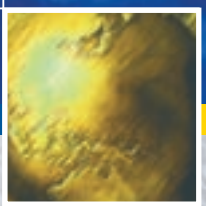
GENDER, EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOUR IN LEBANON



International Labour Office
Geneva

IPEC
International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour

GENDER, EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOUR IN LEBANON

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Partners for Development, Civil Group
Beirut, Lebanon

with

Aziza Khalidi, Nayla Nahhas, Iman Nuwayhid

Gender, Education and Child Labour Series co-ordinated by:
Anita Amorim and Şule Çağlar

Edited by: Margaret Mottaz

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Iman Nuwayhid: Chapter 1
Nayla Nahhas: Chapter 2
Aziza Khalidi: Chapter 3

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Partners for Development

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Ensuring a universal basic education for all boys and girls and preventing child labour that hinders the capabilities of children are among the strategic objectives of the Lebanese government. These could be reached through the activation of the existing legal frameworks that protect the rights of all children in the country, oppose discrimination based on sex and call for a universal basic education and prohibition of child labour below the age of 14 years.

As will be shown in this study, however, despite the limited availability of related needed information at the national level, there are indications of the existence of some factors and variables that impede the full realization of the development of children in Lebanon. These include; (i) cultural and socio-economic factors; (ii) gaps in the existing educational system; (iii) existence of child labour; and (iv) gender inequality.

This study explores the topic of gender, education and child labour in three chapters. Chapter 1 tackles general and specific issues related to child labour. Chapter 2 elaborates subjects and findings related to the educational system in Lebanon and its interrelation with child labour. Chapter 3 provides a gender analysis and synthesis to the interrelation existing between child labour and basic education. A specialist in the respective fields has written each part.

CHILD LABOUR IN LEBANON 1

1.1 BACKGROUND

Child labour is defined as paid or unpaid work and includes "activities that are mentally, physically, socially, or morally dangerous and harmful to children".[1] It is usually limited to boys and girls up to the minimum age for employment, which is 14 years in Lebanon. However, many surveys and studies elect to include children up to 17 or even 18 years of age specifically to address the intolerable and abusive forms of child labour as defined in the International Labour Organization's (ILO) Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182). The above definition tends to exclude part-time, weekend, and vacation activities that do not compromise education and are meant to instil self-reliance and independence in the young generation.[2] However, several studies from industrialized countries where such activities are encouraged have reported health problems and occasionally some serious injuries among children working in what are assumed to be "less hazardous" occupations.[3] In short, the work environment is recognized as unsuitable for the growth and development of boys and girls, regardless of its nature and hazards. Children ought to grow in healthy and safe environments where they learn and enjoy their limited years of innocence before they join the ranks of adulthood and the labour force. Work, if any, should be limited to light activities that prepare boys and girls to meet the challenges of adulthood rather than to replace adults.

The problem of child labour is most accentuated in developing countries where more than 200 million children are working, 180 million of them in

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[1] N. Haspels., M. Jankanish: *Action against Child Labour* (Geneva, ILO, 2000) p. 4.

[2] ibid.

[3] P.J. Landrigan, J.B. McCammon: "Child Labour — Still with Us", *Public Health Reports*, 1997, vol. 112, pp. 466-473.

hazardous workplaces with minimal safety requirements.[4] The magnitude of the problem varies by country and within regions of the same country. Illiteracy and the lack of educational or financial resources at the family and community levels have been identified as important root causes of child labour.[5] This underlines the complexity of the issue and the need for a trans-disciplinary approach to understand and prevent it. Prevention and elimination remain the important goals as stated by the International Programme for the Elimination on Child Labour (IPEC)[6] as a follow up of Convention No. 182. Realizing that work is gender-segregated in all societies, IPEC is attentive to gender analysis of child labour and a gender-sensitive approach to interventions.

Child labour in Lebanon is not a new phenomenon and has long been recognized as undesirable. Protective laws for children date back to 1946. The Lebanese Labour Law of 1946 prohibited the employment of children less than 8 years old. Children were also prohibited from working in mechanical and other industries deemed dangerous to their health. Working hours were restricted and night work was prohibited. Employers were required to issue a medical certificate ensuring a child's ability to do the assigned work.

Many international and Arab conventions have been ratified by Lebanon since then. Although legally binding, these conventions were not integrated into Lebanese legislation. While Lebanon has legally committed itself to the elimination or strict regulation of child labour, this commitment has yet to be translated into enforceable laws. The last 15 years have witnessed an increase of interest in the issue of working children, exemplified by and in response to Lebanon's signature on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), 1989, in 1991.

A full list of the ratified conventions[7] is presented in Appendix 1. Of these, ILO Convention No. 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment (14 years) and ILO Convention No.182 requiring the urgent elimination of the worst forms of child labour are likely to have a large impact on the magnitude of child labour and type of permitted work. This would be greatly facilitated if the plan to increase the age of free compulsory education for boys and girls to at least 15 years were realized.

Lebanon has also revised regulations concerning child labour. Changes reflected in the Lebanese labour law include:

- Raising the minimum age for work from 8 to 13 complete years.
- Prohibiting the employment of children without a prior medical examination to ensure the capability of the child to perform the work.

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[4] ILO: International Labor Conference 90th session 2002. *A Future without Child Labour* (Geneva).

[5] Haspels and Jankanish, op. cit.

[6] IPEC: *Action for the Elimination of Child Labour: Overview of the Problem and Response* (Geneva, ILO, 1994).

[7] W. Ghorayeb: *A Legal Study on Child Labor in Lebanon. Compatibility of National Legislation with Arab and International Conventions*, Submitted to the Minister of Labour (in Arabic) 2000.

- Conducting follow-up medical examinations until age 18.
- Prohibiting the use of children below 15 in industries or exhausting occupations that are dangerous to their health.
- Prohibiting the use of girls and boys below 16 in dangerous occupations, or occupations that present risk to the life, health, or morals of the juvenile.
- Limiting working hours for boys and girls below 18 years of age to 6 hours a day with a mandatory 13 consecutive hours of rest between two working shifts.
- Requiring employers to give children below 16 years of age an annual paid vacation that is not less than 21 days.
- Ensuring the right of working children to have breaks, inter-shift rest hours, and vacations.
- Prohibiting the employment of children during holidays.
- Prohibiting evening and night work, i.e., work hours that extend from 7:00 pm to 7:00 am.
- Requiring employers to certify the age of the child.
- Allowing girls and boys of at least 17 years of age to work in industries to gain vocational training, after obtaining approval from the Minister of Labour and a medical certificate from the Ministry of Public Health (MOPH).
- Ensuring mandatory and free elementary education (no ministerial decree has been issued to this effect).

The above regulations limit the access of boys and girls to the world of paid work, especially dangerous occupations, and ensure their rights to paid vacations and periodic physical examinations. These regulations also should make it less lucrative for employers to use children. Unfortunately, as shown later in this chapter, such regulations are not enforced and many employers continue to exploit children who they can pay less than adults to work in their shops (mostly on a daily basis).

Appendix 2 lists other Lebanese initiatives that have been taken to address child labour.

1.2 PREVALENCE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILD LABOUR IN LEBANON

The Central Agency of Statistics (CAS) and UNICEF report *State of the Children in Lebanon 2000*[8] presents the most recent data on working boys and girls in the country. Findings were based on a national multi-phase random sampling

[8] CAS and UNICEF: *State of the Children in Lebanon 2000* (Beirut, CAS, 2002).

of 7,748 households all over Lebanon. Of these, 7,231 households were inhabited and 6,843 families were interviewed. Data collection took place over the three months of July to September 2000.

Children of age groups 0-4 years, 5-9 years, 10-14 years, and 15-19 years constituted 8.6 per cent, 9.5 per cent, 10.3 per cent, and 10.3 per cent of the overall study population, respectively.

Their education history (Table 1.1) showed a sharp increase in the proportion of boys and girls who left school after age 14 with a clear disadvantage among males (30.9 per cent of males vs. 22.8 per cent of females of 15-18 years of age stopped school). The main reasons for school dropout were, in this order, lack of interest, cost, academic failure, family's need of help, and health.

Table 1.1: History of schooling among Lebanese boys and girls by age and sex (per cent)

	5-9 years		10-14 years		15-18 years	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Did not enter school	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.0	1.1
Stopped school	0.2	0.1	5.1	3.7	30.9	22.8
In school	71.5	67.5	94.2	95.6	68	76.1
Other	27.7	31.7	—	—	0.1	—

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

The national survey divided boys and girls' work into three categories: domestic (household) work, paid or unpaid work with family, and paid work as part of the labour force.

1.2.1 Domestic work

Table 1.2 shows an early involvement of boys and girls in domestic work but a sharp increase for girls (39 to 73 per cent) as they grow up. This is in contrast to a relatively stable proportion (less than 30 per cent) of involved boys. No information was collected about type of domestic work carried out by children.

Table 1.2: Boys and girls' involvement in domestic work by age and sex (per cent)

	5-9 years		10-14 years		15-18 years	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yes	24.9	39.1	30.8	64.6	27.7	73.2
No	74.8	60.2	69.1	35.0	71.3	26.3
Not known	0.3	0.7	0.2	0.4	1	0.4

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

The relatively higher involvement of girls, compared to boys, in domestic work is not associated with a higher dropout from school. On the contrary, there is a higher dropout among boys. However, this raises concern about the burden on girls to study and do well at school while contributing to domestic work at home, which might affect long-term academic achievement. Furthermore, girls' involvement in domestic work at home, especially for those who dropped out of school, might be "hidden" employment to allow adult females, or even males, to join the paid labour force.

1.2.2 Paid or unpaid work within the family

This is further substantiated in Table 1.3, which shows an increase in the participation of boys in their families' work from 5.8 per cent among the 5-9 year-olds to 14.1 per cent among the 10-14 year-olds and 21.9 per cent among the 15-18 year-olds. A similar trend, but at a lower proportion, is noted for girls. The majority of this work is not paid. The majority of boys and girls (>98 per cent) work less than 4 hours a day in all categories, except for females aged 15-18 years where 18.7 per cent work more than 4 hours a day. If girls' involvement in domestic work at home is counted as "labour", the differences between boys and girls are very small. The type of work within the family was not defined in the report, but it would include helping in home-based work, in family-owned businesses, or on family-owned farms.

Table 1.3: Boys and girls' involvement in family work by age and sex (per cent)

	5-9 years		10-14 years		15-18 years	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Work, no salary	4.5	2.2	11.0	4.3	16.2	7.1
Work, salary	1.3	1.1	3.1	0.5	5.7	1.8
No work	93.8	96.1	85.8	95.2	77.2	90.9
Not known	0.3	0.6	0	0	0.9	0.2

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

1.2.3 Paid work as part of the labour force

From this point forward, data will be limited to children's enrolment in the labour force.

Age

Table 1.4 presents the proportion of working boys and girls by age. No children younger than 10 years old were reported as working. The proportion of working boys and girls gradually increased from 0.3 per cent for 10-year-old children (boys and girls) to 15.1 per cent for 18-year-old children. Females represented 9.7 per cent of those 10-14 years old and 12.8 per cent of those 15-18 years old. This finding is consistent with a relatively conservative society where females

are protected from the "outside world" and are expected to help with domestic chores (Table 1.2).

Table 1.4: Boys and girls' involvement in the labour force by age and sex

Age	% Working (labour force)	Proportion of girls
< 10	0	—
10	0.3	9.7%
11	0.4	
12	1.2	
13	2.6	
14	4.5	
15	6.4	12.8%
16	10.7	
17	13.1	
18	15.1	

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

Regional distribution

The proportion of young working children (10-14 years) is highest in the North (3.3 per cent) with minimal differences between the other regions (less than 2 per cent) (Table 1.5). As for the older group (15-18 years), the overall proportion is 11.3 per cent with a relatively higher proportion in the peripheral regions (North, South, and Bekaa). These regions are known for higher poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment rates than elsewhere. They have also received relatively less attention from the central government, which has translated into less developed infrastructure, schools, and health care systems.

Table 1.5: Regional distribution of working boys and girls by age (per cent)

Region	Age group	
	10-14 years	15-18 years
Beirut	1.3	7.3
Mt. Lebanon	1.3	9.2
North	3.3	14.9
Bekaa	1.7	10.4
South	1.0	12.9
Overall	1.8	11.3

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

Nationality

Ninety per cent of the working boys and 100 per cent of the working girls (10-14 years) are Lebanese. The proportion is less for the older age group (15-18 years) with 86.3 per cent of boys and 97.5 per cent of girls Lebanese. The remaining children are of Arab nationalities, mainly Palestinians from the camps in Lebanon or Syrians who cross the border into Lebanon with their families or relatives.

Age of entry into labour force

Tables 1.6, 1.7, and 1.8 are interrelated. Table 1.6 reveals that a higher proportion of working girls join the labour force at an earlier age than working boys. This is not easy to explain and might seem in contradiction to the assumption that a conservative society will keep girls at home. However, it appears that a certain number girls are not provided with basic education (Table 1.7) and are instead working at home or for payment.

Table 1.6: Age of entry into labour force of working boys and girls by age and sex (per cent)

Age joined the labour force	Age groups			
	10-14 years		15-18 years	
	M	F	M	F
< 9	11.2	25.4	2.4	2
10-14	85.5	74.5	43.9	52.9
15-18			49.7	45

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

Education

Tables 1.7 shows that working girls fall into two groups — they are either more illiterate than boys or spend more years at school, with a higher proportion attaining intermediate education or higher. In other words, some girls are deemed not worthy of sending to school, while some boys are sent only to receive basic elementary education. If sent to school, girls tend to stay in school longer.

Table 1.7: Highest level of education of working boys and girls by age and sex (per cent)

Education	Age groups			
	10-14 years		15-18 years	
	M	F	M	F
Illiterate	2.7	12.7	0.8	6.6
Elementary	72.8	47	62.8	51.1
Intermediate	24.5	40.2	32	28.4
Secondary	—	—	1	—
University	—	—	—	3.6
Technical	—	—	3.4	10.3

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

Nature of work

Table 1.8 offers further explanation to the relative earlier labour force participation and higher education among girls. It shows that a higher proportion of working boys than girls join the labour force on a full-time basis. This is most probably happening at the expense of school. Girls, however, are more involved in seasonal work, which permits school attendance.

Table 1.8: Nature of work of working boys and girls by age and sex (per cent)

Nature (duration) of work	Age groups			
	10-14 years		15-18 years	
	M	F	M	F
Full time	71.2	8.9	77.6	73.3
Occasional/interrupted	15.3	12.7	14.8	1.4
Seasonal	10.1	38.2	4.5	25.2
Part time	3.4	40.2	2.9	—
NS			0.2	0.1

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

Occupation type

There are clear differences in the occupations held by working boys and girls in both age groups (Table 1.9). The majority of working boys in both age groups are in artisanal/handicraft occupations, which include small industrial establishments, such as mechanics, auto body repair and the like. The rest of the boys are distributed among different occupations with less involvement in agricultural work as they grow up. In contrast, young working girls are mostly in unskilled occupations (91.1 per cent) but later spread out into other occupations, mostly

sales/personal services and unskilled work. Interestingly, the proportion of females working in agriculture increases with age. This finding confirms a similar observation among boys and girls working in tobacco plantations in the South.[9] It seems girls are kept home to help with domestic work and farming, while boys move out to learn new skills and bring income to the household.

Table 1.9: Occupation of working boys and girls by age and sex (per cent)

Occupation	Age groups			
	10-14 years		15-18 years	
	M	F	M	F
Artisan	53.9	8.9	64.1	7.9
Unskilled	12.1	91.1	16.5	34.3
Sales/ personal service	25.4	—	10.8	37.5
Office/ reception	1.1	—	0.2	1.4
Skilled agricultural	5.7	—	1.2	5.5
Other	4	—	7.2	13.4

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

The report does not provide a breakdown by region, which would have been interesting information.

Economic sector

The distribution of working boys and girls by economic sector is shown in Table 1.10. No girls work in construction, as compared to 11 per cent of the younger boys and 20 per cent of the older boys. Commerce and industry are the leading sectors employing both boys and girls. More girls than boys are involved in agriculture. Detailed information on specific jobs and industries is not provided.

Table 1.10: Economic sector of working boys and girls by age and sex (per cent)

Economic sector	Age groups			
	10-14 years		15-18 years	
	M	F	M	F
Fishery/Agriculture	11.2	50.9	6.9	23.8
Industry	16.6	8.9	22.1	27.1
Construction	11.4	—	19.9	—
Commerce	46.3	40.2	31.2	28.7
Other	14.5	—	19.9	20.4

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

[9] CRI: *Lebanon — Child Labour on Tobacco Plantations: A Rapid Assessment* (Geneva, ILO, 2002).

Relationship with employer

The majority of working boys and girls are not related to their employer, especially among older working boys (Table 1.11). Younger boys tend to also work with relatives or friends of the family, while younger girls are found in workplaces in their neighbourhoods, perhaps as a measure of protection and close supervision. This becomes less striking with older girls, although a higher proportion of them than boys work with relatives. One-fifth to more than one-third of the working boys and girls reported no satisfaction with their work (Table 1.11). This was not pursued further in the survey.

Table 1.11: Relationship to employer and satisfaction with work among working boys and girls by age and sex (per cent)

	Age groups			
	10-14 years		15-18 years	
	M	F	M	F
Relationship to employer				
Relative	36.1	12.7	18.8	37.2
Friend	11.4	—	6	6.5
Neighbour	1.8	40.2	1.3	6.9
None	50.7	47	73.9	49.4
Satisfaction with work				
Yes	77.2	61.8	66.7	81.0
No	22.8	38.2	33.3	19.0

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

Income and other benefits

Younger boys are more advantaged than younger girls (Table 1.12), with higher salaries and a greater level of enrolment in the National Social Security Fund (NSSF). This is reversed among the older age group, where 34 per cent of the boys versus 48 per cent of the girls receive at least LL 300,000 (US$ 200) a month (minimum wage) and 0.8 per cent of boys versus 34 per cent of girls are enrolled in NSSF.

Table 1.12: Monthly salary and enrolment in the NSSF among working boys and girls by age and sex (per cent)

	Age groups			
	10-14 years		15-18 years	
	M	F	M	F
Monthly salary (thousands LL)				
10-149	34.5	38.2	32.9	9.1
150-299	14.5	8.9	19.8	19.9
300-449	5.3	—	24.4	29.8
450-599	7.2	—	4.2	7.6
600-749	2.8	—	3.9	7.1
750-899	—	—	1.4	3.5
Not specified	35.7	52.9	—	—
Enrolled in National Social Security Fund (NSSF)				
No	92.4	100	91.9	66.2
Yes	7.6	—	8.1	33.8

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

The preceding tables present a rather interesting, although not straightforward, relationship between work and gender. More girls than boys contribute to domestic or subsistence work at home, participate in unpaid family work, or work part time or on a seasonal basis while continuing to go to school. In contrast, the boys tend to leave school early to join the labour force on a full-time basis. In agricultural families, girls tend to help in farming while the boys move to new occupations. Boys are employed in construction (while girls are not) and, as previously mentioned, more girls work in agriculture. It is clear that girls are still "protected" by their families and kept away from some of the "male-dominated", physically demanding jobs. They tend to work at home with the family, with relatives, or within close proximity. The contribution of "social protection" of girls to potential sex-based division of labour should be better understood. Families did not report girls working full time (live in) or part time as domestic helpers. Overall, girls aged 15-18 years fare better than boys regarding education (more were enrolled in high school), salaries (slightly higher salaries were reported) and social security (more were enrolled in social security). The survey did not differentiate between boys and girls by occupation, but it seems girls are working in larger establishments and factories with greater workforces, which allows for a more stable and better salary as well as better social benefits. Boys, in contrast, may be working in smaller establishments with fewer amenities.

1.3 TRENDS AND COMPARISONS

The CAS and UNICEF survey reviewed above was compared to a previous national household study conducted by the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1996[10] — the Population and Housing Survey (PHS). This survey followed a similar approach, using a different sampling framework where a random sample of 70,000 households (approximately 10 per cent of all Lebanon) was visited. The Lebanese population was estimated at 2,993,302, with approximately 11 per cent in the age group 10-14 years and 10 per cent in the age group 15-19 years.

Table 1.13 compares some of the findings in the two studies. It is worth noting that the cut-off points for the age groups were different.

Table 1.13: Comparison between the CAS/UNICEF and the PHS studies

Characteristics of working boys and girls	% PHS 1996 *	CAS 2000 **	PHS 1996	CAS 2000
	10-13	10-14	14-17	15-18
Within age group working	1.2	1.8	10.9	11.3
Lebanese	88.7	91.3	94.0	87.7
Females	11.7	9.7	14.0	12.8
</= Elementary	96.4	73.8	84.2	94.2
Agriculture/Fishing	11.3	15.7	9.1	9.1
Industry	45.9	15.7	40.4	22.8
Commerce	32.9	45.6	25.2	30.9
Construction	4.0	10.1	11.9	17.2
Full time	79.0	64.2	81.0	77.0
Occasional	6.4	15.0	5.6	13.0
Seasonal	14.5	13.2	13.4	7.3
Part time	not reported	7.5	not reported	2.5

* Source: N. Issa and M. Houry: Characteristics of Child Labor in Lebanon. (Population and Household Survey), (Beirut, UNICEF and the Ministry of Social Affairs, 1997)

** Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

The findings were not drastically different, except for the distribution of economic sectors employing boys and girls. More children were in the industrial sector in 1996 than in 2000 and fewer were in construction. However, it is difficult to accept these changes as real, especially since economic and social conditions did not change much, and if so for the worse. The perceived changes might be attributed to differences in methodology and selection of households.

[10] N. Issa and M. Houry: *Characteristics of Child Labor in Lebanon (Population and Household Survey)*, (Beirut, UNICEF and the Ministry of Social Affairs, 1997).

To add to this confusion, Table 1.14 compares an earlier national survey conducted by CAS in 1972 to its survey in 1997, based on which the sub-sample survey for CAS 2000 was done. CAS 1972 reported a higher proportion of working boys and girls before the war than what was reported by the 1997 CAS survey, i.e. seven years after the war ended in 1990 (CAS 1997). Furthermore, the proportions reported by CAS 1997 are also higher than the more recent study of 2000, which incidentally is similar to PHS 1996 as shown above.

Table 1.14: Comparison between the CAS 1972, CAS 1997, and CAS 2000 surveys (per cent)

Proportion working within age group	CAS 1972	CAS 1997	CAS 2000
10-14 years	6.6 M; 6.0 F	2.8 (5 M; 0.4 F)	1.8
15-19 years	38 M; 15.8 F	21.6 (36.6 M; 5.8 F)	11.3

Central Directorate of Statistics: *Active Population in Lebanon, sample survey* (Beirut, 1997); CAS: Living Conditions (Beirut, 1972)

Is the drop in proportion of working children over the years an indicator of progress or simply a difference in methodology? Most probably, it is both. For the purposes of this study, the numbers reported by PHS 1996 and CAS 2000 have been adopted.

The PHS 1996[11] also reported that the majority of the household heads of working children are poorly literate (Table 1.15) and mostly work in blue-collar occupations (Table 1.16).

Table 1.15: Education of head of household of working boys and girls by age (per cent)

Education of head of household	Age group	
	10-13	14-17
Illiterate	39.9	33.6
Read and write	26.2	26.1
Elementary	24.7	28.5
Intermediate	6.2	8.8
Secondary	2.3	0.7

Source: N. Issa and M. Houry: *Characteristics of Child Labor in Lebanon. (Population and Household Survey)*, (Beirut, UNICEF and the Ministry of Social Affairs, 1997)

[11] Issa and Houry, 1997, op. cit.

Table 1.16: Occupation of head of household of working boys and girls by age (per cent)

Occupation of head of household	Age group	
	10-13	14-17
Personal service and protection	—	2.9
Sales, assistant sales	7.9	9.8
Skilled agriculture	10.4	8.3
Mining, quarries	9.2	7.7
Metal construction workers	5.6	5
Workers in handicrafts/ artisan	11.9	8
Workers operating fixed machinery	1.9	1.8
Operating machines	10	11
Unskilled sales	8.6	7.8
Unskilled mines	4.5	4.1
No work	13.6	19.4

Source: N. Issa and M. Houry: Characteristics of Child Labor in Lebanon. (Population and Household Survey), (Beirut, UNICEF and the Ministry of Social Affairs, 1997)

The working boys and girls also come from large families (Table 1.17).

Table 1.17: Size of family of working boys and girls by age (per cent)

Number of family members	Age group	
	10-13	14-17
3-4	6.6	10
5-9	69.1	70.7
10-12	19.8	16.5
>= 13	4.5	2.9

Source: N. Issa and M. Houry: Characteristics of Child Labor in Lebanon. (Population and Household Survey), (Beirut, UNICEF and the Ministry of Social Affairs, 1997)

The preceding tables confirm what is reported in the literature: that children who come from big families with limited resources (education, occupation) tend to go to schools of poorer quality and quit school at an early age to join the labour force. Efforts to prevent or limit child labour should target these populations and provide alternatives, such as economic incentives to keep children in school or modified schooling to provide a more relevant and useful type of education.

1.4 STUDIES OF SPECIFIC POPULATIONS/INDUSTRIES

In addition to the aforementioned national household studies, other studies on child labour have been conducted. However, these have been limited in their scope to specific industries or geographical areas using a convenience sample of working children. A detailed list of all identified studies and a description of their findings are presented in Appendix 3.

1.4.1 Some of the relevant findings

All studies, regardless of type of workplace and even including street children, reported that only a minority of working children were orphans and the majority (> 70 per cent) came from families with both parents. This suggests that many working children come from poorer families, which were indirectly assimilated in several studies as "large families" or families where siblings also work. The more direct measures of poverty were the lack of educational resources (parents mostly illiterate or with elementary education) and the acceptance of wages below the minimal wage for labour.

Occupations are sex-segregated at an early age and widely influenced by the occupation and wishes of parents. While only boys are found in small industrial shops, such as mechanics and furniture woodworking and painting, both sexes were found to be working in other industries such as textile or shoe manufacturing. Many adult women work in the latter industries, which makes it easier for families to allow their young girls to work there. Although not identified in any of the studies, reports from other countries have shown that such industries outsource some of these activities. Women and girls might be encouraged to do piecework at home. This would allow females the flexibility in their work schedule that allows them to assume their other responsibilities at home. If this is happening in Lebanon, it makes it more difficult to identify working girls.

Non-Lebanese children constitute 10-20 per cent of all children working in formal workplaces but a larger proportion of the children working on the street. Unfortunately, only one study examined labour among Palestinian children. Non-Lebanese boys and girls might have fewer opportunities than their Lebanese counterparts to work in formal workshops and industries. Hence, many could take to the street to beg or sell cigarettes and candy. Others could contribute to farming activities doing menial repetitive jobs. The plight of the non-Lebanese working children should be examined with a focus on girls who might be more disadvantaged than the boys, especially regarding commercial sexual exploitation.

Exploitation of working children was not directly assessed. However, all studies documented that children worked very long hours, were underpaid and, in the case of some of the street children, were involved in prostitution. Most of the children were above 10 years old, but younger boys and girls, even as young as 6 years, were identified, especially on the street and on tobacco plantations (working with family). It is worth noting that, regardless of the type of work, the vast majority of these children expressed interest in vocational training.

1.4.2 The limitations of existing studies

It should be noted that these studies are of limited value for the current analysis for the following reasons:

- The majority of studies were descriptive and lacked comparison groups of non-working boys and girls. This precludes the ability to identify risk factors or characteristics unique to working children.
- All the studies used a convenience, rather than random or representative, sampling approach. This is not unexpected in the absence of lists or registries of working boys and girls. This challenges the representativeness of these study samples and requires that we be cautious as we look for commonalities across studies.
- The majority of the studies were limited to boys. This may reflect an interest in what is traditionally assumed more hazardous occupations (such as small industries), which are mostly dominated by male workers.
- Girls were identified on rural tobacco plantations (agriculture) and in the textile industry. This complements the previous point and reflects the same sex segregation in occupations observed among adults.
- No studies specific to girls were identified. This may explain the total absence of any study on domestic labour or industries/occupations with a preference for girls. Hamdan[12] draws attention to the phenomenon of live-in servants, where young girls from rural or poor families leave their homes to work as domestic helpers for long hours but for meagre salaries paid directly to their fathers. This phenomenon may have decreased in favour of relatively cheap and regulated foreign domestic help.
- Only one study, conducted by medical students, concerned street children.
- Only one study was conducted on Palestinian children. No studies on Syrian children were identified. However, non-Lebanese working children were not excluded from the other studies, but considered as part of the overall study sample whenever identified.
- No studies on working children in the construction sector were identified.
- No studies on working children in the service sector (shops, supermarkets, offices) were identified.
- Except for the tobacco plantation study, no studies on working children in agriculture and fishing were identified.
- No studies on children in commercial sexual exploitation or underground sectors (drug trafficking, illegal gangs) were identified. Hamdan reported, based on a newspaper article, that 20 per cent of young people picked up for prostitution by the police in Beirut were below 18 and the rest had started prostitution between 9 and 14 years old.[13] Many were illiterate, from slum areas and had drug addiction problems.

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[12] H. Hamdan: *National Report on Child Labour in Lebanon* (Beirut, ILO, 1997).

[13] Hamdan, op. cit.

The existing studies do not allow for a comprehensive gender analysis of child labour in Lebanon. Generally focusing on boys, they do not provide sex-segregated analyses. A conceptual framework that defines child labour as "paid work" and assumes that hazards are only limited to selected industrial activities has driven research on this issue. Consequently, girls who are involved in domestic work at home, paid domestic work, and unpaid/paid family business have not been studied. Furthermore, the ease of finding boys working in clusters of small industries outweighs the difficulty in accessing boys and girls working in homes or medium-sized industries. In spite of these limitations, a few conclusions could be drawn from these studies.

1.5 WORKPLACE CONDITIONS AND WORK TASKS

Small and medium-sized enterprises in Lebanon suffer from poor health and safety conditions. Working boys, girls, and adults are exposed to a myriad of physical, chemical, safety, and ergonomic hazards, and also share the pressure of long hours of work and fear of losing their jobs. Young and teenage children have been shown to be more vulnerable to these hazards because their immune and defence systems are still not fully developed. There is no evidence that one sex is more vulnerable than the other.

Table A4-1 (Appendix 4) summarizes some of the observations that were reported or that can be deduced about the workplaces where children are working.

All studies reported the absence of personal protective equipment and engineering or managerial measures to reduce exposure to hazards. Some of the studies actually observed children at work or inquired about their activities. In principle, boys and girls are doing the same tasks as the adult workers, using adult-sized tools, but at a slower pace or for a shorter duration or with lighter physical loads. For example, boys and girls helping their families in tobacco farming and production go to the field to cultivate or harvest, thread and dry leaves just like the adults.[14] However, they are not expected to produce as much. Similarly, Nuwayhid et al. watched 29 boys at work for 4 hours.[15] Tasks differed by the job. Those working in barbershops may sit for hours waiting for customers, but then get very busy and stand for hours. Boys working with car mechanics use heavy tools and assume very awkward positions, sometimes lying for hours on their backs under the car. They push, pull, and carry but generally much lighter loads than the adult workers. The boys and girls of textile and shoe industries[16] were also involved in all kinds of tasks, such as cleaning (15 per cent), cutting (15 per cent), painting and dyeing (15 per cent), hammering (12 per cent), sewing (18 per cent), casting (6 per cent), welding (6 per cent),

[14] CRI, op. cit.

[15] I. Nuwayhid et al., op. cit.

[16] PfD, 2002, op. cit.

threading (3 per cent), and gluing (3 per cent). The authors provided no sex breakdown, probably due to the study's small sample size.

Boys and girls work for many hours a day, with the majority beyond 8 or even 10 hours. This is significantly above the limit of 7 hours with a one-hour break set by the law. Most of them also work 6 days a week. Long working hours and exposure to hazards put working children at a higher risk for diseases and injuries, which might further influence their psychological and physical growth and development. It is essential to be aware of work-related health effects because they might impede any efforts to mainstream working children through vocational or after-hour training.

1.6 HEALTH EFFECTS OF WORK

Studies of the impact of work on children's health are limited internationally. Most have not shown striking differences between working and non-working children because both groups come from poor communities with lack of proper nutrition and continual exposure to many environmental hazards (e.g., polluted water). Some have reported that working children might even do better than non-working children because they earn money and can buy more food. Two other issues should be also noted: 1) boys and girls who join the workforce might be healthier in the first place and capable of doing the work tasks for which they are employed; 2) work-related health effects might show up years after exposure when the child is an adult. In spite of this, some studies have shown that working children are somewhat disadvantaged compared to non-working children.

Some of the studies conducted in Lebanon have inquired about health problems among the working boys and girls[17], but only two[18] compared them to a non-exposed or less-exposed group. The lack of comparison groups in the other studies prevents us from knowing if the reported symptoms are work related or similar to other boys and girls from the same community.

1.6.1 Social habits

Working boys were shown to have a higher tendency to smoke, spend time with adults and date than non-working boys.[19] The proportion of smokers among

[17] see A. Ballout et al.: *Preliminary study on status of working children in Lebanon* (Beirut, UNICEF, 1995) in Arabic; Nuwayhid et al.: *Physical and mental health of male children (10-17 years old) working in small industrial workshops in urban settings in Lebanon* (Beirut, Ministry of Social Affairs and UNICEF, 1997); PfD, op. cit.; CRI, op. cit.; B. Saddik and I. Nuwayhid: *Assessing Neurotoxicity of Working Boys and Girls between the Ages of 10 and 17 Years in Lebanon*, submitted to ILO-IPEC, April 2004.

[18] Nuwayhid et al., 1997, op. cit.; Saddik and Nuwayhid, op. cit.

[19] Nuwayhid et al., 1997, op. cit.

working boys ranged between 6 to 10 per cent.[20] Fourteen per cent of working boys and girls reported having tried smoking in the textile/shoe industry group.[21]

Working boys and girls have higher tendency to drink coffee, tea, and sodas. Seven of the 100 boys working in industrial shops reported sniffing chemicals.[22]

1.6.2 Physical health

Ballout et al.[23] reported that 5 per cent of the 103 working children complained of health problems, such as allergies, backache, headaches or respiratory problems.

Young boys and girls (5-10 years) working in tobacco farming reported fever due to sunlight exposure, a sign of heat exhaustion and lack of fluid intake.[24] One quarter reported at least one injury, especially when threading leaves. Older children worried about insects and snakebites, and some reported skin injuries.

Boys and girls working in textile and shoe industries[25] reported the following acute health problems: heart palpitations (14 per cent), dizziness (48 per cent), and musculo-skeletal complaints (43 per cent). About half (47 per cent) of the boys and 71 per cent of the girls reported occasional to frequent exhaustion. Nuwayhid et al.[26] found that boys working in small industrial enterprises reported more health complaints in general, but only a few were statistically significant after adjusting for age and social background. Working boys surveyed reported a skin, eye or ear complaint within the last two weeks, a rate which is two or three times more than the non-working boys. No differences were detected in the reporting of chronic illnesses or the use of health services. However, working boys were almost four times more exposed to injuries in the last 12 months. Thirteen of them had two or more injuries and 47 per cent of the injuries occurred at work. A clinical check-up of the same boys (Nuwayhid et al., 1997) showed that skin and nail changes were detected at least seven times more frequently among working boys as compared to the non-working group. Working boys had a higher mean blood lead concentration (13.5 ug/dl vs. 10.2 ug/dl), with a higher proportion of blood lead concentrations above the permissible level of 10 ug/dl.

Saddik and Nuwayhid[27] assessed neurotoxic effects of exposure of working boys to solvents through a questionnaire and the child's performance on a

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[20] Nuwayhid et al., 1997, op. cit.; Saddik and Nuwayhid, op. cit.

[21] PfD, op. cit.

[22] Saddik and Nuwayhid, op. cit.

[23] Ballout et al., op. cit.

[24] CRI, op. cit.

[25] PfD, 2002 op. cit.

[26] Nuwayhid et al., 1997, op. cit.

[27] Saddik and Nuwayhid, op. cit.

battery of neurobehavioral tests, which were specifically selected for a non-English speaking population and were tailored to assess specific modalities of the central nervous system. Working boys exposed to solvents at work performed worse than the non-exposed groups (working and non-working) on motor dexterity, memory tests, and reaction speed. Exposed working boys also complained of more headaches, loss of concentration, memory deficits and higher irritability.

It is worth noting that all studies agreed that a small proportion of working children had access to health insurance or were registered with the NSSF. None of the working children underwent a medical clearance before starting work nor a follow-up medical examination as required by the law. A study by Fayad et al.[28] showed that two out of 3,710 work injury insurance claims were filed for injured workers less than 15 years of age. This confirms the lack of insurance coverage for working children.

1.6.3 Mental health

Boys and girls working on tobacco plantations reported no sexual or illegal trafficking abuse.[29] However, they reported incidences of physical and verbal abuse by parents. They felt that the work was boring and left no time for socializing and leisure activities.

Nuwayhid et al.[30] reported no differences between 78 urban boys (10-17 years old) working in small industrial shops and 60 non-working boys regarding anxiety, hopelessness, and self-esteem, all measured using translated validated scales. All boys were asked to draw themselves at home. Working boys drew themselves outside the house five times more frequently than the non-working boys. Moreover, an overall negative impression was observed almost 10 times more frequently in the drawings of the working as compared to the non-working group. Although both groups had a large deficit in their mental age as reflected by the draw a person scale, no statistically significant difference with respect to the gap between the actual age and the mental age was noted between them. The same boys were asked about their future perspectives. Close to 40 per cent of both groups expected to travel when they grow older. Working boys foresaw themselves working in a manual (blue-collar) job 4.5 times more often than their non-working peers and were more confident about attaining such a decent job later.

Using the same scales as Nuwayhid et al.[31], the textile and shoe industry study[32] reported that girls working in the textile industry reported lower self-esteem, higher anxiety, and higher hopelessness than boys working in textile and

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[28] R. Fayad et al.: "Cost of work-related injuries in insured workplaces in Lebanon", [accepted for publication in *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* 2003]

[29] CRI, op. cit.

[30] Nuwayhid et al., 1997, op. cit.

[31] Nuwayhid et al., 1997, op. cit.

[32] PfD, op. cit.

shoe industries. The sample, however, is too small (7 girls, 14 boys) to draw final conclusions.

1.7 SUMMARY

The previous studies, although limited in number, clearly point to health problems among working children that may be associated with their work. Working children are being injured and complain of musculo-skeletal problems. The higher blood lead concentration among working boys is a signal that they might also be absorbing other unwanted and toxic chemicals into their vulnerable bodies. The fact that the clinical examination of working boys in Nuwayhid et al.[33] did not show striking differences from the non-working boys is not an indication of clear health. Saddik and Nuwayhid[34] presented evidence that some of these effects are still sub-clinical, as indicated by poorer neurobehavioral performance, and consequently might not be detected by a regular physical examination. Furthermore and in spite of the small sample size, the poorer score on the mental health scales by working girls[35] is worth pursuing.

Researchers and policy-makers should be aware of a gender bias that exists in occupational health, which could be replicated when the health of working girls is compared to that of working boys. Males tend to work in what is accepted as more "hazardous" occupations, hence downplaying the occupations in which most females work (domestic help, textile industry, health care and education). The proportion of working females is always smaller than that of working males in most occupations. Consequently, there is a tendency to drop females out of studies because of small sample size. A case in point is the study reported above on girls working in the textile and shoemaking industry. An extensive effort was invested to identify girls at work and the overall sample was small. Fortunately, the researchers did not abort the study but reported some interesting findings, albeit to be evaluated with caution.

[33] Nuwayhid et al.,1997, op. cit.

[34] Saddik and Nuwayhid, op. cit.

[35] PfD, op. cit.

EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOUR IN LEBANON

2

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Education is above all a process through which society endeavours to develop individuals for adjustment within its social order. As child labour is a social phenomenon that is intimately connected with the adjustment of children in society, and since in a society boys and girls face different educational, developmental and social experiences leading them to distinct adjustment strategies, it is imperative to study the relations between gender, child labour and education. The aim of this chapter is to consider these relations from the perspective of the Lebanese educational system and to focus on the studies that examine the ability of the Lebanese educational system to protect Lebanese boys and girls from child labour and to provide gender equality. Based on the latest available data, this chapter will analyse the following:

- **formal education** in terms of enrolment, drop out, and failure phenomenon as risk factors of child labour, with particular attention to the role and ability of the public sector to protect Lebanese boys and girls from child labour;
- **the direct and indirect costs of education and their relationship to child labour;**
- **the utility of elementary education for working boys and girls;** and
- **non-formal education**, such as vocational training, literacy programmes and their suitability for working boys and girls.

In the concluding remarks of this chapter, recommendations for further studies focusing on the links between gender, child labour and education will be presented.

2.2 FORMAL EDUCATION IN LEBANON

2.2.1 Review of the system

After independence in 1943, the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts was set up to take charge of the public educational system in Lebanon. In 1971, a semi-autonomous entity, the Educational Centre for Research and Development (ECRD), was established to train teachers, prepare schoolbooks, undertake educational research, and review and evaluate school curricula. In 1989, the responsibility for public education was divided among three ministries: the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports (MNEYS), in charge of school education; the Ministry of Vocational and Technical Education, supervising the public vocational education; and the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, focusing on the cultural matters and tertiary-level public education.

In 1994, the government initiated a major new plan for educational reform reviewing all the aspects of the educational system, which had not been changed for 35 years. The main objectives of this plan were to raise the standard of education, improve the existing infrastructure necessary to provide a free education to all Lebanese children, and strengthen the links between formal academic and non-formal technical education. These objectives recognized a need for the educational system to respond to labour market demands. The newly redesigned school curriculum went into effect in 1995. In 1998, the Law No. 686 amended the Decree 134/59, Section 49 of the year 1959 from "Free elementary education for all Lebanese children" to "**Compulsory** free elementary education for all Lebanese children". The changes in the laws governing compulsory free elementary education came about as the new plan took into consideration the international agreements on the protection of children, such as the CRC signed by the Lebanese government.

Furthermore, the new plan recommended that the free compulsory education not be limited to children 6-12 years of age, but gradually include all children up to age 15. According to the 1995 curriculum, the 6-15 age group corresponds to basic education and is comprised of the elementary (6 to 11 years) and intermediate (12 to 15 years) levels. In parallel to the academic formal education track, the redesigned curriculum set in motion a non-formal vocational education track for boys and girls over 12 years of age. The main objective of the vocational track is to allow children with a formal education background, as well as those with a working background, to enrol in vocational training programmes that correspond to labour market needs. The new plan was designed in a way that makes it possible for children to switch tracks between formal and non- formal education in either direction.

2.2.2 Enrolment, dropout, gender, and child labour

The ECRD and MNEYS reported in *Primary Statistics 1999-2000* that the total number of boys and girls enrolled in schools in all stages below university for the academic year 1999-2000 was 877,120.[36] These students were distributed among 2,677 schools, with 49.5 per cent in public and subsidized-private schools and 50.5 per cent in private schools. A higher percentage of girls (52.9 per cent) than boys (47.1 per cent) were enrolled in public schools (Table 2.1). Although this gender difference was not highlighted in the ECRD reports, one could attribute this difference to the fact that middle-class families facing economic constraints prefer to send girls to public schools and boys to private schools, thus providing boys better educational opportunities.

Table 2.1: Distribution of boys and girls in public and private schools by sex (per cent)

	Boys	Girls
Private schools	52.1	47.9
Public schools	47.1	52.9

Source: ECRD and MNEYS: Primary Statistics 1999-2000 (Beirut, ECRD, 2000)

Enrolment in preschool institutions for children up to age 6

Enrolment data for the year 2000 reveals that 85.5 per cent of all Lebanese children aged 3-5 years are enrolled in preschool institutions, equally divided between boys and girls.[37] Private sector institutions in both subsidized and regular forms attract 74.4 per cent of enrolled boys and girls (67.6 per cent in the private sector and 6.8 per cent in the subsidized-private sector) mostly centred in and around the capital Beirut and other major Lebanese cities (Table 2.2). This contrasts with a public sector enrolment rate of 23.5 per cent that is largely found in rural areas.[38]

Table 2.2: Distribution of preschool boys and girls in public and private schools (per cent)*

	Total
Private schools	74.36
Public schools	23.45

* No statistical data was found for the sex breakdown for children enrolled in preschool.
Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

[36] ECRD and MNEYS: *Primary Statistics* 1999-2000 (Beirut, ECRD, 2000).

[37] CAS and UNICEF, 2002, op. cit.

[38] N. Bachour (coordinator): *Preschool Education in Lebanon* (Beirut: The Lebanese Association for Educational Studies, 2000).

It is worth noting that 27.8 per cent of 3-4 year-olds and 7 per cent of 4-6 year-olds are not enrolled in a preschool institution at all. The major reason reported for this was the inaccessibility of preschool institutions due to cost (10.6 per cent) and geographical distance (4.6 per cent). Close-by preschool institutions were not available in 4.6 per cent to 8.7 per cent of cases in North Lebanon and 11.5 per cent of cases in Hormel, Akakar and Dennieh. These regions also have the highest rate of illiteracy. Interestingly, and in spite of the recommendations of the new curriculum, most preschools, both private and public, teach reading and writing in both Arabic and foreign languages.[39] Moreover, these preschools lack proper school-parent interaction, defined as the presence of parents' committees and regular school-parent meetings. Research[40] has demonstrated that despite its importance, particularly for socially and economically underprivileged groups, this parent-teacher interaction is still in its infancy where it is most needed, i.e. in public and subsidized private schools in remote areas.

The above findings illustrate that children from low-income families are at a disadvantage from the onset. The poorest families are the least capable of preparing their children for school education by the time they are 6 years old. This negatively influences their future performance in school and increases their risk of dropping out of the system. This might also increase their risk of becoming working children.

Enrolment in basic education

In 1999-2000, the gross elementary school enrolment for boys and girls aged 6 to 11 was 98.3 per cent, with no significant gender differences (Table 2.3). The net elementary school enrolment rate (the rate of enrolment corresponding to the appropriate age of the class) for the same age group in the same period was equivalent to 92.8 per cent.

Table 2.3: Distribution of students in elementary schools by sex and age 1999-2000 (per cent)

Age	Sex		Total
	Boys	Girls	
7 years	98.8	98.7	**98.7**
8 Years	97.9	98.1	**98**
9 years	99.2	99	**99.1**
10 years	96.7	96.9	**96.8**
11 Years	98.2	99.5	**98.8**
Total	**98.1**	**98.4**	**98.3**

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

[39] M. Sleem: "Implemented curricula in the preschool stage" in N. Bachour, op cit.

[40] S. Mukalid: "Child Assessment and School—Parent Relationship" in LAER: *Preschool Education* (Beirut, The Lebanese Association for Educational Research, 2002).

At the intermediate level the net enrolment rate for ages 12 to 15 amounted to 61.6 per cent. Related information indicates that 95.3 per cent of those who enrol in the first grade will remain in school until the 5th grade with higher percentages for girls (97 per cent) than boys (93.8 per cent).

Table 2.4: Staying in schools according to class and sex (per cent)

Sex	Enrolment until the end of the academic year				
	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5
Boys	99.5	97.8	98.4	98	93.8
Girls	99.7	99	98.8	99.4	97
Total	**99.6**	**98.4**	**98.6**	**98.7**	**95.3**

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

If no gender differences are found in the enrolment of children in preschool, primary and intermediate levels, how can we explain that a higher percentage of girls than boys who enter first grade stay until the fifth grade? First, it is possible that girls brought up in a traditional way tend to be more conformist than boys, which may be the reason why girls stay enrolled in the school system longer than boys. Second, in Lebanese society parents are more "protective" of girls than boys, which may also be a reason why more boys drop out earlier than girls to enter the labour market. Boys also tend to earn higher wages than girls. However, it would be worthwhile examining whether any hidden discrimination lies under the protection or overprotection of girls in some societies.

Close to 51 per cent of boys and girls aged 6 to 18 reported that their dropping out of school was their parents' decision. Whereas 15 per cent of parents attributed it to the unavailability of public schools in their neighbourhoods, another 15.3 per cent linked it to the high costs of education. These numbers demonstrate that the government can do more in the provision of free compulsory education by building and distributing public schools to meet the needs of underprivileged areas, thereby eliminating 81.3 per cent of the causes of school dropout or non-enrolment. This would also consequently reduce the supply of child labourers.

Table 2.5: Causes of school non-enrolment between ages 6 and 18 (per cent)*

Cause	Mouhafazat						Lebanon
	Beirut	Mount Lebanon	North	Bekaa	South	Baalback, Hermel and Dannieh	
Unavailability of public schools in the neighbourhood	**9.9**	**11.8**	**20.5**	**18.3**	**11.4**	**23.7**	**15.0**
No places in public school	2.2	1.3	0.1	0.7	0.7	0.3	1.0
No subsidized-private schools in the neighbourhood	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.6
No private schools in the neighbourhood	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	—	0.1	0.2
No places in private schools	—	—	—	—	0.1	—	—
High cost	**12.6**	**17.6**	**14**	**20.9**	**9.9**	**20.3**	**15.3**
Death of one parent	4.1	4.3	4.4	3.2	1.2	2.8	3.6
Parents separated	1.9	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.8
Illness or accident	1.4	1.7	1	0.6	0.3	0.3	1.1
War	2.5	2.5	1.7	0.4	1.2	0.6	1.7
Handicap	3.9	4.3	2.1	4.6	4.6	2.9	3.7
Parents not wanting	**57.4**	**4.0**	**48.5**	**42.6**	**63.6**	**39.8**	**50.9**
Other	3.1	6.0	6.0	7.6	6.1	8.5	6.1
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

*Information on sex desegregation is not available

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

Student dropout from the schooling system

Judging by the recognized class/age norms, it was found that 15 per cent of the students in the year 2000 who were enrolled in elementary education were less than one year behind in the schooling system, while 14 per cent were more than one year behind (Table 2.6). At the intermediate level, 21.7 per cent of enrolled students were less than one year behind while 25.6 per cent were more than one year behind.

Table 2.6: Distribution of students according to years of retardation/retention in class (per cent)

Cycle	Less than one year behind	More than one year behind
Preschool	4.28	0.62
Elementary	14.96	13.97
Intermediate	21.62	25.57

Source: ECRD and MNEYS: Primary Statistics 1999-2000 (Beirut, ECRD, 2000)

These numbers demonstrate that the Lebanese education system is capable of retaining a high number of those who fail their school year, thereby minimizing the risk of illiteracy and keeping boys and girls away from the labour market at an early age. It should also be noted that most of the students who have failed once or twice end up dropping out of school altogether. In fact, 7.4 per cent of boys and girls aged 10 to 14 who drop out of school point to their school failure as being the major cause of their dropout. These boys and girls should have been oriented towards a vocational programme.

The ECRD report, which focused on the academic year 1997-98, noted that at the elementary level more boys (15.7 per cent) than girls (10.8 per cent) failed their academic school year (Table 2.7).[41] This gap narrowed at the intermediate level, with 15.4 per cent for boys and 14.7 per cent for girls. The same report indicated that more boys (37.1 per cent) than girls (30.3 per cent) present at the elementary level were older than the average classroom age, whereas this difference shrank at the intermediate level, to 50.9 per cent for boys and 49.1 per cent for girls.

Table 2.7: Sex distribution of failure and retardation/retention in elementary and intermediate levels (per cent)

Cycle	Failure		Are older than the average age for the class	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Elementary	15.7	10.8	37.1	30.3
Intermediate	15.4	14.7	50.9	49.1

Source: ECRD and MNEYS: Primary Statistics 1999-2000 (Beirut, ECRD, 2000)

The most recent statistics[42] show that children drop out of school at different stages, with dropout rates of 1.1 per cent at the preschool level, 18.9 per cent at the elementary level, 22.8 per cent at the intermediate level, 10.6 per cent at the secondary level and 29.3 per cent at the university level. This means that around 20 per cent of students who drop out of school are illiterate (with elementary level of education and below).

Table 2.8: Distribution of school dropout according to cycle (per cent)

Preschool	Elementary	Intermediate	Secondary	University
1.1	18.9	22.8	10.6	29.3

Source: ECRD and MNEYS: Primary Statistics 1999-2000 (Beirut, ECRD, 2000)

[41] ECRD and MNEYS, 2000, op. cit.

[42] CAS and UNICEF, 2002, op. cit.

The report also indicated that in terms of age groups, 0.16 per cent of those who drop out are aged between 5 and 9 and another 4.3 per cent are aged between 10 and 14.

These figures confirm that dropping out of school is a major contributing factor to the early participation of boys and girls in the labour market. As such, national policies and measures aimed at providing these students with chances for other educational opportunities, such as vocational education and training, need to be reinforced.

Role of the public sector

Table 2.9 shows that enrolment in the private sector declined by 11,863 students from the school year 1998-99 to 1999-2000 (from 455,144 to 443,281). In contrast, the number of students in the public schools increased by 11,586 from 320,936 in 1998-99 to 332,522 in 1999-2000, and by 5,816 in subsidized private schools, from 95,501 in 1998-99 to 101,317 in 1999-2000.

Table 2.9: Enrolment of students according to sectors in years 1998-99 and 1999-2000

Sector	1998-99	1999-2000
Public	320 936	332 522
Private	455 144	443 281
Subsidized private	95 501	101 317

Source: ECRD and MNEYS: Primary Statistics 1999-2000 (Beirut, ECRD, 2000)

These figures can be partly explained by the high cost of education in private schools and the setbacks in the economic situation of parents, many of whom were obliged to transfer one or more children from private to public schools. In fact, the balance in enrolment between the private and public sectors has shifted towards public schools since the end of the war, but it remains strongly in favour of the private sector. Recalling figures cited earlier, 37.9 per cent of Lebanese students are enrolled in the public sector, 11.6 per cent are enrolled in the subsidized-private sector, and 50.5 per cent are enrolled in the private sector. The share of public schools in total enrolment in the basic education (elementary and intermediate combined) is 39 per cent, while that of subsidized-private is 12 per cent and that of private schools 49 per cent (Table 2.10).

Table 2.10: Distribution of enrolment according to sector and cycle

Sector	All sectors	Basic education
Public	37.9	39
Private	50.5	49
Subsidized private	11.6	12
Total	**100**	**100**

The ECRD and MNEYS report *Compulsory education in Lebanon, the need for public sector* examined the socio-economic factors influencing the percentages of enrolment in both the public and private sectors for the year 1998.[43] It showed that a higher proportion of students who come from high-income families with a high socio-economic status are enrolled in private schools. In contrast, students from less advantaged families tend to enrol in public schools. This indicates that only parents with no other better choice will send their children to public schools.

The main challenge for the government's declaration to provide "education for all" is whether the public sector is actually offering real chances of academic success for the underprivileged population. Numbers for the academic year 1998-99 show that the percentage of students repeating their school year was highest in the public sector, with 59.9 per cent as compared to 34.5 per cent in the subsidized-private and 28.1 per cent in the private sectors. The percentages of failure were highest in the public sector with 27.8 per cent for the elementary level and 25.7 per cent for the intermediate level, as compared to only 4.7 per cent for the elementary level and 7.2 per cent for the intermediate level in the private sector (Table 2.11).

Table 2.11: Distribution of failure according to sector and cycle

Sector	Failure	
	Elementary	Intermediate
Public	27.8	25.7
Private	4.7	7.2

Source: ECRD: Primary Statistics 1999-2000 (Beirut, ECRD, 2000)

This illustrates that the chances for students to advance in public schools is much less than that in private schools.

To better understand the causes of imbalance in the progress of students when comparing the public and private sectors, the ECRD conducted a study on the learning difficulties of grade 6 students in public schools (a sample representing 10 per cent of all the public schools in Lebanon).[44] The study showed deep relational conflicts amongst concerned stakeholders (students, parents, teachers and school principals). School principals and teachers reported that students' lack of motivation, physical problems, mental difficulties, and underprivileged background were the major inhibitors of their educational progress. The biggest proportion of teachers (83.9 per cent) suggested that parents'

[43] ECRD and MNEYS: *Compulsory education in Lebanon, the need for public sector* (Beirut, ECRD, 2000).

[44] ECRD: *Learning/Difficulties for students of the second cycle of basic education: A sample of the sixth basic class* (Beirut, 2001) in Arabic.

illiteracy, which rendered them unable to help their children with homework, and the lack of necessary psychological, nutritional and social conditions in their home environments were major reasons for the students' lack of improvement in school. In contrast, parents associated the academic underachievement of their children to the teachers' disrespectful, nervous, and careless attitude towards their children.

Some of the difficulties students face in public schools is related to the structure of the educational system. The parents, teachers and principals find that the mandatory foreign language in the curriculum is not only a major hurdle but also a direct cause of students' failure and repetition of the school year. Public school principals also speak about the shortages of equipment in the classrooms as well as the lack of skills among teachers. A majority (75.9 per cent) of public school teachers stress that the major teaching problems are directly related to the difficulties encountered in the implementation of the new curriculum given the inadequacy of materials and equipment available in the classrooms.

This study alludes that the public school system does not take into consideration the specificity of the needs of their students. The educational process becomes efficient only when it deals with gifted students. It is highly recommended that reform in the public school system move beyond the curricula, books and materials towards building the capacity of concerned principals and teachers in what relates to adopting better educational systems and techniques. Only then can the system offer a real opportunity for achievement for boys and girls and protect them from early entry into the labour market.

2.3 COSTS OF EDUCATION (DIRECT AND INDIRECT)

The ECRD and MNEYS report indicated the following differences in the costs of education for boys and girls in the varying public, subsidized-private and private systems (Tables 2.12-2.14).

2.3.1 Public schools

Preschool

Registration costs LL 10,000 (US$ 7) with an additional LL 60,000 (US$ 40) per student as a compulsory participation in the school budget. The total annual cost per student at this level ranges between LL 268,600 (US$ 179) and LL 319,143 (US$ 213) depending on school discounts. These are distributed among school fees (29.9 per cent), books (7.5 per cent), transportation (24 per cent), food and beverages (26.1 per cent), and supplementary expenses (12.6 per cent).

Elementary

Registration costs LL 10,000 (US$ 7) with an additional LL 60,000 (US$ 40) per student as a compulsory participation in the school budget. The total annual

cost per student at this level ranges between LL 315,044 (US$ 210) and LL 340,336 (US$ 227) depending on school discounts. These are distributed among school fees (25.7 per cent), books (16.8 per cent), transportation (16.7 per cent), food and beverages (28.5 per cent), and supplementary expenses (12.3 per cent).

Intermediate
Registration costs LL 20,000 (US$ 13) with an additional LL 70,000 (US$ 47) per student as a compulsory participation in the school budget. The total annual cost per student at this level ranges between LL 422,843 (US$ 282) and LL 474,653 (US$ 316) depending on school discounts. These are distributed among school fees (25.6 per cent), books (18.4 per cent), transportation (16 per cent), food and beverages (27.6 per cent), and supplementary expenses (12.4 per cent).

Table 2.12: Distribution of the cost of education in public schools according to cycle (per cent)

	Preschool	Elementary	Intermediate
School fees	29.86	25.71	25.56
Books	7.52	16.76	18.44
Transportation	23.97	16.69	15.99
Food and Beverage	26.09	28.51	27.58
Supplementary expenses	12.56	12.33	12.43

Source: ECRD and MNEYS: *Primary Statistics 1999-2000* (Beirut, ECRD, 2000)

2.3.2 Subsidized private school

Preschool
Registration costs between LL 325,000 (US$ 217) and LL 375,000 (US $250) with an additional fee of LL 25,000 (US$ 17) for medical insurance per student and an extra LL 5,500 (US $4) per student in schools located at least 300 meters above sea level. The total annual costs per student at this level ranges between LL 554,266 (US$ 370) and LL 619,065 (US$ 413) depending on school discounts. These are distributed among school fees (60.1 per cent), books (6.4 per cent), transportation (12.7 per cent), food and beverages (12.6 per cent), and supplementary expenses (8.2 per cent).

Elementary
Registration costs between LL 325,000 (US$ 217) and LL 375,000 (US$ 250), with an additional fee of LL 25,000 (US$ 17) for medical insurance per stu meters above sea level. The total annual costs per student at this level ranges between LL 686,853 (US$ 458) and LL 759,270 (US$ 506) depending on school discounts. These are distributed among school fees (52.4 per cent), books

(12.0 per cent), transportation (13.2 per cent), food and beverages (13.2 per cent), and supplementary expenses (9.1 per cent).

Table 2.13: Distribution of the cost of education in subsidized private schools according to cycle (per cent)

	Preschool	Elementary
School fees	60.09	52.43
Books	6.38	12.03
Transportation	12.72	13.22
Food and Beverage	12.60	13.18
Supplementary expenses	8.19	9.13

Source: ECRD and MNEYS: *Primary Statistics 1999-2000* (Beirut, ECRD, 2000)

2.3.3 Private sector

Preschool

The total annual cost per student at this level ranges between LL 1,538,832 (US$ 1,026) and LL 1,839,470 (US$ 1,226) depending on school discounts. These are distributed on school fees (76.6 per cent), books (2.6 per cent), transportation (9.8 per cent), food and beverages (5.4 per cent), and supplementary expenses (5.6 per cent).

Elementary

The total annual costs per student at this level ranges between LL 1,822,668 (US$ 1,215) and LL 2,149,119 (US$ 1,433) depending on school discounts. These are distributed on school fees (72.5 per cent), books (6.6 per cent), transportation (9.4 per cent), food and beverages (5.8 per cent), and supplementary expenses (5.7 per cent).

Intermediate

The total annual cost per student at this level ranges between LL 2,139,819 (US$ 1,427) and LL 2,473,818 (1,649) depending on school discounts. These are distributed on school fees (73.3 per cent), books (6.9 per cent), transportation (7.7 per cent), food and beverages (6.6 per cent), and supplementary expenses (5.5 per cent).

Table 2.14: Distribution of the cost of education in private schools according to cycle (per cent)

	Preschool	Elementary	Intermediate
School fees	76.64	72.47	73.27
Books	2.59	6.55	6.91
Transportation	9.82	9.44	7.69
Food and Beverage	5.38	5.84	6.61
Supplementary expenses	5.58	5.70	5.51

Source: ECRD and MNEYS: *Primary Statistics 1999-2000* (Beirut, ECRD, 2000)

The above data shows that as children move up in school, the annual educational costs and the costs of books increase substantially, hence, the financial burden on their parents increases. It was also documented in several studies that children sent to work instead of going to school bring in additional income to their families. This leads to the conclusion that low-income families with a large number of children who perceive public education as being a financial burden tend to remove their older children from school and send them to work, keeping only the younger and less costly ones in school. Unfortunately, the available data do not document whether the removal of children from school due to education costs is also related to the gender of the child.

These interrelated issues present a serious challenge for the government in fulfilling its commitment to provide a free and compulsory education for all. Free and compulsory education for all will surely have a positive impact on reducing child labour, however.

2.4 UTILITY OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION FOR WORKING CHILDREN

According to the CAS and UNICEF report *State of the Children in Lebanon 2000*, 71.5 per cent of the working boys and 67.5 per cent of the working girls aged 5-9 years are enrolled in school (Table 2.15). These percentages increase for the boys and girls aged 10 to 14 and indicate that 94.2 per cent of the boys and 95.6 per cent of the girls of this age group are enrolled in schools.

Table 2.15: Distribution of working boys and girls enrolled in schools according to age and sex (per cent)

	Age (years)	
	5-9	10-14
Boys	71.5	94.2
Girls	67.5	95.6

Source: CAS and UNICEF State of the Children in Lebanon 2000, (Beirut, CAS, 2002)

Unfortunately, the study did not inquire about the academic progress and performance of these children within the schooling system. Another study supported by the Ministry of Social Affairs and UNICEF[45] was conducted on a sample of 134 boys and girls aged 10-17 years (78 worked full time, 18 worked and studied at the same time and 38 were full-time students). This study reported that the majority of the working boys and girls left school in the elementary stage, while a high proportion of those working and studying were repeating their classes. More than 50 per cent of the full-time working boys reported that they disliked school because they had to study, while 27 per cent reported that the main reason for disliking school was related to teachers' and students' aggressiveness and violent conduct.

Within this context, it should be noted that working boys and girls face different educational, developmental, health and moral risks than non-working children. This calls for studies to evaluate whether the educational system takes into consideration the situation and the special needs of working children, in terms of educational policy, programmes, curriculum, school schedule, school equipment, classroom material, books, and others. It is also important to find out if the educational system is helping the families of working children to progress towards a better life.

2.5 NON-FORMAL EDUCATION, VOCATIONAL TRAINING MODELS AND OTHER RELATED ISSUES

In Lebanon, the three main types of vocational education schools are technical schools, vocational high schools and technical institutes. Colleges may also provide vocational programmes, and some business firms have divisions for vocational teaching that offer continuing education and training programmes for their own employees. Some public and private rehabilitation centres also conduct vocational training for persons with special needs.

The ECRD reports that there are a total of 337 technical schools and institutions offering vocational training in Lebanon, of which only 40 are public.[46] A total of 56,099 students are enrolled in the private sector and 18,448 (36 per cent girls and 64 per cent boys) in the public sector. The low percentages of girls in these programmes reflect the social norms prevailing in Lebanon linked with the poor social identification of girls with such type of training.

Unfortunately, the report lacks some important information, such as the percentage of students coming from the formal academic track, the age distribution of enrolled students, the failure and dropout rates, the progress of the enrolled students in the vocational track, and the professional future of these students. This gap in information makes it difficult to analyse the utility of the

[45] Nuwayhid et al., 1997, op.cit.

[46] ECRD 2000, op. cit

vocational education for boys and girls in general and for working children in particular.

The educational reform plan designed a non-formal vocational track that allows the enrolment of working children with the objective of providing them with particular skills for jobs in electricity, electronics, mechanics, plumbing, carpentry, glass making, and welding. Due to budget deficits, this aspect of the plan has not been realized. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the vocational programmes in the plan seem to be directed more towards the needs of boys than girls.

In an attempt to reduce child labour and to provide education for all, many steps were taken by the government in collaboration with international organizations and NGOs. These are as follows:

1. In 1991 the Parliamentary Committee for Children's Rights was established. This committee collaborates strongly with a representative from UNICEF, the Secretary General of the Higher Council for Childhood in Lebanon and some local NGOs. The main objective of the Committee is to work on the development of necessary legislation for the implementation of the CRC.
2. In 1993, the Ministry of Social Affairs was established as an independent Ministry with the intention to help orphans, juvenile delinquents, juvenile prisoners, and other disadvantaged target groups. The Ministry provides assistance to orphanages, social welfare centres and reformatories that house orphans, disadvantaged boys and girls, social cases and juvenile delinquents. It also offers adult literacy programmes.
3. In May 1994, the Higher Council for Childhood was formed to serve as the link between the government and NGOs regarding issues related to children. It is also the body responsible for reporting to the Committee of the Rights of the Child in Geneva.
4. In 1995, the Ministry of Social Affairs formed the National Committee for Literacy. In 1996, it organized a pilot project for illiteracy eradication targeting 9-14 year-old boys and girls working in carpentry. It also formulated a national plan for illiteracy eradication, with specified programmes to be jointly implemented by the public and private sectors.
5. In 1995, the National Employment Office, a government autonomous office, oriented some of its responsibilities toward the vocational guidance and training and rehabilitation of juveniles aged 15 years and above. These training programmes aim at preparing juveniles, through the acquisition of life-skills, to enter the labour market as qualified workers after giving them accelerated vocational training in different specializations. It should be noted that the accelerated training programmes are mainly focused on boys.
6. The Lebanese EFA (Education for All) National Forum was formed in collaboration between UNESCO and the Ministry of Education, Youth, and

Sports on April 9, 2002. It developed and launched the National Action Plan by the end of 2002 with the aim to achieve the goal of education for all.

A large number of international and local NGOs, such as the Movement Social, AFEL (Association du Foyer de l'Enfant Libanais), The Good Shepherd Association, Association Dar Al-Amal, and Foundation Terre des Hommes, are actively involved in tackling the issue of child labour by developing specialized programmes focused on literacy, vocational training, and the reintegration of children in the formal educational system.

Osseiran[47] observes that, unfortunately, most of the people employed by the NGOs to work with the targeted children are new graduates and ill-prepared to do the important task of rehabilitation. She also reports that the NGOs do not have unified standards to ensure that their programmes are in harmony with the international concept of basic education called for by EFA.

It should be noted that no independent body exists where studies, data and information about the different programmes being applied by the varying NGOs are gathered. Hence, it is not possible to assess the credibility, validity, or utility of any of these implemented programmes.

2.6 CONCLUSIONS, REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- In general, Lebanese working children come from large, poor families. The majority of these boys and girls are illiterate or drop out of school before the completion of the elementary level.
- Poor families who intend to give their children an education in the public system cannot always do so for many reasons. The leading reasons are the uneven geographic distribution of the public schools, which does not correspond to the redistribution of the population after the war, the lack of availability of public transportation in all areas, and the direct and indirect costs of education, which are unaffordable for some poor families.
- The public school system does not take into consideration the specific characteristics and needs of the different groups of boys and girls it deals with. Consequently, it offers them neither a real opportunity to achieve academically nor an environment that protects them from going to the labour market.
- In spite of a law that calls for the provision of compulsory free education, the government has yet to issue the legal steps to enforce this law across the country.

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[47] S. Osseiran: *Street Children in the Arab World: A Workshop on Provision of Education to Street Children in the Arab World* (Khartoum UNESCO, 1999), in Arabic.

- No studies have been conducted in Lebanon to evaluate the effect of the curriculum, books, and teaching methods and materials on school boys and girls with the gender issues in mind.
- Different programmes on literacy and vocational and skills training are offered by the government and the international and local NGOs. Unfortunately, no documentation about the target populations, the process of implementation of the programmes, or their evaluation is available for the collective or individual organizations. This renders it difficult to proceed with any scientific analysis and assessment of the relative suitability of these programmes for working boys and girls in terms of gender.

Further studies and in depth analysis may shed more light on the relationship between education and child labour, particularly within the framework of gender differences.

GENDER, EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOUR IN LEBANON

3

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the linkages between gender, basic education and child labour in Lebanon. Section 3.2 presents a working model on the interplay of gender, education and child labour; Section 3.3 presents a gender analysis of the relationship between education and child labour in Lebanon; and Section 3.4 contains a set of conclusions regarding gender, basic education and child labour and programmatic implications, namely ideas pertaining to mainstreaming gender in the efforts to combat child labour while taking education as well as other factors into consideration.

Appendix 6 provides a more general introduction to these issues.

3.2 GENDER, EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOUR: A WORKING MODEL

The model is a synthesis of available information on the subject of gender, education and labour found in ILO publications[48] and a set of multidisciplinary works.

The first aim of this working model is to map the three constructs of gender, basic education and child labour and outline linkages between them. It is an attempt to provide a conceptual base to facilitate deriving conceptually legible conclusions given the interplay of the three constructs of gender, education and child labour.

The second aim of this model is to facilitate exploring avenues of programmatic interventions as well as laying out prospective indicators to monitor

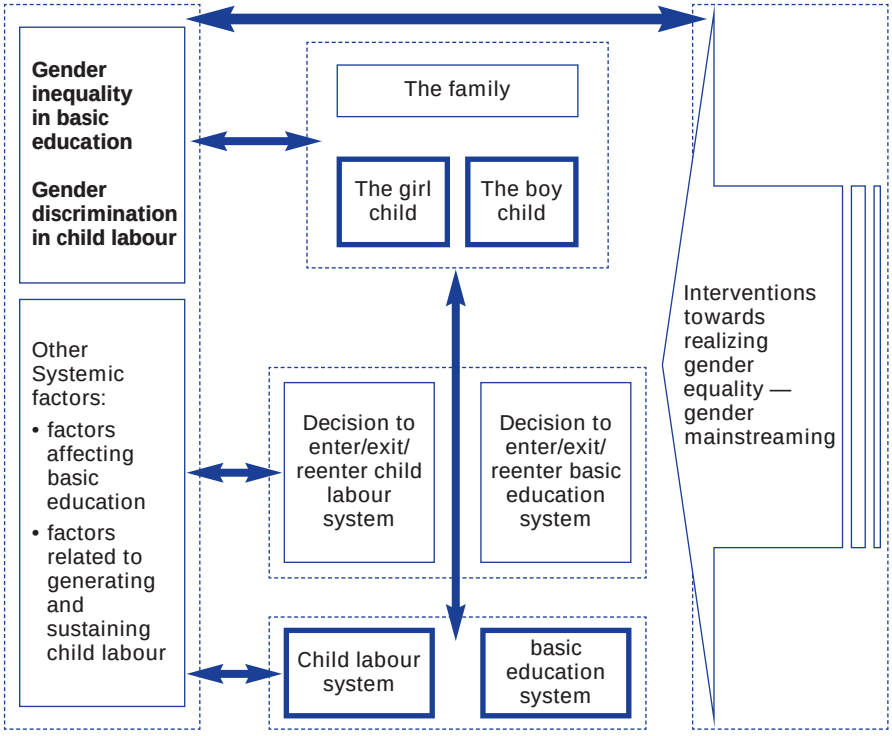
[48] See particularly N. Haspels and B. Suriyasarn: *Promotion Of Gender Equality In Action Against Child Labour and Trafficking: A Practical Guide For Organizations* (Bangkok, ILO, ROAP SRO-Bangkok, 2003).

prevalence of gender inequalities in basic education and gender discrimination in child labour as well as programmatic performance.[49]

The model consists of four main sets of components:

1. The girl child and the boy child dynamic relation within the family system, basic education system, and the child labour system.
2. Systemic factors influencing basic education and child labour other than gender.
3. Gender inequality and discrimination:
   a. Gender inequality in basic education.
   b. Gender discrimination in child labour.
4. Related interventions:
   a. Interventions towards mainstreaming gender towards realizing gender equality in basic education.
   b. Interventions towards mainstreaming gender in efforts to eliminate child labour.

Figure 3.1 Gender, education and child labour: A working model



[49] For further information see Appendix 6.

3.2.1 The girl child and the boy child dynamic relation with the family, basic education, and the child labour system

In this model, the family, basic educational and child labour systems are considered to be three core elements that are affected by gender and other social forces. The boy child and the girl child are in the centre of three systems: the family system on one side and, the basic education system and the child labour system on the other. The link among those systems is a set of decisions that relate to the child within the family system, namely to enter, exit or re-enter the basic education and the child labour systems.

The family system consists of a network of individuals — parents, relatives, caretakers and siblings/mates — which constitutes the child's core social environment where the process of early socialization takes place. The family can be nuclear, extended-biological or adopted. The family system of an adopted girl or boy would take the shape of a traditional nuclear or extended family or a traditional orphanage.

The basic educational system is a set of interrelated structures whose main function is to integrate the child into the social system as a whole through instilling knowledge and familiarizing her/him with norms of behaviour. The outcome would be a child who has a knowledge base and set of skills and who conforms to social norms of behaviour that prepare her/him to assume a social role that aims at achieving a productive and stable adult life.

The child labour system is a component of the formal and informal economic system where the girl or boy child is employed in types of labour that violate international instruments that relate to boys and girls' rights to education and may infringe in many instances on the basic human right to work in an healthy environment. A child in the child labour system assumes an early adult socioeconomic role.

Decisions to enter, exit, or re-enter the basic education system and the child labour system define the dynamic of the transition of the child between the family system on one side and the basic education and child labour system on the other. This is the point in the life of the child where the influences converge. That is why these are included in this working model. Another incentive for inclusion is that decisions are amenable to measurement with varying degrees in terms of content, actors as well as the influences that surround them.

3.2.2 Systemic factors affecting the relationship between education and child labour other than gender

Prior to any discussion on the interplay of gender with child education and child labour, it is useful to state a set of systemic factors that affect child education and labour. These are: (a) patterns and pervasiveness of societal belief systems, values, norms and practices other than those related to gender; (b) structure and performance of the economy; (c) poverty; (d) prolonged political instability; and (e) the structure and performance of the educational system.

Patterns and pervasiveness of societal belief systems, values, norms and practices other than those related to gender

These relate to the intensity and pervasiveness of societal values ascribed to children as persons, to education and to labour. Such beliefs and other cultural factors determine patterns of treatment of boys and girls, including the degree of violence inflicted upon them. In addition, these factors contribute towards shaping the educational system, especially the curricula, and determine patterns of student-teacher relations. These factors shape the culture of the workplace in general and the acceptability of a workplace for children. General cultural factors pertaining to children's education and work provide the cultural base that contributes towards shaping family decisions to have their daughters and sons enter, exit and re-enter the educational or child labour systems. They also shape individual attitudes of children regarding school and abusive work (child labour). Such beliefs, values, norms and practices are manifested at the macro level by international instruments of children's rights and at the popular level mostly by religious values, norms of practice regarding boys and girls, and the relationship between mother/father (caregiver) and the girl/boy. General cultural factors contribute towards shaping the distinctive societal pattern of socialization of children in general.

Structure of the economy

The structure of the economy determines sectors that are potential 'pullers' of boys and girls in general towards the labour market. This applies in particular to developing countries where there is preliminary evidence from advocacy groups about industries, such as the toy industry in China, for example[50], seeking global competitiveness using children as cheap sources of labour. Development and education are mutually reinforcing: it may also be a 'repellent' to early entry of children into the labour market in general if the economy is post industrialized and advances in technology require higher levels of education of potential workers.

Improvement in economic performance

In developing countries, economic growth creates an opportunity for redistribution of societal resources — financial, informational and human — into the pool of the educational system, thus creating legislative and regulatory mechanisms that facilitate retention of children in the basic educational system. Rising incomes reduce the need for early exit from the educational system and entry into the labour force (formal and informal).

Poverty

Poverty is a widely acknowledged factor that causes children to exit basic education in developing countries and in islands of underdevelopment in post-

[50] See www.mediamouse.org/christmas_toys_and_child_labor.php

industrialized countries (often inhabited by recent or illegal immigrants[51]). Poverty alleviation is another acknowledged factor that helps reduce the pool of children at risk for child labour.[52]

Prolonged political instability

Prolonged political instability is another powerful force that can drive children away from the educational system. Children may remain at home for protection, engage in military activity as child soldiers, or become refugees alone or with their families. Political instability can exacerbate the problem of poverty as a push factor that causes children to abandon school to join the formal or informal labour force. The death of adult breadwinners or the extreme economic pressures of displacement and immigration on the family can force children into work as a matter of survival.

The structure and performance of the educational system

The structure and performance of the educational system is a function of political stability, the structure and performance of the economy as well as the national policies regarding resource allocation to the educational sector (irrespective of the general economic performance). A highly performing basic educational system can act as a pulling force that retains children within the educational system through increasing the overall level of scholastic achievement.

3.2.3 Gender inequality in relation to child education and child labour

"Gender", for the purposes of this study, is defined as the set of social relations between men and women/ boys and girls that exists at the individual, family, community, and at broader societal levels. These social relations are manifested in an interrelated manner culturally (values, norms, and practices), demographically, politically and economically.

Gender inequality is a set of cultural phenomena that are manifested by the following:

- Inequality in the socially ascribed relative value of women/girls and men/boys as persons. This is reflected in male preference in conception.
- Inequality of the socially ascribed relative value of roles assumed by women/girls in various sectors of society compared to similar roles assumed by men as illustrated by lower pay for equal work performed by women and men. Such a type of gender inequality may take an extreme form when excellent work (independently judged) is given lower value than mediocre work (independently judged) just because a woman performed it. The example of the higher wages of engineers who are mostly

[51] see Haspels and Suriyasarn, op. cit., p. 10.

[52] see Haspels and Suriyasarn, op. cit., p. 31.

males in comparison to physicians who are mostly females referred to in ILO 2003[53] is a case in point. Lower pay for equal work can exacerbate the situation of girls, who are undergoing abuse in the first place by being in the child labour system.

- Forced segregation of social roles among men and women with one role being given a higher value. An example is the nurse-physician relationship in the early history of the nursing profession and the lingering trail of stigma that still affects the practice of the nursing profession in relation to that of medicine. Formal politics has long been a male dominated area. The level of political participation of women at the high decision-making layers in politics and the economy is a powerful indicator of the lowering of intensity of gender inequality in a given society. This phenomenon is coupled with general belief systems that penalize or at least marginalize those who dare defy such segregation; an example is the set of challenges that face women police officers, women pilots, male nurses, male home-makers, and the few women who are situated in high-level political leadership positions.
- Differential access to societal resources by gender, e.g. differential access to financial capital and to educational and health services for men and women.

Thus gender inequality exists when gender relations are based on the assumption that females and males have segregated culturally ascribed and/or unequally valued social roles.

These gender relations and subsequent inequalities exist in childhood in terms of male preference, in differential access to basic family resources, including education that favours males in highly patriarchal societies. Gender relations are reflected in the ascribed role given by highly patriarchal cultures to boys as formal producers of family resources through early entry in the formal job market and to girls as informal family workers at the expense of formal schooling. Such gender relations, along with other factors, affect re-entry into the educational system.

The level of patriarchy in a culture determines the prevalence and intensity of gender inequalities in societies. The higher the general level of gender inequality among members of varying ages, the more the propensity to dramatically affect gender inequalities at younger ages.

Male preference, an indicator of patriarchy, is the differential value ascribed by cultures to boys and girls on the basis of their culturally ascribed gender roles. Male gender preference represents the root of gender inequalities among boys and girls. Such preference affects (among other factors) entry as well as the exit and re-entry patterns into the school system. Male gender preference affects the value given to the individuals, to achievement of boys and girls

[53] Haspels and Suriyasarn, op.cit.

during early childhood (physical, emotional, mental), to scholastic work, to work in the family, or to paid work in the job market.[54]

Socialization into gender roles within a society where gender inequality exists is of importance because it perpetuates gender inequality. Paradoxically, women play a significant role in socializing children during the early years of childhood — either as mothers or members of a kinship network. Early socialization starts from the family environment during early childhood, and continues within the school environment.

Early entry into the labour market adds the workplace as a de facto socializing agent during childhood. When such a situation exists, the boy or girl would be exposed to the arena of unequal gender relations present among adult women and men as a 'fellow' worker at an early age. The situation gets more complex when there is additional physical or psychological abuse of the child exploited by child labour.

The outcomes of the socialization of children in a context of gender inequality include:

- Variation in the level of self-esteem/self-worth reflected by scholastic aptitude among boys and girls entering the school system.
- Gender-based variation in scholastic performance.
- Gender-based decisions in differential early exit from the educational system and gender-based segregation of the child labour environment.
- Gender-based variations in the pattern of performance in the work environment of boys and girls, gender-based differentials in the value attributed to the work performed by boys and girls.
- Gender-based variation of the content of the decision to re-enter the educational system.

The interventions towards realizing gender equality consist of societal activities aiming at attaining gender equality in society at large. These include gender-mainstreaming strategies. Outcomes of such interventions start with the implementation of basic human rights irrespective of gender.[55]

3.3 EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOUR IN LEBANON: A GENDER ANALYSIS

The objectives of this section are the following:

- Examine the volume and type of data collected that is disaggregated by sex and other relevant classifiers.

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[54] Regarding measurement see Calway-Fagen et al.: "The relationship between attitudinal and behavioral measures of sex preference" in *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, vol. 4(2), Winter 1979.

[55] Many examples are given in Haspels and Suriyasarn, op. cit.

- Identify gender differentials and patterns in education and child labour.
- Examine needs, constraints and opportunities for girls and boys under 14 years.
- Identify constraints and opportunities in the larger environment (laws, attitudes).
- Review the capacities of existing institutions and mechanisms to reach out equally to girls and boys and promote gender equality in basic education and to attain a balanced elimination of child labour among boys and girls.

The above objectives are patterned after the elements of gender analysis outlined in the ILO guidelines in *Promotion of gender equality in action against child labour and trafficking: A practical guide for organizations*.[56]

3.3.1 Volume and type of data collected pertaining to basic education and child labour that are disaggregated by sex and other relevant classifiers

National surveys and in-depth, sector-specific studies constitute two broad sources of sex-segregated information on basic education and child labour in Lebanon, as well as sources of information segregated by other relevant classifiers.

National survey data

National surveys provide the majority of information available that is pertinent to gender analysis, such as the volume of child labour and sex-segregated data on education.

Outputs of national surveys: Volume of child labour, regional distribution and lines of work

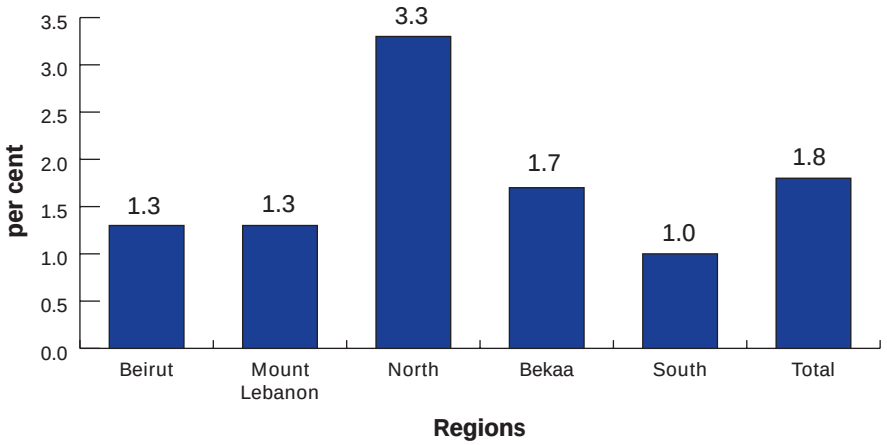
Data are available that allow estimating the volume of child labour in Lebanon. Out of the total reported workers in Lebanon, 0.6 per cent of girls and boys are working below the minimum age allowed by law (under the age of 14 years).[57] As indicated in figure 3.2, 1.8 per cent of children aged 10-14 years have reported to working. The highest percentage is in the North (3.3 per cent), while the lowest percentage is in the South (1 per cent).[58]

[56] Haspels and Suriyasarn, op.cit.

[57] CAS and UNICEF, op. cit., Table 2-4, p. 124.

[58] CAS and UNICEF, op. cit., Table 6-17, p. 197.

Figure 3.2 - Regional distribution of children (10-14 years) - Lebanon 2000



Source: Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002), table 6-17, p. 197 .

Outputs of national surveys: family composition, characteristics and income in Lebanon

Families of children (10-13 years) engaged in child labour are large and 90 per cent of the heads of households have either reached elementary level, are illiterate, or know only how to read and write.[59] Note that the average family size in Lebanon is 4.7 with a regional variation from 3.9 in Beirut to 5.5 in the North.[60]

According to the CAS and UNICEF report, the average monthly income for workers is relatively low. It was estimated at LL 677,000 (US$ 451) for all sectors. The median monthly income is LL 500,000. (US$ 333) disregarding the job duration.[61] The average weekly income for seasonal sporadic, situational work (all sectors) is LL 268,000 (US$ 179) — it ranges from LL 43,000 (US$ 29) in agriculture and hunting to LL 1,811,000 (US$ 1,207) for cultural and entertainment activities.[62] The average monthly income for full and partial work in all sectors is LL 742,000 (US$ 495).[63]

Most families in Lebanon belong to lower middle class and below as apparent from Table 3.1 derived from a UNICEF survey. Another estimate of income distribution reveals a similar pattern as in Table 3.1 where the peak is skewed towards the lower middle class with family income ranging between US$ 200-800.

[59] Issa and Houry, op. cit,. Also cited in Chapter 2, Table 1.15.

[60] CAS and UNICEF, op. cit., p. 25.

[61] CAS and UNICEF, op. cit., Table 2-34, p.155.

[62] CAS and UNICEF, loc. cit.

[63] CAS and UNICEF, loc. cit.

Table 3.1: Wage income distribution — Lebanon 2000 (LL)*

<= LL 300,000 (<= US$ 200)	301,000-1,200,000 (US$ 200.6 -US$ 800)	1,201,000-3,200,00 (US$800.6-US$ 2,133)	>= 3,201,000 (>= US$ 2,134)
26.3%	62.14%	10.2%	1.36%

* Except religious congregations and military draftees

Source: CAS and UNICEF: State of the Children in Lebanon 2000 (Beirut, CAS, 2002), Table 2-33 p.154.

Table 3.2: Monthly Household Income — Lebanon 1999 (LL)

<= 300,000 (<= US$ 200)	301,000-1,200,000 (US$ 200.6-US$ 800)	1,201,000-3,200,000 (US$ 800.6-US$ 2,133)	>= 3,201,000 (>= US$ 2,134)
4.9%	60.4%	29.9%	4.4%

Source: MOPH et al: National Household Health Expenditure and Utilization Survey 1999 Report (Beirut, 1999), Vol. 3, Table 2.8, p. 39.

Focused Studies

More focused studies were conducted on children in several lines of work, including small industries such as auto body repair, mechanics, oil and tyres, furniture painting, barbershops, restaurants, butchery, tobacco cultivation, textiles and shoes/leather. As indicated in Chapter 1, most of the studies were limited to working boys; however, the tobacco cultivation study included girls. In addition, rudimentary information can be found on children involved in commercial sexual exploitation and drug trafficking.[64]

The above examination shows that there are multiple statistical data sources where information on education and child labour is collected within a general context of research on family expenditure and the state of children; whereas, more focused studies were undertaken on health hazards. Neither sources addressed the topic of gender roles and relations. Thus, there is plenty of data disaggregated by sex, and the interplay with gender can only be indirectly inferred. However, gender differentials can be inferred as will be illustrated in the following paragraphs.

3.3.2 Gender differentials and patterns in education and child labour in Lebanon

Lebanon within a regional context

Lebanon is located at an intermediate position among Arab countries in terms of macro indicators of the Human Development Index (HDI)[65], the Gender Devel-

[64] See Chapter 1.

[65] The UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) measures a country's achievements in three aspects: longevity, knowledge and a decent standard of living. Longevity is measured by life expectancy at birth; knowledge is measured by a combination of adult literacy rate and the combined gross elementary, secondary and tertiary enrolment ratio; and a decent standard of living is measured by GDP per capita (PPP US$). Source: *UNDP Human Development Report 2002*, cited in ESCWA Social Statistics Information System (www.escwa.org.lb).

opment Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Index (GEI). Table 3.3 represents Lebanon in relation to Bahrain, which has the highest HDI and GDI rankings among Arab countries, and Yemen, which has the lowest ranking. Lebanon does not have the data to generate the gender empowerment index, but it is similar to the majority of the Arab countries with the exception of Egypt, which is the only Arab country displayed in the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) Gender Information System (2003) reporting a Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)[66]. However, there are elements of the GEM specific to Lebanon. The country has the highest proportion of employed women in relation to other Arab countries, and it is similar to Egypt with respect to the proportion of women with parliamentary seats.

Table 3.3: Macro indicators relevant to gender inequality for Lebanon in relation to selected Arab Countries[67]

		Norway	Bahrain	Lebanon	Egypt	Yemen
HDI	*Rank*	1	39	75	115	144
Index		0.942	0.831	0.755	0.642	0.479
GDI	*Rank*	1	40	69	99	128
Index		0.941	0.822	0.739	0.628	0.426
GEM	*Rank*	1	..	..	65	..
Index		0.837	..	..	0.26	..

Source: *UNDP Human development Report 2002*, cited in ESCWA Social Statistics Information System, 2003 (www.escwa.org.lb)

In terms of the HDI ranking[68], Lebanon lies at the top of the Medium Human Development cluster of Arab countries closer to Bahrain (that is among the high human development group of countries) than to Yemen that has the lowest reported HDI among Arab countries.[69] Lebanon's HDI is lower than that of Norway (HDI ranking = 1) by the value of 0.2. Yemen's HDI is lower than that of Norway's by a value of 0.4.[70]

[66] The GEM measures gender inequality in economic and political spheres of activity.
- Economic participation and decision-making are measured by the percentage of female administrators and managers, and professional and technical workers.
- Political participation and decision-making are measured by the percentage of seats in parliament held by women.
- Power over economic resources is measured by women's GDP per capita (PPP US$).

[67] Source: UNDP: *Human Development Report 2002* cited in ESCWA, op. cit.

[68] See the table of major indicators in selected countries in *UNDP Human Development Report 2002* accessible through www.undp.org .

[69] UNDP, op. cit.

[70] For more details refer to www.escwa.org.lb/gsp and the UNDP, op. cit.

Table 3.4: Elements related to the Gender Empowerment Measure in selected Arab countries (various years)

	Norway		Lebanon		Bahrain		Egypt		Yemen	
% Women professionals*	49	2000	44.6	1997	21.1	1991	28.5	1998	15	1999
% Women with parliamentary seats	36.4	2000	2.3	2000	..	..	2.4	2000	..	1997

* (Employed population 15+ years) by occupational groups

Source: ESCWA Social Statistics Information System, 2003 (www.escwa.org.lb)

As for gender equality[71] among girls and boys, the only indicator used is the net enrolment ratio in elementary education. This ratio appears to be high in Lebanon and equitable among boys and girls. Lebanon is two percentage points lower than Norway, which has a 100 per cent enrolment rate for girls and for boys. Its female to male pattern is similar to Bahrain with girls showing slightly higher net enrolment ratios in elementary schools and in contrast with the pattern conveyed by Egypt and Yemen where boys have higher net enrolment ratios.

Table 3.5: Net enrolment ratios for boys and girls in elementary education — Lebanon, Bahrain, Egypt and Yemen

	Norway		Lebanon		Bahrain		Egypt		Yemen	
% Girls	100	1998	98.4	1999-2000	95.5	1999-2000	91.0	1999-2000	42.0	1998-99
% Boys	100	1998	98.1	1999-2000	92.6	1999-2000	93.0	1999-2000	75.0	1998-99

Source: ESCWA Social Statistics Information System, 2003 (www.escwa.org.lb)

Aggregate measures of gender equality for children — the enrolment ratio of boys and girls in elementary school — are high. Unfortunately, the picture of gender in relation to children in Lebanon is incomplete at this point as will be illustrated in the following section from information on disaggregated data by sex and other pertinent classifiers relating to basic education.

At the national level

Findings and implications from sex-segregated data on basic education for boys and girls — gender differentials and patterns:

[71] ESCWA uses the term "Gender equity" in a similar manner to denote fairness in women and men's access to socio-economic resources and a condition in which women and men participate as equals and have equal access to socio-economic resources. ESCWA, op. cit.

- **Gender differentials in school dropout (patterns of exit from the school system)**

  Data related to school dropout reveal that a higher proportion of boys (5.1 per cent) compared to girls (3.7 per cent) stopped school between ages 10 to 14 years compared to 0.2 per cent and 0.1 per cent respectively for ages 5-9 years.[72] No variations were observed among the sexes regarding staying in school among those enrolled in the grades one through five of the elementary school.[73] The seemingly contradictory result with data on age patterns of dropout[74] may be better clarified when the age pattern of dropout is classified by grade as well as age and the data on staying in school among those enrolled in elementary grades 1 through 5 are also classified by age.

- **Gender differentials in retention**

  The age and sex distribution of students in elementary schools does not indicate striking variations between boys and girls.[75] This is consistent with the relatively high net enrolment ratio for boys and girls in Lebanon in 1999-2000 (98.4 per cent and 98.1 per cent respectively) with no striking difference among the sexes.[76] However, more failure is observed among boys than girls in elementary schools and a higher proportion of boys are older for their class than average. The gap decreases significantly at the intermediate level.[77]

- **Gender differential in public/private school enrolment — male preference**

  Examination of the sex distribution of children in public and private schools in basic education reveals that there is a higher proportion of boys in private schools and a higher proportion of girls in public schools. This may have gender implications regarding the relative value of investing in boys given the better quality of education that is perceived to prevail in private in contrast to public schools[78, 79] as indicated in Chapter 2.

  Review of aggregate published data on school enrolment, retention and dropout provides some information on the size of the problem, even when the data is segregated by sex. The information produced is of preliminary

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[72] See Table 1.1.

[73] See Table 2.4.

[74] See Table 1.1.

[75] See Table 2.3.

[76] See Table 3.5.

[77] See Table 2.7.

[78] See Table 2.1.

[79] UNDP *National Human Development Report Lebanon* refers to the lagging of public schools behind private schools at the intermediate level judging from the percentage of students that pass the government exam (p. 98).

value in assessing the interplay between gender, basic education and child labour given the relationship between economics and cultural tradition.

Findings from statistics disaggregated by sex and other classifiers pertaining to child labour — gender differentials and patterns

The first challenge facing a reviewer of existing information on child labour in Lebanon is the problem of definition. The ILO definition of child labour as identified in Chapter 1 is not used uniformly throughout the studies. Data usually describe children and work situations without solid evidence indicating economic exploitation (an exception is the case when children work below age 14, which is illegal in Lebanon). Thus, for the purposes of this study, the terms "child labour" or "working children" are not exclusively tied to the duration of work and its health hazards but can also be interpreted to encompass the risk of involvement in abusive child labour that negatively affects the well-being of the child as stated in the ILO definition.

Such an approach is adopted in order to maximize the utility of available information for possible identification of geographical areas and communities to target in the future in-depth studies or basic preventive interventions.

Within this context, the available information indicates the following:

- **Gender differential in engagement in the formal labour market as full-time workers**

  Boys below age 14 work more than girls of the same age group. A strikingly higher proportion of working boys aged 10-14 years are engaged in full-time work in Lebanon (71.2 per cent of working boys and 12.7 per cent of working girls). The opposite pattern is in force for seasonal and part-time work, where girls are prominent.[80]

- **Gender-based differential at the level of skills in occupations**

  Girls below age 14 are engaged in unskilled work, whereas boys of the same age group are engaged in skilled work. A high proportion of working girls, 91.1 per cent aged 10-14 years, are reported to engage in unskilled occupations compared to 12.1 per cent of boys of the same age group. The opposite pattern holds for skilled labour, such as artisans and skilled agriculture. Girls from 10 to 14 are not reported to have been engaged in sales/personal service and skilled agriculture.[81]

- **Gender-based segregation among sectors**

  More girls than boys below age 14 are formally engaged in the more traditional agricultural sector while boys are more prominent in industry. A higher proportion of girls than boys in general are reported to be engaged in agriculture. A lower proportion is found to be working in industry.[82]

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[80] See Table 1.8.

[81] See Table 1.9.

[82] See Table 1.10.

- **Gender differential in access to financial remuneration from productive work**
  With girls below age 14 reporting lower salaries, half of the girls aged 10-14 years did not specify their salaries. Those who did were in the lowest brackets compared to boys.[83]
- **Gender differential in geographical proximity of work to home**
  A higher proportion of girls are engaged in work where a neighbour is the employer. This may give an indication of the location of the work.
- **Gender differential in the level of satisfaction with work**
  A higher proportion of boys aged 10-14 years report satisfaction with the work they do.[84]
- **Gender differentials in trends of engagement in child labour**
  There is an indication that the proportion of reported working girls (10-14 years) might have declined between 1972 and 1997, with no major decline for boys of that age group.[85] The decline observed in the formal engagement of girls between 10 and 14 years old in the labour force may be consistent with the changes in the Lebanese labour laws that raised the age of engagement in formal productive labour to 14 years. This may also be consistent with the differential social protectiveness of girls. The pattern for boys may reflect patriarchal norms, namely that boys may be called on at an early age to act as formal breadwinners to support family income if the need arises.

3.3.3 Needs, constraints and opportunities

Needs, constraints and opportunities will be addressed from the perspective of the family system, the school system, and the child labour system, and other societal factors.

The family system

The family is considered to be the nucleus of social order in Lebanon, as is the case with many countries in the region. Laws pertaining to marriage and divorce are delegated to religious authorities, thus the custody and norms of socialization of children are patterned after the current interpretation of Islamic and Christian religious doctrines. Such norms are patriarchal as indicated by Joseph in her work on the families in the region.[86]

Families whose children are at risk of dropping out from basic education and becoming child labourers in Lebanon have heads of household with lower educational achievement, as indicated by empirical findings.[87]

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[83] See Table 1.12.

[84] See Table 1.11.

[85] See Table 1.14.

[86] S. Joseph . (ed.) *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), Chapter 1.

[87] See Table 2.15.

The child labour system

- **Knowledge and skills**

  The majority of working children across the reviewed studies expressed interest in vocational training, mostly in their current type of work. This reflects practical needs for short-term survival strategies.

- **Condition of work and implications**

  Poor health and safety conditions prevail in small and medium-sized enterprises in Lebanon. Working boys and girls are exposed to many physical, chemical, safety, and ergonomic hazards and suffer from the pressure of long hours of work. Working children, however, have been shown to be vulnerable to these hazards, especially because their immune and defence systems are still not fully developed.

  As for the implications of child labour on the health of children, despite the paucity of international literature on the subject, there is evidence from several studies regarding the negative effects of child labour on social habits and the physical and mental health of children. The available evidence provides information on health of boys given the scarcity of studies that include girls.[88]

The educational system

- **Financial burden of basic education on families**

  There is an indication of demand for public schooling from the information available on reasons for leaving the school system.[89] However, this indication should be handled with caution since public schooling is associated with primarily low cost rather than quality education. Such information does not shed light on gender relevant topics but rather points out the gap of information on gender inequality related to the structure of the school system in Lebanon and consequently of the capacities of the school system to reduce gender inequality.

Table 3.6a: Total annual cost per student by school cycle and sector — Public sector

	Public Sector	
	LL	US$
Preschool	268 600 – 319 143	179 – 212
Elementary	315 044 – 340 336	210 – 227
Intermediate	422 843 – 474 653	282 – 316

Source: Adapted from statistics from ECRD and MENYS, (2000), cited in Chapter 2

[88] See Chapter 1.

[89] See Chapter 2.

Table 3.6b: Total annual cost per student by school cycle and sector — Subsidized private and private sectors

	Subsidized Private		Sector Private Sector	
	LL	US$	LL	US$
Preschool	554 266 – 619 065	369 – 413	1 538 832 – 1 839 470	1 065 – 1 226
Elementary	686 853 – 759 270	458 –506	1 822 668 – 2 149 119	1 215 – 1 432
Intermediate	NA	NA	2 139 819 – 2 473 818	1 426 – 1 650

Source: Adapted from statistics from ECRD and MENYS, (2000), cited in Chapter 2

Table 3.7 - Proportion of fees to cost of schooling by cycle and sector

	Public Sector	Subsidized Private Sector	Private Sector
	%	%	%
Preschool	29.86	60.09	76.64
Elementary	25.71	52.43	72.47
Intermediate	25.56		73.27

Source: Adapted from statistics from ECRD and MENYS, (2000), cited in Chapter 2

- **Performance of the formal educational system**

  As stated earlier, the curriculum at the national level was revised recently. However, the quality of training provided to teachers pertaining to the newly adopted curriculum is under question. In addition, the shift to the less costly and less equipped public system places a burden on the performance of the system at large.

  The role of the vocational training system as an intermediary between the educational system and the work place is yet to be developed. This affects re-entry into the system and, consequently, the ability to prevent child labour.

3.3.4 Constraints and opportunities in the larger environment (laws and attitudes)

Laws regarding basic education

There is a legal framework in Lebanon that ensures universality of elementary education. However, availability of and financial access to schools remain barriers, and attempts at ensuring financial access fall short of guaranteeing that all children can go to school. Thus, decisions to enter or exit the basic educational system are passed on to families.

Laws regarding child labour

There is a legal framework to eliminate child labour below 14 years of age in Lebanon. However, the mechanisms of enforcement are minimal, leaving the decision of sending a child under 14 years to work or school mostly to families. For those children between 14 and 18 years who are legally employed, mechanisms of enforcement are dependent on the monitoring of working conditions. Not enough information is available in this context. Moreover, for older children, dire economic need may be a factor that forces them to "bite the bullet" and not report or collaborate with rehabilitation efforts for fear of losing their source of income. Such children become trapped in the culture of child labour and are thereby groomed for enduring abusive labour as adults.

Legal implications of Lebanon's ratification of the Convention of the Rights of the Child, 1991

- Law No. 686 — introducing "compulsory" free elementary education for all Lebanese Children (1998).
- Raising minimum age for work from 8 to 13 completed years.
- Introducing health and safety clauses in the Labor Law regarding Juvenile workers.

The Lebanese government considers the elimination of child labour a national priority and there is a Memorandum of Understanding between the Lebanese government and IPEC. Moreover, work is proceeding on the development of an IPEC supported Time-Bound Programme to eliminate the worst forms of child labour in the country.

The above indicates a wide window of opportunity for programming at different sectors and by different public and private parties to combat child labour.

General employment

- 91.7 per cent of males and 8.3 per cent of females reported having a second job[90], indicating a need for more income.
- According to the CAS and UNICEF survey, the national rate of unemployment in Lebanon is 9.9 per cent and is highly concentrated in the younger generation (15-39 years).[91]

Regional disparities in economic development

Harb[92] reviewed development trends in the country and underscored regional disparities in Lebanon. Low socio-economic status areas are concen-

[90] CAS and UNICEF, op. cit., Table 2-11, p. 140.

[91] CAS and UNICEF, op. cit., Table 2-24, p. 148.

[92] Harb el-Kak: "Towards A Regionally Balanced Development", UNDP Conference on Linking Economic Growth and Social Development in Lebanon 11-13 January 2000, Beirut Lebanon.

trated in localities within the vulnerable periphery and within islands of poverty in the Beirut metropolitan area. Lebanon is a cultural mosaic where in a seemingly vulnerable traditional /potentially gender biased area such as Akkar, there are gradations of areas of gender inequality which are closely associated with the level of underdevelopment at the local level.[93] Baalbeck and Hirmel in the north-central region and Miniyeh Dynnieh south of Akkar are areas also identified by several studies to be underdeveloped regions characterized by poverty and shortages of basic health and educational services.[94]

Those vulnerable communities have populations at higher risk of receiving less education and have a child population at higher risk of becoming child labourers. In these communities, patriarchy is also probably at its most ingrained. Consequently, such situations define a pattern of child labour that is gender segregated in the productive and reproductive types of labour.

The permanent disruption of schooling is associated with its high cost and the need of parents for financial assistance.[95] As for the temporary disruption of schooling, it is related to the need to work.[96]

The recent establishment of separate governorates of Akkar and Baalbeck/Hirmel with the objective of boosting development is a major step whose benefits are yet to be realized.

3.3.5 Capacities of existing institutions and mechanisms

Poverty eradication/ social protection

Realizing gender equality for boys and girls in equal opportunity for access to quality formal education and a balanced elimination of child labour depends to a significant degree on poverty eradication. This will eliminate the need for children to work to supplement family income. Social protection for the unemployed in Lebanon is non-existent except for the health safety offered to the uninsured by the Ministry of Public Health.

Advocacy for gender equality

In Lebanon, current interventions towards realizing gender equality for boys and girls are manifested by the advocacy potential of women-centred NGOs and concerned others. Gender web pages have become a prevalent tool useful in gender advocacy among UN organizations as well as NGOs operating in Lebanon and the region. The IPEC gender-mainstreaming page focuses on mainstreaming gender in managing the fight against child labour.[97] It has links to gender related

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[93] *A General Study on Qaza Akkar: Realities, Problems, Priorities, Suggested Solutions* (in Arabic) unauthored , not dated (unpublished document courtesy of Dr. Ali Zein, UNICEF)

[94] Harb el-Kak, op. cit.; CAS and UNICEF op. cit; CAS: *Statistical Studies: Living Conditions among Households in the Baalbeck Hirmel Region* (Beirut,1997) in Arabic and French.

[95] CAS and UNICEF, op. cit., Table 4-21, p. 174.

[96] CAS and UNICEF, op. cit., Table 4-19, p. 173.

[97] http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/themes/gender/index.htm

publications. Recently, ESCWA along with other UN and regional agencies collaborated in launching a gender statistics web page.[98]

Systemic reform in the Lebanese educational system

A basic challenge to systemic reform is the deficient mechanisms to enforce current legal instruments pertaining to the realization of universal basic education and elimination of child labour. No ministerial decree was issued in conjunction with the Law No. 686 on compulsory free elementary education in Lebanon.

The Lebanese government recently initiated a review of the educational system. Chapter 2 outlined the set national objectives as follows: raising standards, improving infrastructure to ensure free education for all, and strengthening the link between the formal and the informal vocational training system. In addition, the plan recommended free and compulsory education to extend to age 14 (the minimum age for work). Application of such a comprehensive reform is expected to positively impact efforts to ensure that principles of gender equality are disseminated. In addition, such a reform would be expected to have an impact in reducing child labour in the country through increasing the access to basic education, improving scholastic performance and thus closing some gaps driving boys and girls away from the basic educational system to child labour.

Interventions to eliminate child labour in Lebanon

Appendix 2 lists national initiatives to eliminate child labour and activities to enhance collaboration between the Ministry of Labour and ILO. The National Committee to Eliminate Child Labour was established within the Ministry of Labour. However, it is not clear if the national initiatives focused on gender issues.

These are mainly associated with programmes and activities implemented by concerned governmental and non-governmental bodies within the framework of the ILO-IPEC programme in Lebanon. The concerned governmental bodies include the ministries of social affairs, labour and education. It is not clear if the national initiatives focused on gender issues.

3.4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions and recommendations are provided and subdivided along the same lines as the preceding section. This section includes recommendations for a project of research and intervention that could be linked to the national plan of action against child labour.

[98] ESCWA Gender Statistics Programme, (www.escwa.org.lb/gsp).

3.4.1 Information: the need for more data, regional data, indicators, more focused studies and multiple research methodologies

There is a degree of information on the composite topic of gender, child labour and education in Lebanon. More is needed, however, especially regarding sex-segregated data by region. Appendix 5 contains a set of suggested indicators. Such indicators are proposed to be of use to assess more clearly the magnitude of gender inequalities, thus providing information for preventive or rehabilitative interventions to assist children at risk of leaving the school system, identifying the magnitude and patterns of children's labour force involvement and, consequently, identifying policies and programme interventions.

In addition, more focused studies are needed using quantitative as well as qualitative methodologies to go in depth into the area around the decision-making process surrounding the entry and exit from both the educational and child labour systems. Qualitative methodologies are optimal for research on sensitive labour environments such as drug trafficking, sex work and for particular populations such as street children.

3.4.2 Themes and indicators

Using the working model as a backdrop, the following are recommended gender-sensitive themes and indicators that are relevant to the interactive nature of gender, child labour and education.

Suggested themes

1. Patterns of exit of the school system and entry into formal or informal child labour that are affected by gender roles and relations.
2. Gender factors related to decisions to exit the school system and factors related to decisions to enter the labour system.
3. Gender factors related to sustainability of girls and boys in the labour force at such an early age.
4. Gender factors related to sustainability of girls and boys in the school system.

Suggested indicators

The first set of indicators pertains to school enrolment and performance, and the second pertains to institutions.

Set 1— Gender sensitive education indicators pertinent to the interaction of gender, child labour and basic education

General enrolment by sex (preschool, elementary, intermediate/vocational) — general, by region, in relation to per capita monthly income, public/subsidized private/private school.

Enrolment by age and sex (preschool, elementary, intermediate/vocational) — general, by region, in relation to per capita monthly income, public/subsidized private/private school.

Enrolment by age, sex and grade (preschool, elementary, intermediate/ vocational) — general, by region, in relation to per capita monthly income, public/subsidized private/private school.

Retention by age and sex (preschool, elementary, intermediate/vocational) — general, by region, in relation to per capita monthly income, public/subsidized private/private school.

Retention by age, sex and grade (preschool, elementary, intermediate/vocational) — general, by region, in relation to per capita monthly income, public/subsidized private/private school.

Children at risk of school dropout by age and sex (preschool, elementary, intermediate/ vocational) — general, by region, in relation to per capita monthly income, public/subsidized private/private school.

Children at risk of school dropout by age, sex and grade (preschool, elementary, intermediate/vocational) — general, by region, public/subsidized private/private school.

Success rate in Brevet (4th Intermediate) government exam by sex — general, by region, in relation to per capita monthly income, public/subsidized private/private school.

Prevalence of school dropout by sex (by cycle where dropout occurred) - general, by region, in relation to per capita monthly income, public/subsidized private/private school.

Set 2 — Institutional related indicators pertinent to basic education relevant to the interaction between gender and child labour

Financial access to school: General, and regional variation in itemized expenditure on schooling per capita to families by cycle, by grade, by type of school (public, subsidized private, and private).

Logistical access to school: closeness to residence — perceived proximity for boys and for girls by region, public/subsidized private/private school system.

Cultural access to school: availability of culturally compatible schools for boys and girls by region, public/subsidized private/private school system.

Quality of schools: curriculum, instruction, facilities and amenities, parental involvement by cycle, region, public/subsidized private/private school system.

3.4.3 Gender inequalities in basic education and child labour in Lebanon

Based on the limited information available, there are indications of gender inequalities regarding schooling and the child labour systems in Lebanon. These relate to:

Male preference
There is a presence of male preference in access to quality education (private schools).

Differential exit for boys into the formal child labour system
Boys assume the patriarchal gender role of the breadwinner and leave school earlier and are overtly enrolled in the labour market despite their young age.

Differential exit for girls into the informal child labour system
Information about girls in the child labour force indicates a traditional patriarchal pattern of labour where girls go to the lower-level skill labour and are paid less.

3.4.4 Needs, constraints, and opportunities for girls and boys under 14 years old

Equal opportunity to basic education and equal protection from child labour in any of its forms are rights that need to be highlighted and disseminated to the general public.

Given the gender intertwined economic push of children away from school and pull into the labour force, there is a need for a broader perspective in the approach to address gender inequalities that includes addressing financial well-being of families as well as increasing awareness on the principles of gender equality in roles and relations as they affect access to education and involvement in child labour.

Poverty, large family size, and low level of educational attainment of heads of households are characteristic of families of child labourers as well as many of those children who repeat grades at school.[99] In the case of Lebanon, the North stands out as a region of high risk for pervasive child labour among both boys and girls. This region ranks near the top in underdevelopment in the country.

3.4.5 Constraints and opportunities in the larger environment

Legislation
Laws protecting boys and girls are present in Lebanon in relation to basic education and child labour; however, there is a deficiency in implementing them. A multi-faceted plan to address child labour involving the government and NGOs is being formulated, although it does not include a gender component.[100] This poses an additional constraint in the efforts towards ensuring gender equality in schooling and a balanced effort to eliminate child labour.

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[99] For retention see K. El-Hassan: "Relation of Academic History and Demographic Variables to Grade Retention in Lebanon", in *The Journal of Educational Research*, vol. 91: 5 May/June 1998.

[100] Osseiran H. (June 2003) in a presentation at the Faculty of Health Sciences at the American University of Beirut.

Poverty
Poverty is an important challenge facing any intervention. Without a development perspective, even those interventions with a rich gender component would be incomplete. This is amply clarified in the extensive literature on gender and development.

3.4.6 Institutional capacities

International agencies: *(Catalyzing change)*
The ILO has been instrumental in moving the child labour issue to the forefront of policy-making by means of assisting in the development of the statement of agreement regarding placing child labour as a national priority and contributing to drafting the Time-Bound Programmes. In addition, UNICEF's data on the state of children in Lebanon served as one major informational statistical resource base.

The following is a concept for a research and intervention project to combat and prevent child labour in Lebanon. The ideas contained here are for potential use in the national plan of action against child labour. They present an opportunity for further cooperation between the two major national interagency bodies dealing with child labour in Lebanon: the National Council for Childhood and the National Committee to Eliminate Child Labour. The aim would be to link action research with concurrent action. What is proposed, in other words, is a national collaborative project with a three-pronged mission: to detect, to curb and to prevent further proliferation of child labour in Lebanon.

The proposed initiative would be a national collaborative project to map child labour, targeting children below 18 years in child labour and those who are at risk of being drawn into child labour.

The broad objectives of the project would be:

(1) to examine the scope, risk factors and implications of child labour among boys and girls under 18 years in Lebanon.

(2) to intervene as soon as child labourers are identified in order to maximize their chances for rehabilitation. As for children entering the child labour system, rapid intervention upon identification would maximize their chances of being retained in the education system.

The research component of the project would consist of a constellation of surveys (baseline and follow-up), each tailored to the type of the economic sector under investigation and its particular mix of threats to children's rights — health, deprivation of education, harassment as well as gender inequality, among others.

The intervention component would vary with the involvement or risk of involvement of boys and girls in child labour. For children enduring labour (either those who are employed against the law under the age of 14 or who are under 18 and legally employed but are in hazardous or other work unsuited to their ages), the intervention component is proposed to have two targets: (1) the child and (2) the employer. For at-risk children, the intervention is proposed to

target (1) the individual child, (2) the family/social support environment, and (3) the school.

The collaborative nature of the proposed project would exist at the national level and involve international agencies. The proposed national stewards are: the Ministries of Labour, of Social Affairs, of National Education, Youth and Sports of Public Health, and of the Interior, and representatives of the civil society, including academia. The inclusion of the MNEYS serves to address issues related to exit and re-entry into the educational system. The involvement of MOPH would serve to address the health implication of child labour as revealed in the information available from recent research. The involvement of the Ministry of the Interior would be important to enforce the law and address violations that are detected during the research component of the project.

At the international level, ILO-IPEC and UNICEF are the proposed main international stewards in view of their mandates and prior experience in the area of child labour in Lebanon. A third proposed steward is UNDP that is already involved in the poverty reduction programme in Lebanon and is working in collaboration with the Ministry of Social Affairs. Consolidation of efforts of international agencies is a global trend that needs to be further manifested in Lebanon in combating a complex phenomenon such as child labour.

The above project is proposed to be multi-phased in view of its wide scope and depth. Phases are proposed to be constructed based on several factors: (1) choosing economic sectors to be investigated, (2) identifying the most vulnerable geographical areas, (3) considering the occupations that pose health hazards to boys and girls, and finally (4) considering the need for baseline information such as the case with girls enduring child labour. However, maintaining the research/intervention link throughout the phases remains the foundation of the proposed project.

Such an endeavour, if taken as a whole, may appear costly and complex. However, political will and careful planning that includes phasing-in would make the proposed project more palatable to decision-makers with budgetary worries.

This effort would build on lessons learned from several projects conducted in Lebanon by the ILO in collaboration with government agencies and NGOs. Prioritizing sectors, targeting specific populations and specifying topics (detection, assessing risk factors), mainstreaming genders, as well as the insertion of monitoring and evaluation tools are proposed to be ingredients for success. An expected consequence of successfully implemented phases would be life saving for boys and girls on an equal basis.

Public education: *(Preventing exit)*

The educational system in Lebanon is in a state of transition.[101] The reform is at its early stages and such an initiative presents a potential in the educational

[101] see Chapter 2.

system capabilities. A vocational training track, as Al Amin[102] indicated, has the potential to serve as a flexible transition from the formal system to the work force. This system is present at the intermediate educational level.

Ministry of Labour: *(Preventing entry into the child labour system)*
Increasing collaboration between the concerned ministries and agencies, mainly the Ministry of Labour and the ILO, and establishing a national committee to eliminate child labour represent an indication of the presence of institutional capabilities in Lebanon to address the problem of education and child labour. Such initiatives would provide groundwork to include gender equality issues in the national agenda.

Ministry of Social Affairs and NGOs: *(Working with families and vulnerable communities)*
The Ministry of Social Affairs with its centre for development services has been involved alongside NGOs in activities to address the problem of child labour.[103] These centres are also involved in literacy programmes and in counselling on family dysfunction. Such centres are amenable to implementing multiple component programmes addressing education, child labour and gender. NGOs have a great potential in addressing the intertwining realms of gender, education and child labour in their capacity as flexible institutions by design[104].

[102] See Al-Amin, op. cit.

[103] First hand information obtained by the author while working on another project from the director of the MOSA Burj Hammoud Center in the north eastern suburb of Beirut which include communities living in poverty.

[104] There is currently a serious effort to prevent school dropout by addressing the problems of students at risk holistically in the Saida area in south Lebanon.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFEL	Association du Foyer de l'Enfant Libanais
ALO	Arab Labour Organization
AUB	American University of Beirut
CAS	Central Agency of Statistics
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRI	Consultation and Research Institute
ECRD	Educational Centre for Research and Development
EFA	Education for All
ESCWA	Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia
GDI	Gender Development Index
GEI	Gender Empowerment Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
HDI	Human Development Index
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
LAER	Lebanese Association for Educational Studies
MNEYS	Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports
MOPH	Ministry of Public Health
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
NSSF	National Social Security Fund
PfD	Partners for Development — Civil Group
PHS	Population and Housing Survey
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labour

Appendix 1
ARAB AND INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS ON CHILD LABOUR RATIFIED BY LEBANON[1]

1. ILO Convention No. 90 (1962), which restricted night work for juveniles less than 18.
2. ILO Convention No. 59 (1977), which prohibited employment of juveniles less than 15 in an industrial establishment, except where family members own the business.
3. ILO Convention No. 77 (1977), which required a comprehensive pre-employment medical examination of all workers of less than 18 years of age in industrial or other establishments with follow-up check-ups until they are 21.
4. ILO Convention No. 29 (1977), which prohibited bonded work.
5. ILO Convention No. 105 (1977), which banned bonded work.
6. ILO Convention No. 127 (1977), which restricted the maximal weight that can be carried by women and juvenile workers.
7. ILO Convention No. 15 (1977), which prohibited the work of those less than 18 years of age on ships as fuel workers or their helpers.
8. ILO Convention No. 58 (1983), which prohibited the work of boys and girls less than 15 years on ships, except with family members.
9. ILO Convention 74 (1983), which required a certificate for those less than 18 to work on ships.
10. ILO Convention No. 136 (1999), which warned about the danger of benzene and prohibited the work of juveniles less than 18 in any operations with potential exposure to products that contain benzene, unless they were training and were under appropriate medical and technical supervision.
11. ILO Convention No. 182 (2001), which banned the worst forms of child labour, such as slavery and use of children for immoral or illegal activities.

[1] Year of ratification in parentheses.

12. ILO Convention No. 138 (ratified in June 2003), which specified the minimum age for employment at 14 years.
13. ALO Convention No. 1 (2000), which requires Arab states to promulgate legislations that list occupations, which are prohibited for those below 12. It also prohibits the use of juveniles, below 15, in industries and juveniles, below 17, in dangerous and unhealthy industries. Working hours for juveniles, below 15, were limited to 6.
14. ALO Convention No. 18 (2000), which adopted all international labour conventions, and set 15 years of age as a minimum for employment in industry. All juveniles, less than 18 years, were prohibited from work in dangerous industries.
15. The Convention on the Rights of Child (ratified in 1991), which affirmed the child's right to be protected from economic abuse and from work that is dangerous to health and physical or mental development.

Appendix 2
NATIONAL INITIATIVES TO ELIMINATE CHILD LABOUR

1. Parliamentary Committee for Children's Rights, which focuses on relevant legislations.
2. The Higher Council for Childhood, under the Ministry of Social Affairs, with representations from other ministries and national associations.
3. Closer collaboration between the Ministry of Labour and the ILO.
4. The National Committee to Eliminate Child Labour, under the Ministry of Labour.
5. The launching of a project in 1977, with UNICEF, to provide vocational training for working juveniles of 14-18 years of age.
6. Initiating an ILO-UNICEF project in 1999 to train health and social professionals on how to reform the examination procedures in a way that protects the child's rights.
7. Agreement with the ILO in 2000 to enhance the conditions that would allow the government to gradually eliminate child labour.
8. Establishing a committee by the Minister of Labour in 2001 to supervise and follow-up, in association with IPEC, on plans and programmes concerning child labour.

Appendix 3
LIST OF IDENTIFIED STUDIES ON WORKING CHILDREN IN LEBANON

Authors and title	Description	Location, Occupation, Number, Sex, and Age
Descriptive studies (no comparison groups)		
Medicine I students: *Understanding street children: A profile Assessment in Greater Beirut*. American University of Beirut (unpublished study, 1995).	73 street boys and girls interviewed in 1995.	Urban streets; Mixed occupations; N = 73 69 M : 4 F Mean 13 years
Ballout, A., Chalhoub, T.W., Ismat B. *Preliminary study on status of working children in Lebanon*, (Beirut, UNICEF, 1995) in Arabic.	103 working boys and girls from Beirut, Tripoli, Bekaa, and South in 1995.	Urban/rural; Mixed occupations; N = 103 Both sexes (no breakdown). 8 to 18 years
Sha'aban, H.: *Palestinian Children in the Lebanese Labor Market*, as reported by H. Hamdan in *National Report on Child Labour in Lebanon*, (Beirut, ILO-IPEC, 1997).	Working Palestinian boys and girls in refugee camps.	Not available
Diab, C.: "Child Labor in South Lebanon", in *An-Nahar* (Monday 9, July 2001), in Arabic.	613 working boys (< 18 years) from Saida (240), Tyre (212) and Nabatieh (161). Interviewed in workplace (January 1999 — April 2000)	Urban; mixed occupations. N = 613 All males. 10 to 17 years
CRI: *Lebanon: Child Labour on Tobacco Plantations: A Rapid Assessment*, (Geneva, ILO, 2002).	Rapid assessment of tobacco cultivation and involvement of boys and girls (< 18 years) in five key locations/ villages in South Lebanon studied over two months (July to September 2000). 128 boys and girls interviewed.	Rural; tobacco plantations N = 128 65 M : 63 F 3 to 17 years

Authors and title	Description	Location, Occupation, Number, Sex, and Age
Partners for Development — Civil Group: *Rapid Assessment Study of Boys and Girls Working in Textile and Shoe/Leather Sectors in the Northern and Southern Suburbs of Beirut* (Beirut, Association of Lebanese Industrialists, 2002).	Rapid assessment: Feb 11, 2002 — May 31, 2002. Interviewed 21 boys and girls from five textile and 10 shoe/leather industries. Also interviewed 18 parents and 15 employers, plus a walk-through of 8 industries. Representatives of governmental and non-governmental agencies interviewed.	Urban; textile and shoe industries N = 21 14 M : 7 F < 10 to > 14 years
Descriptive/ Analytical (with comparison groups)		
Nuwayhid, I. et al.: *Physical and mental health of male children (10-17 years old) working in small industrial workshops in urban settings in Lebanon-1997* (Beirut, Ministry of Social Affairs and UNICEF, 1998).	In May 1997, the characteristics and health of 78 working boys and 60 school boys were compared. The boys lived in the suburbs of Tripoli, Saida, and Beirut.	Urban; small industries N = 78 working All males. 10 to 17 years
Nuwayhid, I., Saddik, B. and Quba'a, R.: *"Working children in small industrial establishments in Tripoli and Akkar- Lebanon: Their work environment and work activities"*, Submitted to IPEC at the ILO, Geneva, November 2001.	In July 2001, 98 establishments visited: auto body repair (n = 41), mechanics (n = 27), oil and tires (n = 1), furniture painting (n = 10), barbershop (n = 16), restaurant (n =1), and butchery (n = 2). Noise and heat measured in all of them. 29 boys observed working each for 4 hours.	Urban; mostly small industries. N = 29 All males. 11 to 18 years
Saddik, B., Nuwayhid, I.: *Assessing Neurotoxicity of Working Boys and Girls between the Ages of 10-17 Years in Lebanon*, Submitted to ILO-IPEC, April 2003.	Investigated the association between exposure to solvents and neurobehavioral performance of 10-17 year old working boys in comparison to groups of non-exposed working boys and non-exposed boys at school. A convenience cross-sectional sample of 100 working boys (10-17 years) exposed to organic solvents at work, a positive control of 100 non-solvent exposed working boys, and a negative control of 100 non-working, non-exposed school boys were recruited to the study (2000-2001).	Urban; small industries (solvent exposure); Barbershops and butcheries (no solvent exposure) N = 100 each All males. 10 to 17 years.

This is a detailed description of the above listed studies.

1. Street children[1]

Medical students at the American University of Beirut interviewed a total of 69 street boys and four street girls in Greater Beirut in 1995. The work of these children included selling cigarettes, newspapers, cakes, or chewing gum; collecting or scavenging garbage; washing cars or car windshields; carrying suitcases or providing protection; begging; stealing; selling sex; and selling drugs.

Of these, 67 per cent started working between 7 and 15 years, with an average age of entry into work of 9. They came from the outskirts of Beirut or Tripoli (50.7 per cent) or shacks/ camps (49.3 per cent). They were identified as gypsies (49.3 per cent), Syrians (32.9 per cent) and Lebanese (17.8 per cent). All gypsies lived in tents.

Around 73 per cent come from families with both parents, 5 per cent from divorced families, and 17.9 per cent were orphans. Older kids reported taking care of the younger ones and 66 per cent reported having siblings working on the streets. They worked 10-11 hours a day, and their earnings were mostly (69 per cent) given to families or spent on basic immediate needs.

The vast majority (84 per cent) expressed interest in some kind of vocational training and 11.5 per cent would have liked to return to school.

Hamdan reported on a study of 50 beggar boys and girls conducted by UNICEF in 1995, which found that they were 7-12 years old and that only 22 per cent were Lebanese.

2. UNICEF 1995 preliminary study[2]

A total of 103 working boys and girls (8-18 years old; no breakdown by sex) from different occupations in Beirut, Tripoli, Bekaa, and the South were interviewed. Boys worked in car fixing and mechanics, blacksmith, carpentry, supermarkets, and restaurants, while girls worked in sewing and fruit packaging. The authors reminded us that the Lebanese law bans boys and girls from working in most of these occupations.

The Lebanese constituted 86 per cent of the sample and the rest were Arabs (Palestinians, Syrians, and Egyptians). Except for agriculture workers, most of the boys and girls characterized their work as permanent.

Around 64 per cent started work before the age of 13, and the lowest age of starting work was 7 years. Hence, 53 per cent did not finish elementary school, 46 per cent completed elementary education, and only 1 per cent completed intermediate studies.

The majority came from big families (49.5 per cent 4-6 children; 36.9 per cent >6 children) and lived with both parents (85 per cent); 11.6 per cent lived

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[1] Medicine I students: *Understanding street children: A profile assessment in Greater Beirut.* AUB, (unpublished study, 1995).

[2] A. Ballout, T.W. Chalhoub and B. Ismat B.: *Preliminary study on status of working children in Lebanon. Beirut*, (Beirut, UNICEF 1995). in Arabic.

with one parent, and 1 per cent lost both parents. In 77 per cent of the families, more than one child was working. Of the working boys and girls 59 per cent had no relationship to their employer, while 16 per cent worked with family members, 7 per cent with relatives, and 18 per cent with a neighbour or family friend. Half of them joined the workforce due to economic reasons, 33 per cent to gain a profession, and 14 per cent due to school failures.

Only 26 per cent worked for less than 8 hours a day (mostly in the agriculture sector), as compared to 36 per cent who worked 8-9 hours and 38 per cent who worked 10-13 hours. However, there were cases of boys and girls who slept in the workplace and could have worked even at night.

More than one third (35 per cent) expressed interest in changing profession, and 82 per cent asked for vocational training.

Two-thirds (63 per cent) received less than the minimum wage for labour. Specifically, 35 per cent received a maximum of one-third, 40 per cent from one to two thirds, and 25 per cent up to the minimum wage. The majority (65 per cent) were paid on a weekly basis and 11 per cent on a daily basis.

3. Palestinian children[3]

Twelve per cent of the Palestinian working children worked in excess of 10 hours a day, and 42 per cent worked 9-12 hours per day. The majority (95 per cent) earned less than US$ 190 a month (minimum wage), of whom 85 per cent earned less than US$ 160. Most of them worked as apprentices, car fitters, welders, construction and agricultural workers.

4. Small industrial shops 1997[4]

A total of 78 working boys were recruited from the suburbs of Beirut, Tripoli, and Saida in 1997. Nineteen worked in carpentry (24.7 per cent), 22 in mechanics (28.6 per cent), 27 in metal works (35.1 per cent), and 9 in other (11.7 per cent). On average, they were 14 years old, with 20.5 per cent between 10-12 years, 35.9 per cent between 13-14 years, and 43.6 per cent between 15-18 years.

They spent an average of 6.5 years at school (elementary level) and came from families where 84 per cent of fathers and mothers had elementary education or less. One third of fathers and 40 per cent of mothers were illiterate or functionally illiterate. More than 80 per cent of the fathers were employed in skilled or unskilled blue-collar jobs, military service, or simply unemployed. In close to half of the families (47 per cent), at least 50 per cent of the siblings were also working.

On average, these boys had been working for 1.7 years but still made much less than the minimum wage; 42 per cent less than LL 80,000 (US$ 53) a month,

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[3] H. Sha'aban: *Palestinian Children in the Lebanese Labor Market, as reported by H. Hamdan in National Report on Child Labour in Lebanon*, (Beirut, ILO-IPEC, 1997).

[4] I. Nuwayhid I. et al.: *Physical and mental health of male boys and girls (10-17 years old) working in small industrial workshops in urban settings in Lebanon- 1997* (Beirut: Ministry of Social Affairs and UNICEF).

40 per cent from LL 80,000 to 160,000 LL (US$ 106), and 18 per cent more than LL 160,000. Two thirds of the earnings were used to support family needs.

The majority (47.4 per cent) worked with employers not related to them, while 23.7 per cent worked with a friend or a neighbour, and 28.9 per cent with family or relative. Two thirds expressed high satisfaction with their work.

When compared to non-working and schoolboys, it was shown that working boys came from poorer and less educated families with a higher proportion of fathers in skilled and unskilled blue-collar jobs.

5. South Lebanon[5]

A total of 613 working boys (< 18 years) from Saida (240), Tyre (212) and Nabatieh (161) were interviewed in the workplace between January 1999 and April 2000. The working boys were distributed as follows: car maintenance (55 per cent), woodwork (9.6 per cent), aluminium (7.5 per cent), furniture painting (4.2 per cent), and other less dangerous shops (23.7 per cent) such as barber shops, grocery shops, or bakeries. The occupational distribution of the boys was not strikingly different than their fathers, i.e., skilled or unskilled blue-collar occupations.

All workplaces were small enterprises with only 5.3 per cent employing more than five adults (average two workers per enterprise). Of these workplaces, 61.3 per cent employed one boy, 22 per cent two boys, 12 per cent 3 boys, and 4.7 per cent 4 - 7 boys. The boys ranged between 10 and 17 years of age, with 33 per cent aged less than 15 years.

Only 238 (38.8 per cent) received intermediate education. The fathers were less educated overall, although some (5.3 per cent) had secondary or higher education.

The majority of the boys (71.9 per cent) were Lebanese, followed by Palestinians (24.1 per cent) and others (3.9 per cent). Most of them came from the poor and old parts of the cities or from the refugee camps, largely from big families (41.2 per cent from families of 4-6 members and 55.8 per cent from families with >6 members). Three per cent of the boys were actually the main breadwinners in their families, but again only 6.3 per cent received the minimum wage of LL 300,000 (US$ 200) or more per month. More than 35 per cent received less than one third of the minimum wage, 34.6 per cent received one to two thirds, and 20.7 per cent two thirds to minimum wage.

Boys were totally unrelated to their employers in 38 per cent of the cases, while 25.6 per cent worked with relatives, 9.9 per cent with neighbours, and 25.7 per cent with a friend of the family. A majority (85.5 per cent) reported satisfaction with their job, with 85 per cent expressing interest in vocational training in the same job versus 22 per cent preferring training in another job.

[5] C. Diab: “Child Labor in South Lebanon”, in An-Nahar (Monday 9, July 2001), in Arabic.

6. Tobacco plantations[6]

A total of 128 boys and girls (63 F, 65 M) were interviewed. Table A3-1, which lists their age distribution, reveals that 18 per cent of them were less than 10 years old. Some were even 6 years or less, but that is not extremely surprising because tobacco cultivation is a family business. It is estimated that there are 13,293 tobacco farmers (families) in South Lebanon with five members per family. Assuming that 33.7 per cent are aged 5-19, then it is estimated that 22,400 boys and girls are working in tobacco cultivation (7,400, 7,400, and 7,600 in the age groups 5-9, 10-14, and 15-19 years, respectively). The findings of the report were not broken by sex.

Table A3-1: Age distribution of 128 boys and girls working in tobacco plantations in the South

Age	%
3-6	5.5
6-9	12.5
9-12	21
12-15	42.2
15-17	18.8

The nature of this kind of farming explains why most boys and girls start helping their parents at an early age (34 per cent between 3-6 years) for no pay. The work is seasonal and most demanding in late spring and the summer where the whole family harvests tobacco leaves, and threads them in special steelheads for drying. All boys and girls are involved in threading, but productivity is expected to increase with age. Older boys and girls also help in seedling and field cultivation.

The seasonal nature of the work allows the majority to stay at school. Only 7 per cent drop out of school, mostly after elementary school, and 55 per cent are in intermediate and secondary classes. Around 57 per cent, however, note that work had a negative impact on their educational attainment and more than 60 per cent feel it deprived them of leisure time. It is reported that in some villages with heavy tobacco farming, schools close for a few weeks to allow boys and girls to help their parents in the fields.

Less than one third (30.5 per cent) work 4 hours a day during the production season, while 47 per cent work 6 hours a day. One-third work 88-152 days (3-5 months) a year, while 30 per cent work 152-226 days per year. In contrast to other working boys and girls, only 11 per cent reported that they liked this kind of work.

[6] CRI: *Lebanon: Child Labor on Tobacco Plantations: A Rapid Assessment* (Geneva, ILO-IPEC, 2002).

The tobacco farming families are poorly educated (70 per cent of fathers and 80 per cent of mothers have elementary education) and live in poor under-resourced villages. The average income ranges between 10 million and 20 million Lebanese pounds a year for a family of seven members. In three of the five villages visited, more than 35 per cent of the families make less than 10 million pounds a year.

7. Textile and shoe industry 2002[7]

Three boys and seven girls working in five textile industries and 11 boys working in 10 shoe industries were interviewed in 2002. Only two, both males, were younger than 10 years, and eight boys and four girls were 10-13 years.

This study has a small sample, so numbers and percentages that follow are reported for completion but should be interpreted with extreme caution.

Approximately three-quarters (73 per cent) lived with their parents, but 24 per cent had lost their father. The boys and girls belonged to large families with an average of 5.7 members per family (43 per cent with 4-6; 34 per cent with 7-9; and 24 per cent with at least 11) and 3.2 persons per room.

The girls joined the labour force at a later age than the boys, with 86 per cent of them leaving school in the intermediate or secondary phase while 69 per cent of the boys left in elementary or did not even go to school. Similar to other studies, they came from poorly educated families where 44 per cent of the fathers and 33 per cent of the mothers were illiterate.

Seventy-one per cent of the boys and girls started working between the ages of 7 and 13 years (average 12.6 years) and 21 per cent worked before leaving school. Boys and girls worked an average of 11 and 9.5 hours a day, respectively.

The majority (86 per cent) were paid on a weekly basis and 90 per cent shared their earnings with their families. However, the mean monthly salary was less than the minimum wage of LL 300,000 (US$ 200) a month, with a mean of LL 250,000 (US$ 166), distributed as follows: 33 per cent less than LL 200,000 (US$ 133), 59 per cent paid LL 200,000 to 300,000 (US$ 133 — US$ 200), and 16 per cent more than LL 400,000 (US$ 266). Boys and girls working in the textile industry (mostly girls) earned a bit more than boys working in the shoe industry.

8. Small establishments using solvents 2001-2002[8]

A total of 100 boys working in enterprises with potential exposure to solvents (spray painting, car mechanics, furniture painting) were compared to 100 boys working in enterprises with no exposure to solvents (barbershops, butcheries,

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[7] Partners for Development – Civil Group: *Rapid Assessment Study of Boys and Girls Working in Textile and Shoe/Leather Sectors in the Northern and Southern Suburbs of Beirut* (Beirut, Association of Lebanese Industrialists, 2002).

[8] B. Saddik, B.and I. Nuwayhid.: *Assessing Neurotoxicity of Working Boys and Girls between the Ages of 10-17 Years in Lebanon*, Submitted to ILO-IPEC, April 2003.

bakeries) and another 100 non-working boys attending school. All were aged 9 to 17 years.

Table A3-2 shows that the solvent-exposed boys were different from the two other groups. Compared to the other two groups, exposed working boys left school earlier and came from bigger families, where siblings and parents were less educated. Interestingly, the differences between the second group of working boys and schoolboys were minimal.

Table A3-2: A comparison between working boys exposed to solvents, working boys not exposed to solvents, and school boys

	Working Exposed N=100	Working — NE N=100	Students N=100	P value
Education of Child				
Mean years (SD)	3.8 (1.9)	6.3 (1.9)	7.6 (2.5)	<0.001
Number of Siblings				
2 — 5	31	48	49	
6 — 9	52	45	39	
10 — 16	17	7	13	
Mean (SD)	7.3 (2.6)	6 (2.3)	6 (2.4)	0.001
Education of Siblings				
Mean years (SD)	6.8 (2.9)	9.6 (2.3)	10.3 (2.7)	<0.001
Education of father				
Mean years (SD)	3.4 (2.8)	5.3 (3.4)	5.7 (4.0)	<0.001
Father's occupation				
Laborer	40	18	8	
Self-employed	38	35	50	
Other	22	47	42	
Father currently working				
Yes	74	86	90	
Education of mother				
Mean years (SD)	2.8 (2.9)	5.2 (3.8)	6.2 (4.0)	<0.001
Mother's occupation				
Housewife	96	94	92	
Employed	4	6	8	

The exposed working boys were more illiterate or educationally disadvantaged. More than three-quarters (77 per cent) self-reported, when asked, that they were illiterate or barely got by, as compared to 36 per cent of the non-exposed working group and 5 per cent of the school boys. The same trend was seen when asked about understanding of things read (30 per cent vs. 82 per cent vs. 92 per cent), understanding things shown on TV (70 per cent vs. 100 per cent vs. 100 per cent), and following Arabic sub-titles on TV (26 per cent vs. 72 per cent vs. 90 per cent).

The nature of the job affected the number of hours they worked a day. The exposed working boys (car mechanics spray painting, furniture painting) worked an average of 10.4 hours (37 per cent from 7 to 9 hours and 63 per cent from

10 to 16 hours) as compared to the non-exposed working group (90 per cent in barbershops) who worked an average of 11.9 hours (8 per cent between 7 and 9 hours and 92 per cent between 10 and 16 hours). The first group has been working for a longer duration (3.7 vs. 2.4 years).

Appendix 4
WORKPLACE HAZARDS

Table A4-1: Observations about workplaces where boys and girls work in Lebanon

Study	Occupation/ workplace	Observations/ Potential hazards
Medicine 1 (1995)	Street	Injuries (vehicles/ bullying/ fighting) Air pollution Weather elements
Ballout et al. (1995)	Mixed (urban/ rural, small industries, agriculture, groceries).	32%: mechanical, heat, and chemical hazards 25%: heat, humidity, sub-optimal light and ventilation, noise 48% find their work exhausting and 24% difficult Chemical hazards
CRI (2002)	Tobacco plantations	Small, dirty and dusty work areas (for threading and drying) Weather elements/ insect and snake bites (field activities) Injuries (field and while threading) Chemical hazards (including tobacco leaf nicotine)
PfD (2002)	Textile and shoe industry	29% reported an injury 52% noise 38% odours 81% repetitive motion 86% cold in winter 76% hot in summer Chemical hazards
Nuwayhid et al. (1998)	Small industrial establishments (mechanics, painting, carpentry, auto body repair)	Most of them: Lack of sanitary hygienic facilities Poor to fair general ventilation and illumination Poor general hygiene and housekeeping Chemical hazards Noise Injury/ safety hazards

Table A4-1: (cont.)

Study	Occupation/ workplace	Observations/ Potential hazards
Nuwayhid et al. (2001)	Auto body repair, mechanics, oil and tires, furniture painting, barbershop, restaurant, butchery	64%: Fair-to-poor illumination 90%: Fair-to-poor noise (the main source of noise was mostly from outside (traffic, nearby shops) Ventilation was fair-to-poor in the majority of shops, especially the furniture-painting and auto body repair. No spray booths existed Vibrating tools in 8 out of 10 furniture-painting shops

Appendix 5
AVAILABILITY OF SEX-SEGREGATED DATA

Table A5-1: Availability of sex segregated data on indicators of coverage and effectiveness of the basic education system in Lebanon in relation to some risk factors of under performance and dropout

	Indicator available	General	By region	Family income per capita	Enrolled in public schools	Enrolled in subsidized private schools	Enrolled in private schools
Enrolment — general		1.1			2.1	2.1	
Enrolment by age		1.1, 2.3					
Enrolment by cycle of basic education	2.10 by sector	2.3					
Enrolment by grade							
Retention — general							
Retention by age							
Retention by grade		2.4					
Retention by grade by age							
Success rate in 6th elementary							
Success rate in Brevet (4th Intermediate) government exam							

Table A5-1: (cont.)

	Indicator available	General	By region	Family income per capita	Enrolled in public schools	Enrolled in subsidized private schools	Enrolled in private schools
Success rate in Brevet school exams							
Prevalence of children at risk of leaving school							
Prevalence of dropout	By cycle E8	1.1					
Prevalence of dropout by age		1.1					
Prevalence of dropout by grade where dropout occurred							
Distribution of retention by years of retention	2.6 preschool elementary intermediate						
Failure	By sector 2.11						
Failure by cycle		2.7					
Causes of not enrolling							
Causes of dropout							
Net enrolment ratio		National 3.3					

Table A5-2: Availability of sex segregated data on child labour

	Available	General	Region	Family income/ per capita	Family size	Female HHH	Employment status of HHH
Age of entry of full-time labour		1.6					
Age of entry by sector							
Education at entry as full-time labour							
Education at entry by sector							
Income from child labour income from child labour by sector							
Health profile of children engaged in child labour							
Health profile of children in child labour by sector							
Reasons for engaging in child labour							
Reasons for engaging in child labour by sector							
Age distribution of full time child labour		1.8, 13	1.5				
Age distribution of full time child labour by sector							
Sectoral distribution of child labour		1.10					

Appendix 6
GENDER, EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOUR — INGREDIENTS OF A WORKING MODEL — A REVIEW OF AVAILABLE LITERATURE

The aims of this review are to briefly scan the general literature on the composite topic of the interplay of gender with education and child labour, to arrive at ingredients of a working model to be used to organize further analysis, and to serve as a background to view the situation in Lebanon.

Definition of terms

Gender

Gender "…refers to the socially constructed relationship between women and men and the attributes, behaviour and activities each is expected to adhere to. Gender differences are determined and reinforced by cultural, historical, ethnic, religious and economic factors. Gender is often wrongly conflated with "sex", which refers to the biological differences between women and men".[1]

'Gender refers to the social differences and relations between boys and girls, women and men that are learned and vary widely within and between cultures and change over time.'[2]

Gender for purposes of this study is defined as the set of social relations between women and men, boys and girls (manifested by knowledge, attitudes and practices) at the individual, family, community and general societal levels. Such social relations are formed by a set of values and norms of behaviour. They take the form of social roles and practices. Such pattern of social relations acts independently as well as in interaction with other forms of social relations to determine the pattern of allocation of resources at the individual, family/household, community and the general societal levels.

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[1] ESCWA Gender Statistics Programme www.escwa.org.lb/gsp

[2] N. Haspels and B. Suriyasarn: *Promotion of gender equality in action against child labour and trafficking: A practical guide for organization* (Bangkok, ILO-IPEC, ROAP SRO-Bangkok, 2003), p. 3.

Gender may be expressed in terms of a set of anthropological, sociological, behavioural perspectives as well as in terms of an economic/ resource allocation perspective. Gender equality is in essence a universally acknowledged social goal that is upheld by the United Nations through various instruments.

Gender equality for boys and girls is viewed from three perspectives: (1) general social beliefs, attitudes and practices in the prevailing culture, school and work environment that shape the gender role/responsibility/needs and define constraints and opportunities available; (2) the family as the earliest agent of socialization of the girl or the boy, the site where cultural values regarding gender equalities are transmitted and applied in the form of a pattern of gender relations; and (3) the child's perspective — beliefs, attitudes and practices regarding her/his gender roleresponsibility/needs and views on constraints and opportunities available to her/him.

Education

For purposes of this review, the scope of this concept focuses on basic education — preschool, elementary, intermediate in conformity with the Lebanese law, which prohibits child labour at an age less than 14 years, which is on average the age when boys and girls are in basic education.

Child labour

The definition of child labour in Lebanon presented in Chapter 1 will be adopted. It includes paid or unpaid work that is harmful to boys and girls physically, mentally, socially and morally. It covers children less than 14 years of age. This is also consistent with the Lebanese minimum age for child labour in the labour law.

Three perspectives will be used to address the composite topic of gender, education and child labour: the child — girl/boy, the family — mother/father or other caregivers, and society which includes the education and child labour systems.

The child's perspective — sex typing, gender identity

Bigler[3] describes sex typing in a conceptual and methodological review of issues in measuring sex typing among boys and girls "… to denote children's beliefs about the relevance of gender to various domains" (e.g. occupations, activities etc). Gender role attitudes refers to "…children's beliefs about stereotypically masculine and feminine roles and traits." Bigler underscored the importance of measurement methodology regarding sex typing among boys and girls namely "…conceptually and operationally distinguishing among (a) the target of sex typing (i.e. self vs. others), (b) the form of sex typing (e.g. knowledge vs. attitudes), and (c) the domain of sex typing (e.g., occupations, activities, etc.)".

[3] R. Bigler,: "Conceptual and Methodological Issues in The Measurement of Children's Sex Typing", in *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 1997, vol. 21, pp. 53-69.

There is evidence that perception of gender differences is a dynamic phenomenon in childhood. Evidence from literature on perception of gender roles among boys and girls reveals the changing phases where boys and girls realize the role of biology and the role of environment in shaping such roles. The extensive review of literature and the empirical study presented by Marianne Taylor of the University of Michigan is a case in point that contributes to the above evidence.[4] Younger boys and girls tend to focus on the biological determinants of differences in gender roles in contrast to older boys and girls and women and men. This is consistent with the literature on the topic.[5]

The matter of gender identity realized by a given perception of gender role assumes policy relevance when aspirations of boys and girls for their careers are shown to mirror current stereotypical gender roles in their societies. This assumes a special significance in the context of this review when boys and girls become engaged at an early phase in their lives in work (paid, unpaid) and under varying circumstances (personal volition shaped by cultural values or within an abusive environment). One illustration is the finding from a study conducted among 92 school boys and girls in Botswana (49 boys and 43 girls) between 8 and 13 years of age regarding occupational choices that revealed there was a consensus of a perception 'that men are best suited to perform professional and prestigious jobs'. Such perception appeared to have influenced career choices of the boys and girls in the study population.[6]

Gender equality in the family

Patriarchy embodies a pattern of social division of labour that is prevalent in the Middle East. Such a division of labour is projected within the family where the man who is or should be the major decision-maker defines the pattern of socialization of boys and girls. Joseph[7] tackles this topic in relation to the Arab world. Patriarchal family values are expected to maintain their hegemony as the prime values instilled in the process of socialization of boys and girls unless mellowed by education or financial independence of women that increases the span of women's participation in decision-making in the family, thus providing the

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[4] M. Taylor: 'The Development of Boys and Girls' Beliefs about Social and Biological Aspects of Gender', in *Child Development*, 1996, vol. 67, pp. 1555-1571.

[5] See D. Ullian: "The development of conceptions of masculinity and femininity", in B. Lloyd and J. Archer (Eds.), *Exploring sex differences* (London: Academic Press, 1976); J. Smith and G. Russell: "Why do males and females differ? Boys and girls' beliefs about sex differences", in *Sex Roles*, 1984, vol. 11, pp. 1111-1120,cited in Taylor 1996 op. cit.; J. Antill: "Parents' beliefs and values about sex roles, sex differences, and sexuality: Their sources and implications" in P. Shaver and C. Hendrick (Eds.), *Review of personality and social psychology: Sex and gender* (Vol. 7, pp.294-328). (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1987) cited by Taylor, 1996 op. cit.

[6] Mwaba, K. 1993 Batswana Children's Career Aspirations and Views of Sex Roles. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 133:4, 587-588.

[7] S. Joseph (ed.): *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

necessary role model. Such family values will be expected to prevail in the absence of external governmental regulation and quality schooling in the early formative years favouring gender equality. Such family values constitute elements of decisions to shape girls and boys' scholastic aspirations, their pattern of exit from the educational system and the pattern of entry into the child labour force.

There are a host of topics in the literature regarding socialization of boys and girls. Witt[8] reviewed the literature on parental influence on socialization of boys and girls to gender roles. She advocated the benefits of androgynous gender role orientation of parents. A mother who engages in repair within the house or a father who engages in housework has a positive impact on his/her daughters and sons. Witt underscored evidence from the literature that 'parents who espouse an egalitarian attitude regarding gender roles are more likely to foster this attitude in their children'.[9]

There is a growing literature on gender-based violence in the family. Such violence reflects a highly charged disequilibrium in the family and usually assumes the mask of patriarchy when husbands hit or insult or inflict other forms of abuse on their wives, and wives accept it as a form of discipline or as part of the scope of authority of the husband. Many hide behind a religious banner, namely that of Islam. Gender-based violence starkly demonstrates male preference when a mother accepts that a brother hits his sister or insults her from his position as a brother in the family. Such topic is of vital relevance to Lebanon as well as to the topic of basic education and child labour given the position of the family as a decision maker in the entry to or exit from basic education and entry to the child labour system. A family where gender-based violence is rampant represents a flagrant violation of gender equality at the epicentre of the socialization process of a girl or a boy.

A consensus appears in the literature reviewed from several perspectives on the negative effect of domestic violence on boys and girls in the family. A multidisciplinary perspective is illustrated by the work of Hester, Pearson and Harwin (1999) as reviewed by Hudson (2000) and Calder (2001). Work from nursing is exemplified by Stiles (2002), Mille (2002); Martin (2002), Kitzmann et al. (2003) present evidence to that effect from clinical psychology. Offering evidence from a study conducted on daughters and sons of women victims living in domestic violence refuges in the U.K., Webb et al. (2001) showed that the daughters and sons have unmet mental health needs. Martin presented a review of evidence on the developmental problems facing boys and girls experiencing

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[8] S. Witt: "Parental Influence on Boys and Girls' Socialization to Gender Roles", in Adolescence, summer 1997, vol. 32:126, pp. 253-259.

[9] See A. Lundy, and J.A. Rosenberg.: "Androgyny, masculinity, and self-esteem", in *Social Behavior and Personality*, 1987, vol. 15, pp. 91-95; Shaw, J.S.: "Psychological androgyny and stressful life events", in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1983, vol. 43, pp. 145-153; A.B. Heilbrun,: "Gender differences in the functional linkage between androgyny, social cognition, and competence", in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1981, vol. 41, pp. 1106-1114.

domestic violence. Such problems include (1) behavioural problems, substance abuse and poor school performance; (2) emotional problems including anxiety, depression and insecurity; (3) lower verbal skills, lower quantitative skills and poor socializing skills among other cognitive problems faced by boys and girls exposed to domestic violence; and (4) the increased vulnerability of such boys and girls to hospitalization. Moreover, Martin underscored evidence on gender differences among boys and girls in their response to such violence. "Boys have been shown to demonstrate more frequent problems and externalize their distress by hostility. Boys are more likely to become aggressive…Girls show evidence of more internalized problems; they are more likely to become depressed, passive, clinging, and withdrawn and to suffer from low self-esteem. Girls also are more likely to express somatic complaints."[10]

Gender would fit in as a factor affecting allocation decisions as demonstrated by Emerson and Souza in a working paper on Brazil. Gender bias was defined as the variation of allocation decisions at two levels: the parental, and the child. Findings revealed varying patterns by social characteristics of each parent related differently to the labour status of boys and girls, and that relationship also varied with the gender of their daughters and sons: "For children's labour status, the father's education, non-labour income and the age at which he first began working in the labour market has a greater impact on the labour status of sons than of daughters, while the opposite is true for mother's education, non-labour income and the age at which she first began working in the labour market, which have a greater impact on the labour status of daughters than of sons. In addition, when it comes to schooling decisions, both fathers and mothers' education and non-labour income appear to have a greater positive impact on sons than on daughters."[11]

Jensen used a framework on child labour based on economic theory of household allocation to schooling, labour and time. Schooling was used as an investment by the family. Determinants of child labour as well as the child's work around the house and schooling are "...the tradeoffs between the household members" allocation of time to different activities and the competing desires for the future benefits of education (greater income etc.) and current consumption desires (or needs). Any factors that affect the benefits or costs of education or constraints faced by the household will affect the amount of schooling the child

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[10] P. Jaffe et al: "Domestic violence and high conflict divorce: developing a new generation of research for children", in Graham-Bermann S, Edleson J, eds., *Domestic Violence in the Lives of Children: The Future of Research, Intervention, and Social Policy*, (Washington, DC, American Psychological Association, 2001 cited in S. Martin: 'Children Exposed to Domestic Violence: Psychological Considerations for Health Care Practitioners', in *Holistic Nursing Practice*, 2002, vol. 16, pp. 7-15; H Steiger and Z. Matthews: "Psychiatric trauma and related psychopathologies", in: Treating Adolescents. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1996); cited in Martin, op. cit.

[11] P. Emerson and A. Souza: *Bargaining over Sons and Daughters: Child Labor, School Attendance and Intra-Household Gender Bias in Brazil*, Department of Economics, Vanderbilt University, Working Paper No. 02-W13, May 2002.

receives and may also affect the amount of time the child spend working.[12]

Cultural, socio-economic factors and gender inequality among children

Gender inequality among boys and girls like that of the adult men and women is by definition configured by cultures that shape the basic social relations among individuals. Patriarchal societies in general, including the Arab countries, determine a pattern of segregation of labour through gender where women go into more reproductive unpaid labour or productive labour in informal economies while men engage primarily in productive labour in formal as well as informal economies. In general, a large proportion of adult women in the Arab region have a low participation rate in the formal labour force or productive economic roles and they engage in reproductive roles — unpaid labour in the home.[13] Such a fabric affects the general social attitude towards the value of schooling of boys and girls as well as decisions on their engagement in work per se and the type of work they are engaged in. Another interrelated shaper is the structure and condition of the economy and demography: poverty and displacement act as driving forces to engage children in assuming adult roles and responsibilities, which will be patterned on the gender division of labour prevalent in a particular culture or subculture (urban/rural, centre/periphery).

[12] R. Jensen: *Development of indicators on child labour: A report to the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour at the International Labour Organization* (Geneva, ILO, 2000).

[13] UNDP Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, *Arab Human Development Report 2002, Creating Opportunities for Future Generations* (2002), p. 98.

Gender issues (areas of critical concern) worldwide recognized by the Beijing Platform [14]

- Women and poverty.
- Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to education and training.
- Inequalities and inadequacies in and unequal access to health care and related services.
- Violence against women.
- Effects of armed conflict, or any conflict, including foreign occupation, on women.
- Inequality in economic structures and policies and unequal access to resources.
- Inequality in power sharing and decision-making at all levels.
- Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women.
- Lack of respect for and inadequate promotion and protection of women's human rights.
- Stereotyping of women and inequality in women's access to and participation in all communication systems, especially in the media.
- Gender inequalities in the management of natural resources and in safeguarding the environment.
- Persistent discrimination against and violation of the rights of the girl-child.

Gender issues in the Arab countries in a global context as identified by UN agencies can be used as a context in which to place gender issues in Lebanon at large in view of a lack of available specific information.

[14] Source: www.escwa.org.lb in the gender issues section.

Selected gender issues in the Arab region that were identified by participants of regional workshops sponsored by ESCWA [15]

- Unfavourable labour market conditions due to low economic activity and cultural stereotypes that prefer males.
- Sexual division of labour within the home and market place (women segregation and job feminisation).
- Violence against women.
- Absence of measures curtailing child labour.

Child education and child labour

Post [16] reviewed four books on the topic of education and child labour in the context of the ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour adopted in June 1999. The author observed the presence of a paradox in understanding the interrelations between child labour and education in the discipline of comparative education: "…work preventing school access or success is not, in itself, viewed as inherently intolerable. Nor is it to be prioritized for immediate eradication."

In the matter of the relationship between work by boys and girls, child labour and children's development, Post (2001) underscored the contribution of Boyden, Ling, and Myers (1998) in their attempts to "...reframe popular thinking about the relation between children's work and children's development" along the line of the content of Convention No. 182 as follows:

…Work by children is typically estimated by national ministries of labour: the instruments used often record only those activities that generate or add value to a product with a market valuation (an "economic" product). Feminists long ago noticed that this way of defining work undervalues domestic labour by women. The same critique is now brought to the measurement of children's work by Boyden, Ling, and Myers. From a child-centred perspective, work done by boys and girls can demand our concern or our respect, or its protection or elimination, depending on the ultimate outcome of the work and on the child's best interests given the available alternatives. But, whatever our stance may be, it must not be limited by the technical boundaries of survey instruments. Work done by girls to maintain the family or care for siblings is just as much "work" as the labour they bring to markets or farms. It is just as demanding of respect; it also may be equally deserving of protection or eradication. [17]

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[15] Based on issues identified by countries participating in regional workshops. For further details refer to the www.escwa.org.lb in the section on gender issues.

[16] D. Post: "Education and the Child Labor Paradox Today", *Comparative Education Review*, 2001, vol. 45, no. 1.

[17] Post, op. cit., p. 133.

Gender and basic education for children

At the World Conference for Education for All in Jomtien, 1990, a target was set to achieve universal elementary education by 2015[18] and to eliminate gender disparities in elementary education.

As an agent of socialization of the child in addition to the family, basic education is one channel through which the child's perception of gender role/responsibility/needs is formulated. Basic education (elementary, intermediate) is relevant in the context of areas of high prevalence of child labour. It assumes a similar role as secondary education among communities and societies with a high prevalence of secondary school enrolment by being a point of entry to the work environment. Gordon provides an example from Zimbabwe where the school system had not been changed since colonial times and inequitable gender role identification was prevalent.[19]

Gender and child labour

Gender identity contributes to shaping the domain of child labour. In situations of inequality, boys would go for the paid labour and girls for the unpaid domestic work. Another channel of development of gender identity is the child labour work environment. The work environment immerses the child within a de facto educational kiln where the girl or boy assumes the part of the female or male adult identity or becomes subjected to extensive abuse in servitude or bonded labour, or a mix in the unpaid labour within a family context.

Child labour is related to poverty and perverse social conditions.[20] Gender-related violence fits within the framework of "perverse social conditions" at the family level represented by gender relations among parents and other adult caregivers in nuclear and extended families as well as gender relations among peers. The second level is manifested by the extent of gender inequality at the larger social environment and especially in the workplace.

Hasnat[21] concluded a review on international trade and child labour in developing countries by indicating that "…child labour is deeply rooted in poverty and social customs". The author underscored the need to change attitudes through literacy and education and not through trade sanctions. ILO-IPEC gives priority to targeting girl domestic workers in interventions because their

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[18] Department for International Development: *Children out of School: Issues* (A Report), (London, DFID, 2001).

[19] R. Gordon: "'Girls cannot think as boys do': socializing children through the Zimbabwean school system", in *Gender and Development*, 1998, vol. 6(2), pp. 1364-9221.

[20] L. Lopez-Calva: "Child Labor: Myths, Theories and Facts". Journal of International Affairs, 2001, vol. 55:1, 59-73; R. Anker and J. Melkas: Economic incentives for children and families to eliminate or reduce child labour, (Geneva, ILO, 1996).

[21] B. Hasnat: "International Trade and Child Labor", Journal of Economic Issues, June 1995, vol. 29:2, pp. 419-426.

work is often "invisible" and their problems and survival strategies are different from those of working boys.[22]

From a behavioural ecological perspective, with education and child labour regarded as dependent variables, gender would fit in as a contextual element, an element shaped by values of the society and dictated to individuals through norms of behaviour. Gender would fit in two ways — the low status of girls who don't need that much education, and their adult role obligation to support families in cases of poverty. There is also the gender role of males as the major breadwinners, thus the pressure on the boy child to practice an adult role early on in a pattern similar to his gender identity formed by social norms.

Anker and Melkas[23] cited evidence on the interrelation between child labour and child education with fertility[24] and economic development. "Couples in poor households have more children, partly because the existence of child labour reduces the cost of having children. High fertility, in turn, in a vicious cycle, increases the need for the income provided by child labour; it also reduces education levels of the future generation, thereby helping to ensure that future generations will have high fertility since parents' education is one of the most important determinants of fertility. The transition from child labour to children largely attending school is seen by many population specialists as the central nexus causing the transition to lower fertility."

Four other inducers of child labour identified by Anker and Melkas[25] were the size of contributions boys and girls make to family income, demand forces for child labour, tradition (the latter based on evidence from India), and school availability, relevance and cost. Of interest to the discussion of gender is the "more docile and less troublesome" attribute of boys and girls that gravitate to a female gender role stereotype that is prevalent in traditional societies in developing countries.

The above paragraphs illustrate the interplay between society, family and the individual child — the girl or the boy in forming and maintaining a pattern of social relations approaching or deviating from equality among genders.

Awareness of the gender identity — the starting point in perception of the extent of gender inequality is a process that starts early on during childhood. This is of utmost importance in reaffirming the importance of an approach advocating for gender equality in parenting — addressing mothers and fathers and/or female or male caregivers, and the quality of schooling. It is important to consider when mapping patterns of labour among boys and girls in their early years,

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[22] ILO South-East Asia and the Pacific Multidisciplinary Team (SEAPAT): ILO/SEAPAT's online Gender Learning and Information Module Unit 2 – "Gender issues in the world of work, ILO-IPEC and the girl child domestic worker" in www.ilo.org/public/english/region/asro/mdtmanila/training/unit2/ipecgcdw.html

[23] Anker and Melkas 1996, op. cit.

[24] A variable highly affected by the gender factor regarding the decision to conceive and the decision regarding the number of children.

[25] Anker and Melkas, op. cit

and in planning balanced preventive and rehabilitation interventions pertaining to child labour.

Social action to alleviate gender inequalities impacts the general culture and its infiltration in the educational system. It also impacts efforts for a balanced approach to eliminating child labour where awareness of the gender patterns of this phenomenon induces interventions to generate information about girls as well as boys and design appropriate patterns of prevention and rehabilitation.