only that a child cannot work at night, it is not assumed that children have at least 12 hours off at night. * If a country specifies only that work by children and youth is limited to a given number of hours per day, it is not counted as prohibiting night work because the working hours could occur at night. * If only light work is permitted, it is assumed that children have at least 12 hours of nightly rest. * The ILO’s Minimum Age Recommendation No. 146, which provides guidelines for the application of C138, specifies “a minimum consecutive period of 12 hours’ night rest” for children and young persons under the age of 18.[[8]](#footnote-8) |
| How many hours off from work at night are 12-year-olds legally guaranteed for rest?  (nightrest\_12) | 1: Not guaranteed  2: Less than 10 hours  3: Only 10 – 11.9 hours  4: At least 12 hours  5: Protected from working | * *Hours off from work at night* are uninterrupted hours off work at night that children are guaranteed for rest. * *Not guaranteed* means there is no guarantee of time off from work specifically at night for 12-year-old children. If a country specifies only that work by children and youth is limited to a given number of hours per day, it is not counted as prohibiting night work because the working hours could occur at night. * *Less than 10 hours* includes cases where legislation prohibits night work for 12-year-old children, but does not specify the number of hours. * *Protected from working* means that, at age 12, children may not do general work at any time of day, although light work may be permitted. If legislation specifies children can only do light work which by definition should not interfere with schooling, it is assumed that they are well-protected for nightly rest. |
| How many hours off from work at night are 14-year-olds legally guaranteed for rest?  (nightrest\_14) | 1: Not guaranteed  2: Less than 10 hours  3: Only 10 – 11.9 hours  4: At least 12 hours  5: Protected from working | * *Hours off from work at night* are uninterrupted hours off work at night that children are guaranteed for rest. * *Not guaranteed* means there is no guarantee of time off from work specifically at night for 14-year-old children. If a country specifies only that work by children and youth is limited to a given number of hours per day, it is not counted as prohibiting night work because the working hours could occur at night. * *Less than 10 hours* includes cases where legislation prohibits night work for 14-year-old children, but does not specify the number of hours. * *Protected from working* means that, at age 14, children may not do general work at any time of day, although light work may be permitted. If legislation specifies children can only do light work which by definition should not interfere with schooling, it is assumed that they are well-protected for nightly rest. |
| How many hours off from work at night are 16-year-olds legally guaranteed for rest?  (nightrest\_16) | 1: Not guaranteed  2: Less than 10 hours  3: Only 10 – 11.9 hours  4: At least 12 hours  5: Protected from working | * *Hours off from work at night* are uninterrupted hours off work at night that children are guaranteed for rest. * *Not guaranteed* means there is no guarantee of time off from work specifically at night for 16-year-old children. If a country specifies only that work by children and youth is limited to a given number of hours per day, it is not counted as prohibiting night work because the working hours could occur at night. * *Less than 10 hours* includes cases where legislation prohibits night work for 16-year-old children, but does not specify the number of hours. * *Protected from working* means that, at age 16, children may not do general work at any time of day, although light work may be permitted. If legislation specifies children can only do light work which by definition should not interfere with schooling, it is assumed that they are well-protected for nightly rest. |

1. International Labour Organization (1999). “Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation (R190)”, Article 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. International Labour Organization (1999). “Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation (R190)”, Article 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. International Labour Organization (1973). “Minimum Age Convention (C138)”, Article 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. International Labour Organization (1973). “Minimum Age Convention (C138), Article 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. International Labour Organization (1973). “Minimum Age Convention (C138), Article 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. International Labour Organization (1973). “Minimum Age Convention (C138), Article 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. International Labour Organization (1973). “Minimum Age Convention (C138), Article 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. International Labor Organization (1973). “Minimum Age Recommendation (R146)”, Article 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)