National report on the results of the child labour survey in Panama

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With the International Programme for Elimination of Child Labour, the International Labour Office (ILO) has converted a progressive process for the prevention and elimination of child labour into a universal cause.

Child labour is a globally widespread complex and many-faceted phenomenon. Furthermore, a lack of reliable information and quantitative analysis makes it even more difficult to find effective ways of confronting the problem. For many years, the lack of information on its causes, magnitude, nature and consequences has been a considerable obstacle to the implementation of effective actions to confront, halt and eliminate this phenomenon that affects millions of boys, girls and adolescents throughout the world.

Since 1988, the International Programme for Elimination of Child Labour has administered the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC), in order to assist the participating countries to generate cross-country comparable data on child labour. SIMPOC’s global objective is to use Household Surveys to generate quantitative data on school activities, and on the children’s economic and non-economic activities outside school, in addition to collecting qualitative data and establishing databases containing information on child labour. These data were the basis for different studies prepared in the participating countries.

The collection of reliable data and their analysis provides support for development of effective interventions against childhood labour. With the data gathered in the different countries and the studies drafted based on these data, we hope to facilitate development, implementation, and monitoring of policies and programmes to counter this phenomenon, as well as promoting social attitudes in favour of sustainable prevention and progressive eradication of child labour.

I am certain that the information presented in this study on child labour in Panama will contribute to improve understanding and increase sensitivity towards the situation of working boys, girls and adolescents and will allow better strategies to be drafted to combat this phenomenon.

For each one of the participating countries, the availability of a panorama of ever-greater clarity regarding this phenomenon will undoubtedly lead to a more effective process and a shortened path to achieving a world without child labour.

Guillermo Dema
Sub-Regional Coordinator
ILO/IPEC Programme for Central America, Panama, Dominican Republic, Haiti and Mexico
This report arose from the need to provide information on the current child labour situation in Panama; it presents a detailed description of the methodological framework utilized and the findings reached after data analysis, with special reference to the size, nature, working conditions and causes, as well as the consequences for health, education and physical development of the boys and girls involved.

This report is the result of an agreement signed between the International Labour Office (ILO), within the framework for action of the International Programme for Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and the Comptroller General of the Republic, the institution responsible for guiding and directing the National Statistical Office, with the collaboration of the Department of Labour and Manpower Development (Ministerio de Trabajo y Desarrollo Laboral).

IPEC is focused on working to prevent and progressively eliminate child labour, emphasising the most rapid elimination possible of the worst forms thereof, such as forced labour, debt servitude, commercial sexual exploitation, trafficking in children, the use of children in armed conflicts and employment, which by its nature or the conditions under which it is carried out, places the physical, mental or moral welfare of children at risk.

In order to meet this objective, IPEC provides technical and financial assistance to countries to draft national strategies involving different social players, promote sensitisation and heighten awareness of the causes and consequences of child labour, while providing direct assistance to the boys and girls that work through action programmes aimed at prevention, rehabilitation and removal from labour force activities.

The results presented here are the product of the Child Labour Survey, carried out in 2000, as well as a compilation of qualitative information on this topic. The information contained here contributes to a greater and better understanding of the topic, as well as elements for formulating policies and programmes focused on child labour.

Each one of the phases that preceded the edition of this document were developed with technical assistance from the ILO/IPEC Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) and with financing from the United States Department of Labor.
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In October 2000, the Statistics and Census Office (Dirección de Estadística y Censo) carried out the Child Labour Survey together with the International Labour Office, with the purpose of making information available to allow an appraisal of the impact of participation by minors in the labour market, in order to determine the characteristics and conditions under which their labour market participation takes place, its possible causes and the existence or not of exploitative relationships. The Survey provided basic information for specific policy formulation for the population in these age groups and for monitoring and evaluation of programmes implemented by different social agents in an attempt to eradicate the worst forms of child labour.

The Survey had nationwide coverage and included indigenous and difficult to reach areas; customary residents were interviewed (de jure survey). It is worth noting that the segments interviewed were those selected by sampling that were previously known to contain a population between 5 and 17 years of age.

According to the Child Labour Survey, the population in dwellings with children aged 5 through 17 years totals 1,996,153 persons, of whom 11.4% are less than five years of age, 37.8% are 5 to 17 years old and 50.8% are 18 or more years of age. On the average, there are 5.3 individuals per dwelling. With regard to the nation’s age composition, the provinces of Bocas del Toro, Darien and the indigenous areas are the ones with the largest proportion under 18 years of age, which is concordant with the fact that they are the zones that have traditionally shown the highest birth rates.

One aspect to be considered when comparing the results of this Survey with preceding surveys is that age and sex composition of households with children between 5 and 17 years of age, varies substantially from the age and sex composition of the rest of the households, especially in rural areas, where there is a larger proportion of women 18 or more years of age in relation to men of the same age. We can conclude that when there are minors in the household, there is greater retention of women in the household.

With regard to the population between 5 and 17 years of age, the Survey encountered 755,032 persons in this age group, 40.0% are between 5 and 9 years, 39.0% between 10 and 14 years and 21.0% are 15 to 17 years old. With regard to the sex composition of this population group, 51.6% are males and 48.4% are females, providing a sex ratio of 106.5 males per one hundred females.

The Survey also revealed that 640,735 minors between 5 and 17 years of age, 85.0% of the population, attend school. An analysis by age groups indicates that among children aged 5 to 9 years, only 84.0% attend school, among those aged 10 to 14 years of age, 93.0% attend, and finally, that of those aged 15 to 17, only 71.0 % attend.

The information related to the regularity with which they attend school shows that 99.3% attend on a daily basis, 0.5% do so three days a week and 0.2% less than three days. No significant differences were found with regard to the regularity of attendance differentiating by sex.
The most important lack of attendance occurs among those 5 years of age, which may be due to coverage shortfalls by the regular education system in some parts of the country. Non-attendance by the 17-year-old population is also important, which may be explained by their possible labour market insertion.

On delving further into the time that the minors not attending school have not attended, information was obtained that of the 114,297 youths, 20.0% do not attend because they are unable to pay for their studies, 11.0% due to low school performance or lack of interest in studies, and 52.0% mentioned different causes not foreseen in the alternatives, but that primordially included the lack of resources or interest, the latter particularly among those aged 13 to 15 years of age. An analysis by sex leads to similar results with regards to the causes for non-attendance.

Looking at the highest level of instruction reached by this group of the population, the Survey showed that 22.2% have not passed any grade, 55.2% have some primary grade and 22.3% have some secondary grade. Within the country, Darién province and the indigenous zones can be seen as the areas registering the largest percentage of population aged 5 through 17 with no grade passed (29.0% and 34.3%, respectively).

The Child Labour Survey, which differs from prior surveys in that for the first time it has investigated the employment situation of minors under 18 years of age, estimates that 57,524 minors are employed, generating an economic participation rate of 7.6% for these ages. Of these, 83.0% (47,976) are employed and 17.0% (9,548) are unemployed. It is worth mentioning that among the unemployed, 3,724 indicated that they had never worked before. The highest percentage of unemployment occurs among those aged 15 to 17 years. The child labour force represents 7.9% of the country’s economically active population that the Survey found in households with minors between 5 and 17 years of age.

The results referred to reveal reduced participation by 5 to 17 year olds working within the country’s total labour force. One might be tempted to infer that the number of child workers is not relevant due to the underreporting in other studies, but this period, 114,297 males and 5,816 females worked, i.e., 70.2% of those that declared that they had never worked before. The highest percentage of unemployment occurs among those aged 15 to 17 years. The child labour force represents 7.9% of the country’s economically active population that the Survey found in households with minors between 5 and 17 years of age.

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The research included a series of questions for working children on their activity or activities when not working, and found that 74.0% play with friends or siblings, 22.0% listen to music, 20.0% watch television, and only 8% go to video gaming establishments, read or play alone.

With regards to the reasons that the parents stated for letting their children work, 51% responded to complete household earnings, 30.0% to assure the household business or farm.

When children were asked if they gave part of their earnings to the household, 42.0% stated that they were unpaid family workers; it is worth mentioning that part of these workers declared that they did not contribute anything or some other reason, 29.0% stated that they themselves turned over part of their earnings to their parents, 9.7% stated that they themselves turned all their earnings over to their parents, and only 2.4% said that their earnings or part of them were turned over to their parents by the employer. One interesting note is that 13.3% did not contribute anything.

With regards to the consequences for the household if the child were to stop working, 34.0% responded that their standard of living would drop, 16.0% said that they could not pay other labour, 2.3% said that they would not be able to survive and 47.5% indicated other consequences.

It is important to note that of the 28,060 enjoying some revenue, 57.0% did not save any of it, 26.0% saved occasionally and only 17.0% saved regularly. There was no particular difference in this conduct by sex. Upon delving into the main reason for savings, it was found that of the 12,174 children that did save, 23.0% did so to attend school, 12.0% to start up their own business and 65.0% for other reasons.

The Survey revealed that of the employed population between 5 and 17 years of age, 78.0% were satisfied with their current job. Of those not satisfied, 78.4% were 14 or more years of age. Furthermore, of the 10,759 who were not satisfied, 48.0% said that this was due to low wages or very difficult work.

The Survey provided information on the 5 to 17 year old group, and it considers five years of age the minimum age for compiling data on working children.

In October 2000, the Statistics and Census Office (Dirección de Estadística y Censo), together with the International Labour Office, carried out the Child Labour Survey, in order to provide information which would allow an evaluation of the impact of children’s labour market participation, in order to determine the characteristics and conditions under which this labour market participation occurs, its possible causes, and the existence or not of exploitative relationships. The Survey provides crucial information for preparing specific policies for the population between the ages of 5 and 17 years, as well as for monitoring and evaluation of programmes being carried out by different social agencies attempting to eradicate the worst forms of child labour.

It is worth noting that data presented here allow a detailed study of the population between 5 and 17 years of age, at the level of the non-indigenous population, taking into consideration provincial boundaries and the country’s rural and urban areas. In Panama province, it is disaggregated into the Panama and San Miguelito districts.

It is important to point out that the Survey used as its sampling frame private occupied dwellings in which, according to the May 2000 Population Census, there were residents with ages falling between 5 and 17 years. The research unit then visited the dwellings and households established within the dwellings; thus, the Survey does not present the situation of children living on the street.

The most significant contribution of this study, in comparison to previous studies, is that it investigates directly those dwellings where the target population resides, providing detailed information on the 5 to 17 year old group, and it considers five years of age the minimum age for compiling data on working children.

1.4 Background and justification

In 1998, the International Labour Office (ILO) undertook the Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIM-POC), which was administered by the International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). The goals of this programme are: a) Establish a programme for collection, use and dissemination of un-tabulated and tabulated quantitative and qualitative data; and b) Establish a database on child labour consisting of information to be used in planning, drafting and implementation of integrated multi-sectorial interventions, in monitoring implementation and in evaluating policy and programme impacts.

Within the framework of this project, an agreement was signed between the Comptroller General of the Republic (CGR), the agency legally responsible for statistical information gathering, and the International Labour Office to carry out the Child Labour Survey in October 2002, due principally to the fact that Panama has little statistical information on labour market participation by minors, and due to the fact that the country lacks a broad perspective of the magnitude, nature, distribution, causes and consequences of child labour, and finally, the country is not aware of those child labourers with greater need or that are at greater risk.

The Survey was to provide information not only on the number of children that participate in...
Chapter two refers to methodological aspects such as: survey scope and coverage, some aspects related to planning and organisation, sample design and data processing.

Chapter three provides some socio-economic background on the country, from a socio-demographic perspective, an economic perspective and a legal and regulatory context.

Chapter four presents the main characteristics of the target population, such as its composition, household economic characteristics and dwelling characteristics.

The fifth chapter provides the main characteristics of the labour force between 5 and 17 years of age, describing its size and distribution by employment condition. Similarly, the educational situation of the population aged 5 to 17 years is analysed, as well as their labour market insertion by occupation, economic sector, and occupational category.

The sixth chapter deals with the effects of work on children, emphasising those aspects related to education and health.

The seventh chapter provides information on some of the worst and most dangerous forms of child labour identified in Panama, from a more qualitative point of view, presenting what are considered dangerous occupations, covering household child labourers as well. In chapter eight current programmes for intervention in child labour are presented along with recommendations, particularly regarding intervention in child labour.

Chapter nine presents the main conclusions and recommendations presented in this study, as well as its limitations.

Among the main topics investigated, the following are worthy of mention:

- Housing characteristics
- Household income
- Household expenses

CHAPTER 2
Methodology

2.A Scope and coverage

The Child Labour Survey was carried out nationwide and included indigenous and non-indigenous population aged 5 to 17 years of age. The Survey is representative for the following study domains:

- Population size
- Socio-demographic characteristics
- Educational level
- Reasons for dropping out of school
- Current employment
- Occupation
- Economic sector
- Occupational category
- Generation of revenue, pay and other benefits
- Occupational injuries
- Benefits received from employer
- Parents perceptions of children's jobs
- Children's perceptions of work
- Participation in household chores

2.B Pre-test

In order to provide a small scale reproduction of each aspect related to implementing the Survey, a pre-test was arranged for August 16th through 25th, 2000, where each instrument to be used in the Child Labour Survey was tested and refined.

Geographic Area | Sample
--- | ---
Nation as a whole | Non-indigenous | Indigenous
Provinces | Non-indigenous | Indigenous
Urban and Rural Areas | Non-indigenous | Indigenous
Panama and San Miguelito districts | Non-indigenous | Indigenous
Rest of Panama province

Stratification was geographic according to the country’s political-administrative division.
This activity was carried out in both non-indigenous and indigenous areas, as well as difficult to reach areas, to test the efficacy of the materials to be used under different situations.

It is noteworthy that the decision was made to carry out the pre-test in a majority of the provinces, since the main objective of the Survey was to measure labour market insertion of the population between 5 and 17 years of age, and in view of the country’s internal diversity, there was interest in capturing the broadest range of situations to allow adaptation of different methodological instruments.

To prepare for the pre-test, a group of instructors was established, who were trained by the national survey coordinator. They, in turn, provided training in different provinces. The persons required were trained together with a reserve. At the provincial level the following persons received training: in Bocas del Toro, 4 persons to select 2; in Coclé, Chiriquí, Herrera, Los Santos, Veraguas, Darién, San Blas and Panama, 6 candidates were trained to select 4 persons.

During the interview, the specific objective was to evaluate questionnaire design, with regards to its manageability. Additionally, there was an intention to test questions for ease of comprehension for the interviewee, as well as verify that questions responded to desired objectives. The interviews also allowed the team to visualise any problem that might arise during the interview, which might have a bearing on results, and it was possible to obtain an average interview duration, which made it possible to assign interviewer workload.

The information was critiqued and coded for each dwelling investigated; i.e., 230 questionnaires were critiqued and the data was captured. Fifteen tabulations were prepared for the main variables investigated. Data processing allowed evaluation of the critiquing and coding manual, data capture program, some basic guides for validation and some control tabulations.

B.2.1 Results

A meeting was held with all pre-test participants, to hear their impressions of it and to consider their suggestions. Some faults were detected in different methodological instruments to be used in the Survey. During this phase, questions were detected that did not achieve their objective, others that had to be placed differently, some question jumps led to information loss, and response options were included that had not been considered, all of which produced a final questionnaire that allowed greater precision in questions and answers.

B.2.3 Personnel recruitment and selection for the Survey

The Human Resources Office of the Controller General handled personnel recruitment. Once recruited, individual interviews were carried out with each candidate, who filled the following profile:

- Completed secondary education in sciences, letters or commerce, preferably with university studies in majors related to social sciences or similar studies.
- Ease of expression.
- Preferably with some experience in studies of this type.
- Available for work in the area assigned, whether or not s/he lives nearby and whether it is urban or rural.
- Have a sense of responsibility.
- Outgoing personality.
- Good physical condition.
- Legible handwriting.
- Available for work any day of the week, including Saturday and Sunday.

The table indicates the number of supervisors and interviewers recruited and required for each province.

### Table 2: Distribution of the segments by province for the pre-test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Indigenous</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Bocas del Toro</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coclé</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiriquí</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darién</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herrera</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Santos</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veraguas</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>San Blas</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panama Centre</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Panama</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2: Number of supervisors and interviewers used in each of the country's provinces for the Child Labour Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Supervisors used</th>
<th>Total interviewers</th>
<th>Interviewers to be used</th>
<th>Reserve interviewers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bocas del Toro</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coclé</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiriquí</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darién</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herrera</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Santos</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veraguas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comarcas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 2.C Sample design and implementation

#### 2.C.1 Generalities

Probabilistic cluster sampling was applied, using a one-stage selection design. The sample was selected by means of probability proportional to size sampling (for the population 5 to 17 years of age), using systematic selection. The theoretical sample provided 15,880 occupied dwellings of which 14,600 corresponded to non-indigenous areas and 480 to indigenous area.

Calculation of the non-indigenous sample was utilised as the critical variable the proportion of the population aged 5 to 17 years and was carried out at the provincial level with a sampling error less than or equal to 3% at a 95% confidence level. At the area level, sampling errors vary from 3% to 5% except for Darién province, which due to its special characteristics presents an error level of 8% in the urban area.

For Darién and Los Santos provinces and Panama and San Miguelito districts, calculations were made for urban and rural areas, seeking representativeness in both.

Indigenous sample size was calculated for the national level, with a confidence level of 95% and a sampling error of 4%.

#### 2.C.2 Universe or study population

The study universe is the population 5 to 17 years of age residing in private occupied dwellings through-out the country.

The interim results from the Population and Housing Census of May 2000 found a preliminary total population of 2,831,644 persons for the country; of these, 766,903 constitute the population from 5 to 17 years of age (see Table 3), which implies a percentage relationship of 27.2%. This population is divided in 56.9% urban and 43.1% rural.

Furthermore, the non-indigenous universe contains a 5 to 17 year old population of 693,704 persons and the indigenous one has 73,199, which represent 90.5% and 9.5% of the study population respectively.

Private occupied dwellings numbered 667,284 units at the national level, with urban areas representing 64.3% and rural areas 35.7%. In non-indigenous areas, private occupied dwellings numbered 638,565 units, while indigenous areas had 28,719, for a percentage relationship of 95.7% and 4.3%, respectively.

The average number of persons aged 5 to 17 years per private occupied dwelling in the country was 1.15 persons per dwelling, 1.02 in urban areas and 1.39 in rural areas, while for the non-indigenous universe this was 1.09 and for the indigenous 2.54.

#### 2.C.3 Sampling frame

With preliminary data from the Population and Housing Census as a reference, as well as the full census organisation and maps from May 2000, the sampling frame was made up of the enumeration area units where population aged 5 to 17 years was recorded.

As can be seen in table 4, there are a total of 67,243 census segment enumeration areas, urban areas represent 56.0% and rural areas 44.0%. The average number of occupied dwellings per census segment overall is 9.9 units, while in urban areas it rises to 11.4 and in rural areas it drops to 8.0.

In the non-indigenous universe there are 62,526 census segments, i.e., 93.0%, with an average of 10.2 occupied dwellings per census segment. On the other hand, in the indigenous universe there are 4,717 census segments, with an average of 6.1 occupied dwellings per segment.

#### 2.C.4 Sampling units

The sampling units constitute the sample selection unit. In this case, the Primary Sampling Unit is the census segment.

#### 2.C.5 Study domains

The study domains were identified, with a view to type of study and user requirements regarding utility and utilization of information (see table 5).

The country’s main province, Panama, was subdivided into the following study domains: Panama and San Miguelito districts and Rest of Panama province.

The indigenous study domain is integrated at the national level by each one of the legally established comunas and the indigenous communities outside the comunas that carry out their activities according to their socio-cultural behaviour patterns.

#### 2.C.6 Stratification

Study universe stratification is based on geographic criteria in accordance with the country’s political-administrative coding and takes into consideration the division between urban and rural areas. Stratification by socio-economic variables was not possible, since the census information was not yet ready, as complete processing was expected for March 2001.

It is important to note that in Panama implicit stratification has been used in several studies such as, for example, the Quality of Life Survey, the Income and Expense Survey, the Labour Force Survey, etc., obtaining adequate results with regard to the existing socio-economic structure, supported primarily by the particularities occurring in geographic distribution of the country’s population.

### Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of universe and area</th>
<th>Population 5-17 years</th>
<th>Private occupied dwellings</th>
<th>Relative distribution</th>
<th>Private occupied dwellings aged 5-17 years</th>
<th>Average of persons aged 5-17 years per occupied dwelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>766,903</td>
<td>667,284</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>436,212</td>
<td>429,216</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>330,691</td>
<td>238,068</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-indigenous</td>
<td>693,704</td>
<td>638,565</td>
<td>90.5</td>
<td>95.7</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>436,212</td>
<td>429,216</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>257,492</td>
<td>209,349</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous (rural)</td>
<td>73,199</td>
<td>28,719</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>2.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of sample and province</th>
<th>Adjusted sample of census segments</th>
<th>Calculated sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,624</td>
<td>684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-indigenous</td>
<td>1,560</td>
<td>684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bocas del Toro</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colón</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiriquí</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darién</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heredia</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Santos</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama and San Miguelito districts</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of Panama province</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veraguas</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Final probability of selection in the Republic by area, according to type of sample and province (Population and Housing Census, May 2000) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of sample and province</th>
<th>Probability of selection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-indigenous sample</td>
<td>0.0671945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bocas del Toro</td>
<td>0.0847202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colón</td>
<td>0.0297966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiriquí</td>
<td>0.0169802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darién</td>
<td>0.0470588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heredia</td>
<td>0.0651754</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Santos</td>
<td>0.1035466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>0.06713052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama and San Miguelito districts</td>
<td>0.0163528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of Panama province</td>
<td>0.0290622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veraguas</td>
<td>0.0315794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous sample</td>
<td>0.0315794</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
R_{hij} = \frac{X_{hj}}{Y_{hj}} \cdot Y_{hi}
\]

For Darién and Los Santos provinces and Panama and San Miguelito districts sample size calculations were independent for urban and rural areas, due primordially to the fact that sizes obtained by proportional distribution in some areas were very small, leading to a sampling error much larger than desired.

Sampling error levels by area for each province in the study vary between 3% and 5%, with the exception of Darién province, which due to its urban population composition has a theoretical tolerance level of 8%, while the rural area is below 5%.

Computation of the indigenous sample size was carried out at the national level, with a confidence level of 95% and a sampling error of 4%. Sample size was adjusted taking into consideration the four weeks during which the Survey would be carried out, which resulted in a sample larger than that calculated.

Sample design responds to a one-stage design, selecting primary sampling units (census segments) by systematic selection with probability proportional to size.
When visiting formally constituted households, there was a certain degree of discomfort among parents when questions were raised about their employment situation of children under 10 years of age, since they insisted, how was it possible to ask if such young children had worked the previous week.

With regards to children, it was only possible to obtain very vague responses with respect to what they wanted to be, if they had the opportunity now and in the future. A certain timidity and insecurity was found when they responded to the section on child's perceptions.

With regards to parents, while working in rural areas, parents indicated that they found it normal for children to collaborate with farm work. They would have desired that children continue studies but due to the lack of financial resources, once they finish sixth grade of primary school their collaboration on the farm was considered routine.

In the case of the rural dispersed population, when resident children were not at home that day, information on child's perceptions regarding work was not obtained, since the high costs of visiting these sites made it impossible to return later. An attempt was made to ascertain indirectly what a child's response would have been, but in some cases, what the boys and girls would have wished to be with other opportunities was unknown to the respondents.

In urban areas, a certain level of discomfort was found in some cases among the parents on declaring or detecting from the neighbours or by something they said that a child was working; however, this situation cannot be generalized.

The period when research is carried out is crucial. The objective here was to find a normal month and see how child labour behaved during that month. Nevertheless, one must not lose sight of the fact that some boys and girls only work during coffee harvest or any other seasonal crop, and that some also work on the family farm when school is out.

In urban areas, the same phenomenon occurs. Were the investigation carried out during the summer months, we would probably find a larger number of working children.

With respect to direct interviews of children, no disagreement with parents was encountered regarding their being interviewed directly. In some cases, parents remained present and in other cases the interviewer alone with their children, depending on circumstances.
CHAPTER 3

The country’s socio-economic background

3.A Demographic context

The Republic of Panama is an independent and sovereign State. The government is unitary, republican, democratic and representative. The country’s political-administrative division comprehends 9 provinces, 75 districts or municipalities, 5 indigenous comarcas (Kuna Yala, Emberá, Kuna de Madugandí, Ngöbe Buglé and Wargandi), and 593 corregimientos.1

According to the results of the 2000 Census, the population increased from 2,329,329 persons in 1990 to 2,839,177 persons in 2000, occupying the 75,517 square kilometres of the country’s land surface. This evolution during the last decade represents a population increase of 509,848 persons and an increase in density from 30.8 to 37.6 inhabitants per square kilometre.

The Comptroller General of the Republic has carried out national population censuses every 10 years since 1911, through the Statistics and Census Office. Over the years the quality and coverage has continuously improved, and technology has been added, allowing on-going observation of population changes, as a result of interacting demographic variables that define the country’s rhythm of population growth.

One important change in the country’s population shown by census results is a significant reduction in population growth. As a consequence of high fertility levels and progressive declines in mortality reaching into the 60’s (when the population surpassed its first million inhabitants), there were population growth rates reaching figures above 3% per year in the decades from 1911-1920 and again 1960-1970 (see table 8). After the decade of the 60’s, population growth rates began to diminish, thanks to dropping national fertility, which led to a reduction in the rates.

An average annual national growth rate of 2% during the last intercensal period, 1990-2000, confirms the trend towards a sustained decline that, according to current projections, will be maintained for the next 25 years. At a 2% growth rate, the country’s population will double in about 35 years.

However, although there will be a deceleration in Panama’s growth rates, significant contingents will be added to the population in absolute numbers, due to demographic inertia. According to current

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Years</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Absolute increase in population</th>
<th>Intercensal growth rate (in %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>336,742</td>
<td>109,356</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>446,098</td>
<td>21,361</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>467,459</td>
<td>15,117</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>622,576</td>
<td>182,709</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>805,285</td>
<td>270,256</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,075,541</td>
<td>270,256</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1,428,082</td>
<td>377,205</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,805,287</td>
<td>524,042</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2,329,329</td>
<td>509,848</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2,839,177</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CGR/DEC, National Population Censuses, 1911 to 2000
The evolution described above, from high growth to a slower growth of the population is a process known as demographic transition, whose phases first show a reduction in mortality and later in fertility, although not at the same rhythm, and this becomes the principal component in population growth. Currently Panama is situated in the stage of full demographic transition. Mortality has fallen in a constant and progressive manner, whereas ferti-

lity has been declining slowly.

Infant mortality estimates arising from the popu-

lation projections clearly show a descending trend, from values of 93 to 19 per thousand live births, dur-

ing the five-year periods 1950-55 to 2000-05, respec-

tively. General mortality has fallen by more than one half between 1950 and 2000, from 13.17 to 5.10 deaths per one thousand inhabitants.

The trend in mortality decline and, in particular the drastic reduction in infant mortality, led to an increase in life expectancy at birth for the Panamanian population from 55.2 years in 1950 to 74.3 years in 2000 (equivalent to a 35% increase); this reflects a substantial increase of 19.3 years in this indi-
cator. For 2000, life expectancy at birth for males is estimated as 72.2 years and 76.9 years for females. The increase in life expectancy at birth for the

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3.B Economic context

3.B.1 Economic performance

The Panamanian economy showed a deceleration in real growth in 2001, with a growth rate of 0.3%, in accord with the annual change shown by Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at constant prices. This performance was characterized by growth in some external sector activities related to the internal economy. By the end of 2001, GDP had reached US$18.2 billion. In per capita terms, this meant a 1.3% reduction in GDP for this year, reaching a level close to US$3,500 per inhabitant.

The Panamanian economy is characterised by a very large service sector (76.9% of GDP), agriculture and industry contribute to GDP to a lesser extent, 7.0% and 16.1%, respectively (see figure 1). The country’s export dependency has been declining over time with the reduction in the proportion of exports in the GDP, from 46.2% in 1981 to 36.2% in 1991 and 33.4% in 2001.

3.B.2 Labour situation

Preliminary information from the Household Survey carried out between August and September 2001 indicates that the total population aged 15 or more years of age, of working age in the country is 1,952,693 persons, where the non-indigenous population (1,854,729) represents 94.9% and the indigenous population (97,964) constitutes the other 5.1%.

Relating economically active or working population to total population of working age, we obtain labour force participation rates for the total, non-indigenous and indigenous populations of 60.3%, 60.3% and 66.0%, respectively (see figure 2).

At the area level, we find that 1,281,595 persons 15 or more years of age (65.6%) are located in urban communities. Of this group, 787,340 persons (61.4%) participate actively in the labour market. With regard to rural areas there are 671,098 persons 15 or more years of age, and of these 390,592 persons are economically active (58.2%).

An analysis by sex shows that there is greater labour market participation by males than females, since 79.4% of the total male population aged 15 or more years of age is economically active, while only 41.4% of the total female population in that age group is involved in the labour market. The same relationship is found for the non-indigenous population (78.9% males, 41.8% females) and the indigenous population (89.7% males and 34.3% females).

With relation to 2000, the non-indigenous working-age population has shown a growth of 89,188 persons, evidence of the impact of demographic growth on the labour market.

Furthermore, on comparing the evolution of the economically active population from August 2000 to the present, a slight increase in participation rate can be seen (from 59.9% to 60.3%), which might be explained by the incorporation for the first time of difficult to reach rural areas in this type of surveys.

The highest participation rates are recorded in Darién (64.0%), Veraguas (62.5%) and Panama (62.4%) provinces; the lowest participation rates are found in Bocas del Toro (51.0%), Chiriquí (54.8%) and Coclé (55.2%) provinces.

With regards to unemployment levels, nationwide the unemployment level is 13.7%; among the non-indigenous population it is 14.4% and among the indigenous population it is 1.2%.

Upon comparing non-indigenous unemployment from August 2000, we can see an increase of almost one point in percent unemployment, since this rate climbed from 13.3% to 14.4% during the period in question.

Regarding behaviour of this indicator by area, we see in urban areas an unemployment rate of 16.6% as against a rural unemployment rate of 7.8%.

On analysing unemployment rates by province, the highest unemployment levels are found in Colón (20.6%) and Panama (16.4%) provinces; in contrast, the lowest levels are found in indigenous areas (1.2%) and Darién (3.4%), Los Santos (6.4%) and Herrera (7.1%) provinces (see figure 3).

With regards to non-indigenous labour force insertion, the Survey shows that 19% of the employed population is involved in wholesale and retail trade, automotive vehicle, motorcycle, personal effects and household appliance repair; and 17% in activities related to agriculture, livestock, hunting and forestry. Furthermore, the Survey reveals that in a similar fashion, the largest percentage of the unemployed population (33%) formerly held jobs in activities related to wholesale and retail trade, automotive vehicle, motorcycle, personal effects and household appliance repair.

With regards to occupations declared by the employed population, 17% work as street hawkers, in services undclassified in other groups, as labourers and hired hands, etc.; 14% are service workers and salespersons in trade and markets and 11% are office employees.

Concerning the population that declared some occupation, 63% said they were employees, 30% worked as self-employed, 4% were family workers and 2% were employers. Of the 639,628 persons recorded as employees, 64% are in private enterprise, 27.5% in government employ and 8.5% are employees in households.

3.B.3 Family income

Child labour is related to income asymmetry, as it exists in the country. According to Department of Economy and Finance (Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas) data, average income per inhabitant is about 3 times higher than in other countries in the region. However, there is a great degree of inequality: the richest 20% of the population concentrates 63% of total income, while the poorest 20% of the population receives only 1.5% of the income. This means that the wealthiest 20% of the population has access on average to 15 times more income than the poorest 20%.

### Table 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographic breakdown</th>
<th>Participation rates per 100 inhabitants</th>
<th>Unemployment rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-indigenous</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bocas del Toro</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiriquí</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colón</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darién</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Santos</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Areas</td>
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</table>

### Figure 3

Unemployment rates

reducing costs associated with subsistence production. This set of norms that makes up our Magna Carta and both Codes, together with international Conventions and the Constitution of the Rights of the Child, as ratified by Panama, constitute an integrated set of laws orienting provisions regarding child labour, as well as their respective related to type of activity, level of schooling, and social risks involved in implementing child labour.

3.C Legal and regulatory context

Panama, a member country of the International Labour of the Republic (ILO), has ratified a considerable number of the Conventions. From 1919, when the ILO began its functions under the Versailles Treaty, through 2000, Panama had ratified seventy-four (74) international conventions in labour affairs, and of these only sixty-seven (67) are in effect. Thus, through the year 2000, 73% of the Conventions ratified by Panama were concentrated in the decade of the 70’s, while only 29% were from the period before 1970 and only 7% after that decade.

For diverse motives, the eighties was a period during which the country did not ratify international conventions, by means of Decree No. 25 of November 30, 1981, the provisions were set for the application of both Convention No. 77 of 1946 on medical exams for children in the industrial sector, and Convention No. 78 of 1946 on medical exams for children in non-industrial labour. These conventions are related to the impact of working conditions on children, and represent a significant advance, insofar as they transcend individualistic labour contract logic. They are an adequate articulation of labour conditions, type of activity and labour contracts.

Nevertheless, from 1990 onwards, public policy and social programmes designed to support children’s needs underwent significant transformations. To a certain degree, this is a response to two factors. First, the set of job orientations and provisions created on the international scene regarding these problems; second, society’s participation in setting public sector policies, as among others, have a bearing on the signing of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. This Convention systematizes a set of rights and guarantees setting children equal to human beings with substantial rights to a decent life.

In any case, in Panama, regulations related to child labour are stated preferentially in the Constitution, Labour and Family Codes. The National Constitution of the Republic of Panama recognizes the fundamental rights of children, in Article 52, which indicates that the State will protect the physical, mental and moral health of minors and will guarantee their right to food, health, education, safety and social well-being. Thus, the State guarantees both a child’s quality of life and his/her effective human development. With this, the State of Panama affirms certain aspects that make up the framework that ensures social and labour conditions. This basis for the social State, which still exists in the Constitution, but was eliminated from the Labour Code, allows a prioritization of rights of minors at risk in social and labour situations.

This problem gradually tends to get worse, as these exclusive scenarios diversify and extend, i.e., where conditions of poverty turn into truly closed spars of poverty, where whole families and their future generations are consumed beforehand by the poor; this transcends the barrier of the right to a decent life for present and future generations.

Within these circuits of poverty, most child labourers’ past parents’ histories: start working young to survive. Currently, children that work to aid parents and grandparents, as happened in the past, are not capable of measuring the mid-term consequences of their incorporation into labour markets, either for their families or for society. These spirals of poverty gradually and gravitationally circumscribe that long distance children from their childhood development and a decent quality of life.

This quasi-cultural fact seems to lay out an uncertain, but always consistent cycle of poverty with an important structural component, which is particularly rooted in rural areas, where it is considered “natural” for children to undergo early incorporation into productive activities, in order to assist parents in reducing costs associated with subsistence production and simple marketing. To an important degree, rural-urban migrations also have a bearing on this process.
This article guarantees the right to education, as established as a fundamental constitutional right, at the same time it establishes age control for children and market insertion. These forbidden participation in productive activities formally implying subordination, dependency, and remuneration for minors who have not completed their primary instruction, in other words, those minors with insufficient education to be able to perform properly in daily activities with an adequate quality of life. For these effects, this right extends only through the completion of primary education. In addition, keeping in mind the right to education, but aware of the real existence of any of the types of discrimination, it establishes a minimum age for working and carrying out productive activities.

Article 118 of the Labour Code also stipulates that, “Those aged less than 18 years of age shall be excluded from jobs that by their very nature or the conditions under which they are carried out, may be hazardous to the lives, health or morals of the workers, especially the following:

- Work in clubs, cantinas and other places where retail alcoholic beverages are sold.
- Passenger and merchandise conveyance by road, railroad, air, or seaborne navigation, interior waterways and labour on docks, embassies and warehouses.
- Jobs related to generation, transformation and transmission of electrical power.
- Handling explosive or flammable substances.
- Underground jobs in mines, quarries, tunnels or quarries.
- Handling substances, devices or apparatuses that may expose him/her to radioactive effects.

The provisions of items 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this article will not apply to work carried out by minors in voca- tional schools, as long as said labour has approval and oversight by competent authorities.”

Thus, the Code sets parameters for jobs “that by their very nature or the conditions under which they are carried out, may be hazardous to the lives, health or morals of the workers, especially the following:

- Work in clubs, cantinas and other places where retail alcoholic beverages are sold.
- Passenger and merchandise conveyance by road, railroad, air, or seaborne navigation, interior waterways and labour on docks, embassies and warehouses.
- Jobs related to generation, transformation and transmission of electrical power.
- Handling explosive or flammable substances.
- Underground jobs in mines, quarries, tunnels or quarries.
- Handling substances, devices or apparatuses that may expose him/her to radioactive effects.

The provisions of items 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this article will not apply to work carried out by minors in voca- tional schools, as long as said labour has approval and oversight by competent authorities.”

Nevertheless, this classification of jobs hazardous to the lives, health or morals of the workers is a first step in identifying forms of labour that destroy, reduce or minimize possibilities for a quality of life in tune with human development parameters required for this population group. What is important in Article 118’s classification is that it characterizes the effects on children, taking into account a job typology. However, this must be further specified by respective institutions, according to existing norms.

Article 118 of the Labour Code, then, proposes minimum parameters for different types of labour to be carried out by minors. Pursuant to this article, there are hazardous jobs that children may not carry out. In fact, the characterization of types of labour by nature and condition, presented in Article 118, poses a discussion on economic activities, jobs, functions and tasks related to job execution, that are dangerous and degrading; in these, and in some but not all cases, the child neither has the skills nor the adequate labour conditions nor social security coverage, and, of course, does not attend school.

In Article 119, the Code also indicates economic activities in which minors may be employed with restrictions. According to this article, minors may be contracted or employed only to carry out light work in agricultural activities, and only outside school hours. On September 1, 1990, the State Supreme Court ruled an Appeal on Unconstitutionality regarding declarations indicating that minors between 12 and 15 years of age could carry out these activities, since these effects are subject to the conventions ratified by Panama. To wit, those over 14 years of age are the ones who may be con- sistent in normal conditions in some cases and in others in situations hazardous to life, health or morals, or if they affect regular school attendance. The Code also regulates working shifts for children. Finally, the Code establishes social provisions for working minors similar to those granted to adults. In practice, those of the Family Code have complemented the provisions of the Labour Code.

In connection with Article 117, Article 120 prohibits minors from working at night, from 6:00 P.M. through 8:00 A.M., in over-time, on holidays and days of national mourning. Article 120 implicitly states the working shift for minors. This is later expressed explicitly in Article 122, where it indicates that the working shift will take into consideration the child’s schooling requirements, and therefore, the shift may not exceed:

- Six hours a day and thirty-six per week, for those under sixteen years of age; and
- Seven hours a day and forty-two hours per week, for those under eighteen years of age.

Finally, Article 121 stipulates that contracts concerning labour by persons less than 18 years of age must be entered into with intervention by a parent or legal guardian. According to this provision, if there are no parents, the contractual relationship will be formalized directly by the interested minors, but with authorization from the respective administrative labour authority. This means that, pursuant to Article 124, any employer that contracts services from work- ers under eighteen years of age must keep a special reg- istry, which includes the following for each minor:

- Name and surname and those of his/her parents or guardians, if any; and
- Date of birth;
- Residence;
- Type of work being done;
- Specification of the number of hours worked;
- Shift schedule;
- Salary earned;
- Educational grade received.

The Labour Department has drafted a list of requirements for approving working permits for minors indicating the following:

- A parent or guardian should fill out the form;
- The employer or legal representative should fill out the form;
- The minor’s representative and the firm must sign the form;
- Two photocopies of the permit sheet once it has been signed;
- A copy of the national identity card of the signing parent or guardian;
- A medical certificate;
- Authorization for the one requesting the working permit;
- Must be signed by the Labour Inspector General;
- Minor must be under 18 and over 14 years of age;
- The maximum duration of the working shift will be six hours per day and only during the day.

The working minor will have the right to a wage, social provisions and other guarantees provided to adults by labour laws.

In summary, the Labour Code allows minors to work as long as tasks and their shift is compatible with school schedules, and sets a min- imum age for working according to the type of job activity carried out.

3.C.3 The Family Code


This set of articles basically advises about the prohibition of labour for minors under 18 years of age, subject to certain conditions in some case and in others in situations hazardous to life, health or morals, or if they affect regular school attendance. The Code also regulates working shifts for children. Finally, the Code establishes social provisions for working minors similar to those granted to adults. In practice, those of the Family Code have complemented the provisions of the Labour Code.

To these ends, Family Code Article 508 defines child workers. According to Article 508, a child labourer in conditions unauthorized by law is one under fourteen (14) years of age in any occupation, and one over that age but less than eighteen (18) years of age involved in occupations expressly prohibited by law.” This legal provision is ratified by Article 509, which establishes in a restrictive sense that children under 14 years of age are prohibited and in Article 117 of the Code, according to Constitutional provisions. The latter article stipulates a restrictive prohibition against any minors between the ages of 12 and 14 years work- ing as domestic help or in un-healthy occupations. Any exceptions must be regulated by law; in those
cases the legislator is empowered to stipulate what would be pertinent and necessary according to the Law's mandate.

Subsequently, Family Code Article 519 indicates that all minors under 18 years of age are prohibited from carrying out any job that due to its nature or the conditions under which it is carried out, would present a risk to health, hygiene or morals or would hinder their regular attendance at an educational centre.

The following activities are considered as such:

- Work in nightclubs, cantinas, discotheques and other places where retail alcoholic beverages are sold.
- Jobs related to games of chance and luck, such as horse racing, casinos and others.
- Jobs that require thorough transportation by road, railroad, airborne navigation, maritime and interior waterways and labour on docks, ships and warehouses.
- Jobs related to generation, transformation and transmission of electrical power.
- Handling flammable substances.
- Underground jobs in mines, quarries, tunnels or sewers.
- Farms on toxic or dangerous substances, devices or apparatuses that may expose him/her to radioactivity.
- Handling noxious or dangerous substances, devices or apparatuses that may expose him/her to radioactive effect.

The National Family and Child Council will establish regulations against use of minors in public spectacles, cinema, theatres, or commercial messengers. It will define one of the mechanisms to be followed for remunerated work of any type that place the dignity and morals of the child at risk.

It is worth noting that numbers 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Article 510 do not apply to youths in vocational school, as long as that labour is approved and supervised by competent authorities. Thus, they do not apply when the activities in a firm correspond to curricular practices.

Taken together, this article has two more points that must be noted. Firstly, the right to work is a fundamental right. Both are important, since Panama, in view of its scant industrial development has seen significant development of the service and trade sectors.

Furthermore, Article 511 stipulates that minors need to comply with established requirements in order to work, with regards to both substantive labour laws and respective procedures. In any case, it is possible for a minor to work, as long as the means for labour market insertion, type of activity and type of contract are not incompatible with the stipulations in the respective legislation.

In labour market terms, the article proposes that the legislator is empowered to stipulate what makes labour in productive employment. Nevertheless, this insertion will be conditioned by Article 512, which sets the maximum length for working shifts for minors. This will be six (6) hours per day, during a shift that may only be during the day and that at no time will affect his/her attendance at a centre of learning, nor will it imply harm to his/her physical or mental health. By no means does the Code indicate any possibility for night work of any type.

Family Code Article 513 proposes that the minor shall have the right to a salary, social provisions and other guarantees that the labour laws provide for adults. Their wages must be proportional to hours worked, and under no circumstances may their remuneration be less than the minimum wage established by law. This regulates their economic dependence as a function of a particular type of subordination. But according to Article 715, no minor under eighteen (18) years of age shall be admitted to a job without first presenting a medical certificate attesting to his/her health and physical capacity for the task which s/he is to perform. To wit, Article 715 stipulates that those under eighteen (18) years of age will be submitted to medical exams at least once a year, to determine whether they can work, and the tasks carried out are harmful to their health or normal development, which is in line with indications in the international conventions ratified by Panama.

These provisions established in Articles 713 and 715 are also valid in the case of women and minors between twelve (12) and fourteen (14) years of age carrying out agricultural and household labour, according to regulations on hours, salary, contract and type of labour established in the Labour Code, as is indicated in Article 716. The State, pursuant to Article 717, will oversee that conditions are adequate, even though work activities are carried out by children of this age. The State, pursuant to Article 717, will guarantee that the norms on shift, type of labour and salary are not violated. Thus, the State will ensure that all agents (public or private companies contracting women and minors) must ensure that they have an adequate physical milieu and sufficient rest periods to take meals and recover their energy. A decent job must guarantee such working conditions.

3.C.4 ILO Conventions

Everything contained in the Constitution and Codes is also assembled and developed in Laws 17 and 18, corresponding to Conventions 138 and 182. The International Labour Organization (ILO) to the countries as a means for protecting boys and girls from any type of child or labour exploitation, Panama has ratified these Conventions, and they characterise a set of relationships existing between employment, job functions, job context and position. Their integrated perspective of the phenomena of child labour and exploitation makes them effective legal instruments. Finally, it is these legal instruments that are oriented to protecting and guaranteeing minimum conditions for children that are employed in different productive sectors.

Labour legislation referring to child labour, as inspired by international Conventions that are a part of the “formal” labour framework, is not fully in effect in practice, since all of the dispositions have yet to be formally regulated and established as obligatory for the country. Thus, at the current stage, in a scenario where labour is ever more fragmented and flexibilised, thereby losing its characteristic stability, age rigidity imposed by the norm makes labour relations more complex, especially since the laws themselves are not aimed at directly combating the causes (equitable distribution of wealth) but the consequences (reduction of the scourges of poverty), child labour. Perhaps this age rigidity, which keeps a barrier to overcome in the near future, if transformation of decent employment into a scarce good continues.

3.C.5 Convention on the Rights of the Child

Another legal provision establishing parame ters for employment activities is the “Convention on the Rights of the Child,” which Panama ratified on 6 November 1990, under Law No. 15, 6 November 1990, approved by the Legislative Assembly and published in Gazette No. 21,667 on 16 November 1990. With the conversion of this Convention in law, Panama assumed the commitment to guarantee respect for the fundamental human rights of children, by incorporating the Convention on the Rights of the Child into the national legal system. This Convention establishes the responsibility of the signatory countries to guarantee and comply with the rights set down therein, among which we find the one indicating that all boys, girls and adolescents must be protected from all sources of labour and sexual exploitation.

The Convention acknowledges children’s right to be protected from economic exploitation and the performance of any type of labour that is hazardous, harmful to their health, or to their physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development, and proposals by the under their education. The Convention also indicates the need to adopt leg islative, social and educational measures that allow the minimun weeks of work, and as a consequence, progressive eradication of child exploitation, related to child labour. Child exploitation involves involvement of a child, or children, in activities that fail to make the most of his potential, others not so visible, as is the case of sexual exploitation of children. This last case requires special treatment, not only through legislation, but also in preventive and care policies, without ignoring its identification within this population segment.

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As a part of the activities agreed by ILO and the Panamanian State, under Executive Decree Nº 25, 15 April 1997, the Department of Labour and Social Welfare (Ministerio de Trabajo y Bienestar Social, MINTRAB) established a Committee for the Eradication of Child Labour and Protection of Child Workers. The Committee includes 17 representatives of governmental and non-governmental institutions and is presided by the First Lady of the Republic and coordinated by a Technical Secretariat under the responsibility of the Office of Labour Inspection of the Department of Labour and Social Welfare, which was, at that time, the advisory, promotional and coordinating unit for directives regarding child labour. For operational effects, the full Committee had advisors from 8 national and international institutions including ILO under the International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC).

Among the Committee's tasks were efforts to make those activities carried out by the Panamanian Government more responsive regarding child labour. Committee advisors were to contribute to the preparation, supervision and evaluation of the National Action Plan for progressive elimination of child labour and protection of children. Additionally, in 1997, under Executive Decree Nº 240, dated 30 September 1997, the Pact for Panamanian Childhood was incorporated into the First Lady's Office. The Pact formalized an inter-institutional scaffolding aimed at coordinating public sector actions representing the governmental, entrepreneurial and social sectors. As a part of the activities agreed by ILO and the Panamanian State, under Executive Decree Nº 25, 15 April 1997, the Department of Labour and Social Welfare (Ministerio de Trabajo y Bienestar Social, MINTRAB) established a Committee for the Eradication of Child Labour and Protection of Child Workers. The Committee includes 17 representatives of governmental and non-governmental institutions and is presided by the First Lady of the Republic and coordinated by a Technical Secretariat under the responsibility of the Office of Labour Inspection of the Department of Labour and Social Welfare, which was, at that time, the advisory, promotional and coordinating unit for directives regarding child labour. For operational effects, the full Committee had advisors from 8 national and international institutions including ILO under the International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC).

Among the Committee's tasks were efforts to make those activities carried out by the Panamanian Government more responsive regarding child labour. Committee advisors were to contribute to the preparation, supervision and evaluation of the National Action Plan for progressive elimination of child labour and protection of children. In 1998, Executive Decree Nº 9 of 21 April 1998 modified Executive Decree Nº 25 of 15 April 1997, which created the Committee for the Eradication of Child Labour and Protection of Child Workers. Among the most important modifications to Decree Nº 25 was the ascertainment of the Committee for the Eradication of Child Labour and Protection of Child Workers to the Department of Youth, Women, Childhood and Family (Ministerio de la Juventud, la Mujer, la Niñez y la Familia). Executive Decree Nº 9 also stipulated that coordination of the Technical Secretariat would fall jointly to the Office of Labour Inspection of the Department of Labour and Manpower Development and the National Office for Children of the Department of Youth, Women, Childhood and Family.

Later, in 1999, Executive Decree Nº 18, dated 19 July 1999, further modified Executive Decree Nº 9 of 21 April 1998 (which had modified the earlier Decree Nº 25 of 15 April 1997). Decree Nº 18 of July 1999 indicated that insofar as the title “Committee for the Eradication of Child Labour and Protection of Child Workers” should continue ascribed to the Department of Labour and Manpower Development, it became necessary to modify Articles One, Two, Five and Six of Executive Decree Nº 25 of 15 April 1997.

Article One of this Executive Decree indicates that the “Committee for Eradication of Child Labour and Protection of Child Workers will be ascribed to the Department of Labour and Manpower Development.” In addition to a duration of six grades (1st through 6th); and primary education, for children from six through eleven years of age, with a duration of six grades (1st through 6th); and middle school education, for the population twelve through fourteen years of age, with a duration of three grades (7th through 9th).

To comply with this disposition, the Department of Education (Ministerio de Educación) has a network of schools, high schools and institutes distributed throughout the country, which number public and private educational institutions in 2001, where 46,751 students attended primary education and 197,410 students attended secondary education. The primary school dropout rate increased from 1.9% in 1990 to 2.4% in 1994. That same year, 10 districts recorded dropout rates above 6.0%, i.e. three times greater than the national average. For that year, the national school retention rate was 98.7% primary school, the failure rate was 8.6% and repetition was at 9.5%.

In 1998, at the primary level, 26,629 students failed out of a total registration of 184,542, representing 8.5% of all students. Similarly, dropout rates were 2.8% in primary and 4.3% in secondary.

3.D.1 Educational policy
3.D.1.1 Compulsory and free

Article 91 of the Constitution stipulates: “Compulsory and free basic general schooling. It is compulsory through the first level of basic general schooling or education. This gratuity means that the State must provide the student with all those items necessary for his/her learning while s/he completes basic general education. The gratuity of this education does not hinder the establishment of a paid registration fee at those levels that are not compulsory.”

Law Nº 34 on Education, from July 1995, which modifies Law Nº 47, Statutory Law on Education, states in Article 34 that the First Level of Education, or Basic General Education includes 11 years. This level has a universal, gratuitous and compulsory character. It consists of three stages: pre-school education, for those children under four to five years of age, with a duration of six grades (1st through 6th); and middle school education, for the population twelve through fourteen years of age, with a duration of three grades (7th through 9th).

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In 1998, at the primary level, 26,629 students failed out of a total registration of 184,542, representing 8.5% of all students. Similarly, dropout rates were 2.8% in primary and 4.3% in secondary.

3.D.1.2 Available scholarships

Scholarships for children are a non-reimbursement financial aid offered by IFARHU, to allow students to pay for their study expenses. The scholarship programme includes secondary, post-secondary, and university levels with a variable duration. Scholarship duration depends, for example, on scholarship type and mode. Thus, there are scholarships with different modes and objectives. IFARHU has no specific programmes for working students or those at social risk, since their overall objective is to encourage distinguished students. IFARHU has scholarship programmes aimed at students that have completed primary, pre-middle and middle school education.

In addition, IFARHU has scholarship programmes that “implicitly” provide assistance to children at risk, but that are not necessarily in conditions of child labour. Such is the case of community scholarships, collective scholarships and family support scholarships. IFARHU’s different scholarship programmes benefit an average of 30,000 primary education students per year.

3.D.1.3 Professional training opportunities for adolescents

Professional training for adolescents follows the line of training seminars and/courses basically organized by the National Professional Training Institute (Instituto Nacional de Formación Profesional). Training programmes carried out by INAFORP have widespread geographic coverage, since they are a part of travelling programmes in different parts of the country. Nevertheless, population coverage is not very broad and for only short periods, once a year for one week or less. This professional training system concentrates on labour activities required by firms in service and industrial sectors. Recently, INAFORP has become involved in the maritime sector and has developed training activities for merchant marine crewmen. However, this has not become an important trend in the professional training environment.

3.D.2 Health policy and health programmes

Health Policy and Strategies (2000 – 2004) have as their objective to universalize and improve access to integrated health services and programmes with optimum levels, reduce the existing gaps in health, mortality and morbidity, and increase the survival rate through broader access to maternal and child health programmes.
promote actions aimed at improving the nutritional status of the Panamanian population, guarantee healthier environments for the population, improve surveillance and control of health risk factors and strengthen health promotion strategies seeking to improve quality of life and citizen participation and responsibility.

3.3.2.1 Medical services available for children

Pursuant to a new health concept initially proposed at the International Population and Development Conference in Cairo, Egypt (1994), a perspective aimed at improving human quality of life is imperative. Within the framework of the Cairo Population Conference, there was also the definition of a need to guarantee, coordinate and mobilize civil society and governmental organizations to approach health problems in general and sexual and reproductive health in particular in such a way that a significant segment of the population achieves access to adequate health services. As part of this strategy, by means of Executive Decree Nº 2 of 9 February 1999, Panama also adopted the Platform of Action from the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing.

According to the Department of Health (Ministerio de Salud, MINSAL), this model aims to strengthen equity and sustainability of geographically focused actions following inter-sectorial, decentralized criteria and fostering active participation by civil society and adolescents and youths themselves in the diagnostic process. At the national level, this action by MINSAL promotes the defense of children’s rights and duties through information, education and communication.

According to MINSAL, this care model will increase the quality of life for Panamanian children and their families. All of these actions include a gender approach, as well as actions to research and systematize data related to childhood through an information system guaranteeing health on clear scientific grounds.

3.3.2.2 Specific health programmes for children

In 1997, the country undertook a Health Sector Reform as part of modernization of the State. Currently, health management has continued with the process, but has proposed objectives aimed at improving its quality, efficiency, effectiveness and equity.

This health service system has three care levels. The primary level is organised with resources to provide services for the most frequent basic needs and includes Health Posts, Sub-Centres, Health Centres, Local Primary Care Units, using care models that vary from individual care and household visits to integrated health circuits. The second level includes Polyclinics, Polycentres, Rural and Regional hospitals dedicated to managing acute and chronic diseases. The third level consists of the National high-complexity Hospitals with high resolving power, destined to manage critical, chronic and long-term diseases. According to levels of attention and dimensions that a complaint may assume, there are 801 health establishments throughout the country and minors may seek services indifferently therein as their needs require.

3.3.3 Vocational training opportunities for adolescents

Vocational training for children is not systematically organised, and there are only a few efforts. Law Decree Nº 4 of 7 January 1997 regulates the dual professional training system and is part of this new process. Learning contracts constitute a privileged figure whereby a trainee learns and a trainer not only receives a salary as determined by the Law, but must also ensure the trainee a methodical and complete professional training, part of which is given on the job and part at a training centre. The trainee, on the other hand is committed to providing a specific service.

This training contract was foreseen in Article 281 of the Labour Code of 1972. Similarly, the Code stipulates that its regulations are to be drafted by the Executive Branch, which did not take place until 1991. Indeed, learning contracts were regulated by means of Executive Decree Nº 36 of 8 July 1991. Later, the Department of Labour and Social Welfare issued Resolution Nº D.M. 02-93 on 14 July 1993, whereby the learning contract format was approved. Notwithstanding, it was not until approval of Law Decree Nº 4 on 7 January 1997 that the dual professional training system in Panama was regulated, establishing the system with technical and legal content.

With the dual professional training system, the learning contract acquired a significant relevance. The objectives of the dual training programme promoted by INAFORP include training children and adolescents between 14 and 17 years of age without professional training. Thus, it can provide them with knowledge and abilities under contract, where “the learner spends most of his/her time receiving professional training of a primordially practical nature that is directly related to the occupation that s/he wishes to learn. The rest of the time, training is provided in a training centre where s/he receives a theoretical and technical complement.” Therefore, learning contracts represent a significant advance in creating a continuous training system for the country.

The programme known as “Entrepreneurial Uncle” (Padrino Empresario) is also a labour alternative for social problems, preventing undesirable behaviour among youths, and maintaining or fostering their return to the educational system, contributing to achieve educational goals, raising their self-esteem by means of a labour orientation and experience programme, it provides youths with working experience that prepares them to be better workers and promotes family integration.

This Programme is co-ordinated by the Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture. The strategic objective is to provide preventive support for those minors that are at social risk. In the final instance, the programme seeks to avoid school dropouts, vagrancy and all those activities that foster delinquency. In synthesis, it is a rehabilitation programme, but with preventive connotations.

The Entrepreneurial Uncle Programme offers employment to youths in activities with little risk to their health and personal integrity. Under this programme, children and adolescents are inserted into jobs and therein gain awareness and responsibility. Participating minors are between 14 and 17 years of age. They are given a shift that does not exceed 4 hours a day, as indicated by the labour laws.

The Entrepreneurial Uncle Programme is carried out in local supermarket chains, where minors are assigned tasks such as packing bags at checkpoints and tending vehicles in supermarket parking lots.
Characteristics of the study population in the child labour survey

4.A Population composition

4.A.1 Composition, structure and distribution of the total population

The Panamanian Child Labour Survey, carried out in October 2000 by the Statistics and Census Office under the aegis of the Comptroller General of the Republic, enumerated a total of 1,996,153 persons in private dwellings and the related households with minors from 5 to 17 years of age, of which 1,175,617 inhabitants (58.9%) reside in urban areas and 820,536 (41.1%) in rural areas.

The largest population concentration is found in Panama province (46.0%) in contrast to the Darien (1.3%), Los Santos (2.5%) and Bocas del Toro (2.8%) provinces, with the smallest proportions. Indigenous areas are home to 8.9% of the population.

Regarding gender, a sex ratio of 98 males for every 100 females is evidence of the predominance of the feminine gender, which represents 50.5% of the total population (1,008,315). However, sex distribution varies by area. In urban areas, 51.6% are women and 48.4% are men, while in rural areas 51.0% are men and 49.0% are women; in indigenous areas, women represent 50.6% and men 49.4%.

The population breakdown by age group is as follows: 11.4% less than 5 years of age, 37.8% from 5 to 17 years of age and 50.8% are persons over age 18 (see table 12).

With regards to the population age 18 or more years, the smallest concentrations can be found in Darien (1.1%), Bocas del Toro (2.4%) and Los Santos (2.7%) provinces, while the largest concentrations are found in Panama (46.4%) and Chiriqui (12.6%), with an obvious size differential between them. Indigenous areas hold 7.2% of this population group, rural areas 37.7% and 62.3% are found in urban areas.

The foregoing is congruent with observed demographic dynamics, particularly with the evolution of fertility which is higher in those provinces and areas whose absolute and relative numbers of persons over age 18 are smaller, thus boys, girls and adolescents share relatively greater importance in the population.

Another outstanding aspect is the heightened retention of women over 18 years of age in households with boys, girls and adolescents, so that their proportions are higher than those of the males, both overall and by area.

It is important to note that the population dealt with here refers only to that found in households with minors from 5 to 17 years of age present, so that the sex and age composition differs from that of the rest of the households without population in this age group, or from results that include both types of households. For the purposes of any type of comparative interpretation this fact must be kept in mind, since the results are not strictly comparable to those derived from other surveys or population and housing censuses.

Median age for the total population surveyed was 18 years of age. By sex, for males it was 18 years of age and for females it was 20. In urban areas, median ages fell above this value, at 20, 19 and 22 years, respective-ly, while in rural (17,16 and 21 years) and indigenous
areas (14.14 and 15 years), it was generally below the national level, with the exception of the median age for rural women.

Aside from the inherent limitations of the traditional index of demographic dependence, the values derived from the Survey reveal, together with the median age, a youthful age structure. For every 100 persons in potentially active ages (15-64 years of age) there are 79 dependents (less than 15 years or over 65 years of age). This relationship, although higher in rural (96) than urban areas (67), holds no comparison to the magnitude in indigenous areas (123), which is doubtless a reflection of demographic dynamics influenced by differential socio-economic and cultural conditions.

4A.2 Population composition, structure and distribution from 5 to 17 years of age

The total population from 5 to 17 years of age consists of 755,032 individuals, the target population for this study. As was indicated previously, it represents 37.9% of the whole Panamanian population enumerated exclusively in households with children in this age group. Within the whole population, this group is of considerable demographic weight; insofar as 4 of every 10 persons is a minor between 5 and 17 years of age.

Within the population from 5 to 17 years of age, there are 389,389 males, 51.6% of the total, and 365,643 females constituting 48.4% of the total. The sex ratio in this group is 106.5 males per 100 females or 94 females for every 100 males as a female ratio.

On observing the age composition of the population between 5 and 17 years of age, we find that 39.9% are children 5 to 9 years of age, 39.3% fall in the group from 10 to 14 years of age and 20.8% belong to the population 15 to 17 years of age.

The population of children from 5 to 14 years of age, which represents almost 80% of the population from 5 to 17 years of age, numbers 597,937 individuals, the target population for this study. This is coherent with differential demographic trends by geographic area seen in the country.

As can be seen in table 13, Panama province holds the largest number of minors between 5 and 17 years of age: 332,568 persons (44.0%). Chiriquí province is next in importance, with 12.8% (96,476). The lowest proportions are found in Darién (1.5%), Los Santos (2.5%) and Bocas del Toro (2.9%) provinces.

Indigenous areas hold 71,841 children, 9.5% of the total. The sex distribution favours females (50.9%), which differs from that found in the country as a whole and the other geographic divisions.

The population between 5 and 17 years of age is unevenly distributed across the country, with 56.8% (428,720) living in urban areas and 43.2% (326,312) living in rural areas.

By sex, more than 50% of this population is male in both areas, and by age groups as well, with the exception of 15 to 17 year olds in urban areas, where adolescent females predominate.

Proportional participation by age for area groups in the study population 5 to 17 years of age shows that urban areas maintain a situation similar to that overall, while in rural and indigenous areas boys and girls from 5 to 9 years of age constitute more than 40% of the study group. This is coherent with differential demographic trends by geographic area seen in the country.

The Child Labour Survey recorded a total 391,004 households, of these 308,135 (representing 78.8%) have male heads of household and 82,869 (21.2%) have female heads of household. This information reveals that male heads of household predominate in the country. Nevertheless, the number of households with female heads is also significant, since this may provide an indication of the breakdown of family structure, provoking many boys, girls and adolescents to enter the labour market.
Among the households with female heads (82,869), 71.6% are found in urban areas, indicating a greater breakdown among urban family households.

The foregoing assertions are more clearly in evidence when contrasting this information with data on kinship relationships where nationwide only 10.0% of these households declared having a spouse, in contrast to the households with male heads, where 94.0% had spouses.

Median age for heads of household showed little variation by sex, male heads of household had a median age of 42 years and female heads of household 43 years. It is worth noting that a majority of heads of household are concentrated between the ages of 30 and 49 years.

With regards to household size, the Survey found that households headed by males had more members (5.2) than those headed by females (4.6).

Insofar as household composition is concerned, 19.6% of the household population were heads of household, 14.9% were spouses of heads of household, 49.5% were children, 15.2% were other relatives and 0.6% were non-relatives.

4.2.2 Household economic characteristics

Inside the households there is a separation of activities corresponding to the social division of labour, which is determined in most cases by the sex and age of household members. Due to role allocation, there has traditionally been a greater male presence in the labour market, while females have been confined to a domestic milieu; nevertheless, global changes are tending to change this traditional posture.

In this sense, it is worth noting that 81.3% of heads of household of both sexes were occupied and earned an average of US$325.00 per month. It is important to point out that these provinces are characterised by a significant rural population and high fertility, which has a bearing on family size and thus on average persons per dwelling.

Panama province, which concentrates the country’s urban population, falls below the national average (5.1 persons per dwelling), as do Herrera and Los Santos provinces (4.9 and 4.5 persons per dwelling respectively). These provinces are characterised by having low levels of fertility.

With regards to type of dwelling, the Survey showed that of total private dwellings, 94.0% are individual dwellings, 3.5% are apartments, 1.5% are rooms in tenements and 1.0% constitutes premises not destined to habitation, but used as dwellings (see table 15).

With regards to semi-permanent and improvised dwellings it should be emphasised that these have an average that varies between 6.5 and 5.7 persons per dwelling, which is, in the former case a whole point above the national average. Generally, these dwellings are characterised by being built with non-durable materials, without an adequate number of rooms, which would mean that the resident population is in an overcrowded situation.

Furthermore, it was found that 74.9% of occupied private dwellings are owned, 10.5% are mortgaged, 7.8% are rented, 5.2% are loaned and 1.4% are condemned. Thus, a large majority of the dwellings is owned. Only in the specific case of Bocas del Toro is a significant percentage on

### Table 14: By type of dwelling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of dwelling</th>
<th>Total dwellings</th>
<th>Total residents</th>
<th>Average persons per dwelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>371,828</td>
<td>1,996,153</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private dwellings</td>
<td>349,572</td>
<td>1,895,987</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>298,515</td>
<td>1,570,364</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-permanent</td>
<td>45,201</td>
<td>292,486</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved</td>
<td>5,806</td>
<td>33,137</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment</td>
<td>13,017</td>
<td>58,896</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ニックル</td>
<td>5,638</td>
<td>25,118</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premises not destined to dwelling, but used for habitation</td>
<td>3,601</td>
<td>16,152</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Comptroller General, Statistics and Census Office, Child Labour Survey
materials; dwellings without electric light, considering these to be dwellings illuminated by means of kerosene, diesel, gas or other; and those dwellings without toilets. All of these variables are considered indispensable to guarantee the welfare of the population in private dwellings (see table 16).

Related to this characterisation, the Survey revealed that 8.0% of the dwellings are without drinking water, 19.3% do not have electric light, 15.5% have earthen floors and 6.9% are without toilets. Although these percentages at the national level may not appear overly alarming, the situation within the country is completely different. There are provinces where severe shortages occur in these characteristics, which have a negative repercussion on health, education and psychomotor development of minors, such is the case of Darién province and indigenous areas. In indigenous areas, the situation is much more worrisome, insofar as 51.2% of the dwellings in these areas lack drinking water and 64.7% are without toilets.

4.C.2 Characteristics of dwellings with child workers

The Survey found 43,199 dwellings with working children resident. In total, there are 273,137 persons living in these dwellings, for an average of 6.3 persons per dwelling, which is almost a whole point above the average number of persons per dwelling when there are no working minors. An average of 2.9 children between 5 and 17 years of age reside in these dwellings.

Averages above the national average are found in Bocas del Toro province and indigenous areas. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that in all provinces the average number of persons per dwelling is higher in those dwellings with working children.

Furthermore, 96.6% of the dwellings with working minors are individual; nevertheless, it is important to point out that the quality of these dwellings is inferior to that of dwellings without employed children. This is the case so much so that while 10.1% of all individual dwellings are semi-permanent and improvised, in the case of the dwellings of interest to us this, this proportion climbs to 32.9%.

The foregoing is corroborated on studying the above table which focuses on some of the shortcomings in dwellings with working minors; in this sense, it is important to note that 10.1% of these dwellings are without drinking water, 48.0% do not have electric light, 38.0% have dirt floors and 17.2% are without toilets (see table 17).

### Some characteristics of occupied private dwellings with working minors, by province

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of dwelling</th>
<th>Total dwellings</th>
<th>Drinking water</th>
<th>Drinking water without electricity</th>
<th>Drinking water without electricity and without a toilet</th>
<th>With electric light</th>
<th>With electric light without earthen floors</th>
<th>Without a toilet</th>
<th>Without a toilet without earthen floors</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42,872</td>
<td>4,332</td>
<td>20,569</td>
<td>16,287</td>
<td>7,383</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bocas del Toro</td>
<td>1,143</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coclé</td>
<td>4,537</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>3,381</td>
<td>2,154</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colón</td>
<td>1,882</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiriquí</td>
<td>4,421</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>1,546</td>
<td>1,301</td>
<td>186.4</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darién</td>
<td>1,061</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herrera</td>
<td>1,719</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Santos</td>
<td>1,474</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>13,638</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>2,475</td>
<td>1,960</td>
<td>979.7</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veraguas</td>
<td>6,344</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>4,461</td>
<td>3,604</td>
<td>1,164</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous areas</td>
<td>6,653</td>
<td>1,031</td>
<td>5,803</td>
<td>5,107</td>
<td>4,101</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>61.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Comptroller General, Statistics and Census Office, Child Labour Survey
As was indicated in the foregoing chapter, the Survey recorded 755,032 minors between 5 and 17 years of age, constituting the potential population of working age, to analyse their situation in the labour market.

This usage does not mean to validate that at these ages this age group is appropriately dedicated to working instead of being devoted full-time to studying, developing and increasing their knowledge, capacities, abilities and aptitudes in the formal education system, as a means for increasing their human capital, enabling them to aspire to better opportunities, productivity, income and life styles.

The incorporation of the population 5 to 17 years of age into the educational system will be dealt with below. For now, emphasis is made on access to work as one of the main motives for minors to cease attending school or to not attend at all.

The core question in the study focuses on the job situation to which the population of minors 5 to 17 years of age aspires, in detriment to other social situations that would provide them with suitable socialisation for good development and enjoyment of their childhood and adolescence.

5.A Size, composition and distribution of the population 5 to 17 years of age by working condition

5.A.1 Size

The labour situation and characteristics of the working child and adolescent population is analysed on the basis of classifications and definitions conventionally used by the Comptroller General of the Republic in the Statistics and Census Office, to estimate indices and dynamics of employment and labour markets.

According to the Survey, the figure referring to the economically active population age 5 or more years of age is estimated to be 729,299 persons at the national level out of a total of 1,769,057, with a participation rate of 41.2% (see table 18).

The Child Labour Survey, at variance with prior surveys, analysed work within the population less than 10 years of age, estimating a child and adolescent labour force of 57,524 minors 5 to 17 years of age. This population, out of a total of 755,032 boys, girls and adolescents, provides an age specific participation rate of 7.6%, i.e., with regards to the whole population of that age group. This segment of the population represents 7.9% of the country’s economically active population encountered in households with children 5 to 17 years of age.

This is just the reality that is presented through the statistical documentation of the Survey, which used households with youths aged 5 through 17 years as the sampling framework. It does not include information on children living on the streets.

As a result, the remaining 697,508 (92.4%) are considered economically inactive, i.e., “outside” the labour force, and represent 67.1% of the whole inactive population (1,039,758).

This implies, in other words, that of every ten (10) minors between 5 and 17 years of age, approximately one (1) has been incorporated into
Both groups of children, those active and inactive, are studied in sections of this analysis, attending the purposes of this analysis, the participation rate for this group is more than eight times higher than that of the child and adolescent group.

These results reveal the lower participation of the working population between 5 and 17 years of age within the country’s total labour force. One could be tempted to infer that since the number of workers is small, it is not relevant. However, it would not be prudent to allow lesser or greater numbers implied by youthful workers to lead to erroneous conclusions in the sense of diminishing the significance that this has for society.

At least two arguments to counteract any possible fallacy that could arise should be noted: each human being must be the core of the development on which the labour force and nine (9) belong to the inactive population.

Of each one hundred adolescents between 15 and 17 years of age, 25 participate in the labour force, whether employed or unemployed. The following groups, from 10 to 14 and 5 to 9 years of age have and activity rates of 6.3% and 0.9%, respectively. In other words, the participation rate that, under normal circumstances of age is almost four-fold than that for the group from 10 to 14 years old, while between the latter group and those between 5 and 9 years of age it is seven-fold.

Upon observing the child and adolescent population by specific ages, the conclusion is that labour force participation rises as age increases.

After 7 years of age, there are ever-larger increases. The absolute difference is slightly more than 4 and 7 thousand minors between ages 14 and 15 years and between 16 and 17 years, respectively.

A total of 21,358 child workers were between 5 and 14 years of age, representing 37.2% of the whole reference population (57,524), with a participation rate of 7.6% within the population as a whole in these specific ages (597,937). This population group takes on special significance since they are below the minimum legal age for access to employment.

Note: EAP is the economically active population. EIA is the economically inactive population. Source: CGR/DEC, Child Labour Survey, October 2000.
5.4.3 Distribution by gender

The behaviour of these numbers proves that males participate more in the labour market. Of the children that work, 74.9% are males and 25.1% are females. Thus, seven (7) of every ten (10) economically active persons between 5 and 17 years of age are males.

As a result, when comparing child and adolescent activity rates among males and females, in terms of percentage differences, males outstrip females: overall, the difference is 7 points (almost three-fold greater), and in the 15 to 17 year-old group it is almost 18 points.

These differences are consistent at all ages, in particular after age 11, where they grow on a stable basis, so that the 4 points at this age become 22.3 at 17 years of age.

The male participation rate is 11.1% and the female rate is 3.9%. By age groups, these correspond respectively for males and females to: 31.7% and 14.0% between 5 and 17 years of age, 9.9% and 2.4% between 10 and 14 years and 1.6% and 0.2% between 5 and 9 years of age.

Male activity rates are above the overall average, which is true, both for working minors between 5 and 17 years of age (11.1% vs. 7.6%) and the population over age 5 as a whole (53.9% vs. 41.2%).

Participation by girls and adolescents also increases with the exception of fluctuations between ages 5 and 6 years, and absence of 7 year-olds in the labour market.

Reasons for reduced female participation in the child and adolescent labour force will be inferred below. This relationship is a positive factor in and of itself. However, it is important not to advance conjectures in this regard, insofar as greater female participation in the economically inactive population may result from the impact of cultural patterns and household sex roles, which suggest different background conditions in their milieu.

To summarize, activity among male children and adolescents is higher than that of their female counterparts: 2.8 times overall, 2 times in urban areas and 3.6 in rural areas.

5.4.4 Distribution by area and province

At the national level, 63.5% of the labour force aged 5 or more years is concentrated in urban areas and 36.5% in rural areas.

With regards to those between 5 and 17 years of age participating in labour markets, the reverse is true: 63.1% (36.3%) are in rural areas and 36.9% (21.2%) in urban areas.

By age groups, proportions of children and adolescents in the labour force are larger in rural areas at 5 to 9 (6.6%) and 10 to 14 years of age (36.6%), than those corresponding to urban areas (1.9% and 24.9%), nevertheless, those found in indigenous areas are higher still (10.2% and 40.9%). In the case of those aged 15 to 17 years old, just the opposite occurs: 73.2% in urban areas, 56.9% in rural areas and 48.9% in indigenous areas.

By sex, males predominate in the child and adolescent labour force: 80.0% in rural areas, 68.6% in indigenous areas, and 66.1% in urban areas. Sex distribution by age groups offers the same pattern found overall: a greater proportion for each sex among those between 5 and 14 years of age in indigenous and rural areas and a larger proportion of minors between 15 and 17 years in urban areas.

Of the minors, 14.3% in indigenous areas, 11.1% in rural areas, and 4.9% in urban areas participate in economic activity. Participation rates climb as one goes from one age group to the next older one. Activity rates for minors 15 to 17 years of age in indigenous areas (41.4%) and rural areas (34.2%), more than double that of urban areas (16.0%). With regard to participation rates for minors aged 10 to 14 years, those of the indigenous and rural areas are four-fold and three-fold higher, respectively, than urban areas. In the case of children aged 5 to 9 years, the activity rate in indigenous areas is 14 times higher than that of urban areas, triple the national average and almost double that of rural areas.

The gender composition of the child and adolescent labour force may thus constitute an example of the assumption that their specific needs and difficulties, which led them to enter the labour force, are a mirror of the dynamics and processes involving the adult world and society as a whole.

In indigenous areas, 14.3% of the population between 5 and 17 years of age constitutes the child and adolescent labour force. Almost 1 of every 5 males is in the labour force. In the group between 15 and 17 years of age, this ratio climbs to 1 of every 2 persons. In non-indigenous areas (the country’s nine provinces), activity rates are below those in indigenous areas, overall, as well as by sex and age groups. The total participation rate in indigenous areas is double that in non-indigenous areas, female participation is 2.7 times higher and male participation is 1.8 times higher.

As can be seen in table 22, activity rates, in order of relative importance, correspond to the provinces in the following order: Veraguas, Darién, Coóle, Los Santos, Bocas del Toro, Herrera, Chiriquí, Panama and Colón. Panama’s rate concentrates the largest proportion of on the child and adolescent labour force, as it does for those of males and females.

### Table 21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and age groups</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Total EAP</th>
<th>Activity Rate (%)</th>
<th>Total EAP</th>
<th>Activity Rate (%)</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Total EAP</th>
<th>Activity Rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>755,032</td>
<td>389,389</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>43,082</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>365,643</td>
<td>14,442</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>301,284</td>
<td>155,709</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>15,345</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>145,575</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>206,653</td>
<td>103,354</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5,196</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>94,368</td>
<td>2,368</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>157,095</td>
<td>80,335</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>30,454</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>76,760</td>
<td>10,712</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>326,312</td>
<td>171,100</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>29,067</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>155,207</td>
<td>7,247</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>428,720</td>
<td>218,284</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>14,020</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>210,436</td>
<td>7,195</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>163,596</td>
<td>85,230</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>11,353</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>78,346</td>
<td>42</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>168,359</td>
<td>84,971</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>9,045</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>83,388</td>
<td>1,444</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>96,765</td>
<td>48,063</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>9,815</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>48,702</td>
<td>5,707</td>
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<td>Indigenous</td>
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<td>210,436</td>
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<td>5-9</td>
<td>32,421</td>
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<td>17,077</td>
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<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>296,653</td>
<td>153,345</td>
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<td>95,920</td>
<td>1,022</td>
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<td>15-17</td>
<td>60,330</td>
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<td>53.6</td>
<td>15,639</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>28,058</td>
<td>5,005</td>
<td>17.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>755,032</td>
<td>389,389</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>43,082</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>365,643</td>
<td>14,442</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8 Employment status of the population 5 to 17 years of age

The analysis of the child and adolescent labour force carried out to this point, with regards to size and distribution by age group and sex, provides information on how many are actually incorporated in the labour market and how many are unemployed (worked previously) or are new workers (never have worked and seek entry to the labour market for the first time), i.e., the unemployed seeking work.

5.8.1 Child and adolescent unemployment

The Survey found 12.5% unemployment in the economically active population 5 or more years of age. A similar value, although slightly below the average, of 12.2% is found for the economically active population 5 or more years of age (18.1%), whose unemployment rate of 21.4% is the highest of the three study groups and the highest level is found among female adolescents, 27.6%, above the average of 21.4%, while that of males is 18.8%.

In the group 10 to 14 years of age, although it has a lower unemployment (9.5%), it is significant most if it reflects pressure on the labour market. By gender, it is higher in males overall and in urban areas, while the reverse is true in rural areas. By area, child and adolescent unemployment rates are higher in urban areas.

Unemployed minors are found more in the non-indigenous areas (94.5%), with a marked influence of Panama province, which absorbs 52.3% of all unemployed, than in the indigenous areas (5.9%). Non labour force entrants show a similar geographic distribution. The smallest numbers of unemployed are found, in particular, in Darién (0.5%), Los Santos (1.1%) and Bocas del Toro (1.6%) provinces.

The high levels of open unemployment found in the country is cause for concern in Panamanian society. The Survey revealed the significant dimensions of unemployment among young adults: 33.6% among those 18 and 19 years old; 25.9% among those 20 to 24 years of age; and, 17.6% among those 25 to 29 years of age. The 30 to 34 year-old group had 11.5% unemployment. In contrast, only 14.3% of those unemployed were over 40 years of age, with an unemployment rate of 5.3%.

Definitely, in terms of the age of those affected, unemployment is a phenomenon that bears heavily on the country’s youth, according to the Survey’s results. With respect to the unemployed youth segment, it is important to emphasise in public policy and especially social policy actions aimed at offering training, access to micro credit and employment that would enhance their quality of life.

With regards to unemployed minors between 5 and 17 years of age, the following aspects are mentioned: implement measures intended to prevent labour market insertion of the population between 5 and 17 years of age, in general; emphasise non-incorporation of those less than 14 years of age through strict compliance of current laws on minimum age for access to employment; protect the working rights and conditions of minors aged 15 or more years, as well as provide them with training opportunities, and in any case access to decent employment in satisfactory conditions; apply and innovate actions that would favourably on their incorporation into the school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and province</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Non-urban area</th>
<th>Indigenous</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Non-indigenous area</th>
<th>Indigenous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>7.6</td>
<td>43,082</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Veraguas</td>
<td>1,208</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>6,281</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>5,812</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>12,790</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Santos</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1,302</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
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<td>Herrera</td>
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<td>314</td>
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<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1,302</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>5,812</td>
<td>12.2</td>
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<td>32.4</td>
<td>12,790</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Veraguas</td>
<td>1,208</td>
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<td>6,281</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indigenous areas</td>
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<td>14.3</td>
<td>7,067</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22

Note: One hundred percent corresponds to the sum of the nine provinces plus indigenous areas, or the sum of urban and rural areas. The non-indigenous area corresponds to the sum of the 9 provinces. Source: CGR/DEC, Child Labour Survey, October 2000.

Table 23

Unemployment rates in the economically active population between 5 and 17 years of age, by area and groups, according to sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and age groups</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Unemployed rate (%)</th>
<th>Unemployed workers</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Unemployed rate (%)</th>
<th>Unemployed workers</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Unemployed rate (%)</th>
<th>Unemployed workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9,548</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>5,824</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>3,919</td>
<td>2,281</td>
<td>3,348</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>1,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1.4</td>
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<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>1,760</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>1,127</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>84</td>
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<td>7,749</td>
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<td>6,458</td>
<td>3,091</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>4,792</td>
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<td>2,957</td>
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<td>27.6</td>
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<td>23.1</td>
<td>3,955</td>
<td>2,269</td>
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<td>31.5</td>
<td>953</td>
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<tr>
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<td>954</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>5,270</td>
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<td>3,167</td>
<td>2,103</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>3,146</td>
<td>1,985</td>
<td>1,124</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>37.2</td>
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<td>3,919</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>28.5</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>39</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>1,534</td>
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<td>1,127</td>
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<td>12.1</td>
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<td>4,566</td>
<td>2,124</td>
<td>2,124</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>1,225</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indigenous</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these ages are employed. Thus, more than three quarters of the active minors population between 5 and 17 years of age, their rate although they constitute 60.0% of the employed force in this group are employed, which in absolute terms amounts to 47,976 boys, girls and adolescents. The results show that 19,559 children between 5 and 14 years of age were working, i.e., 41.0% of the employed population between 5 and 17 years of age were working outside current legislation on minimum ages. Of these 19,559 minors (86.2%) are males and 3,339 (17.0%) are females.

With regards to area of residence, they are found primarily in rural areas, where there are 32,985 persons (68.4%), while in urban areas there are 14,991 (31.2%). This pattern repeats for each sex.

As a result, the employment rate in rural areas, 90.8%, is above that for urban areas (70.7%), and is also above the overall average; however, that for indigenous areas exceeds all of the foregoing at 94.9%. Indigenous areas absorb 23.4% of this employed population while non-indigenous areas absorb 76.6%.

The urban area has a rate of 77.0%, while in non-indigenous areas it is 70.7%. Employment rates by gender are noteworthy in indigenous areas, where females have a higher rate (95.4%) than their male counterparts (94.7%), of particular import here is the prevalence of the higher rate in the 15 to 17 year old group (96.8%).

In indigenous areas, all economically active boys and girls between 5 and 15 years of age are employed, so their employment rates are 100%. This fact is an indirect indicator of greater impoverishment in these areas, which places greater pressure on children and adolescents for earlier incorporation into gainful activities, as part of the occupied or employed labour force.

As table 25 shows, employment rates over 90% are found in Darién, Los Santos, Veraguas and Bocas del Toro provinces. Rates of over 80% but less than 90% are found in Cocle and Herrera provinces. And rates over 70% but less than 80% are found in Chiriquí, Colón and Panama provinces.

The Survey encountered, as a logical counterpart to child and adolescent unemployment, the employed population between 5 and 17 years of age, its range of labour market participation, occupations carried out, hazardous conditions in which it works, extended working shifts, possibilities of merging work and studies, how it values its job through remunerations received, access to social security and labour guarantees, among others, that will be studied in greater detail.

The overall child and adolescent unemployment rate was 83.4%, to wit, 8 of every 10 persons in the labour market (see table 24).

Employment rates by sex are noteworthy in indigenous areas, where females have a higher rate (95.4%) than their male counterparts (94.7%), of particular import here is the prevalence of the higher rate in the 15 to 17 year old group (96.8%).

In indigenous areas, all economically active boys and girls between 5 and 17 years of age are employed, so their employment rates are 100%.

By age groups, the employment rate is 98.6% (2,755) among children aged 5 to 9 years and 90.5% (16,804) among those 10 to 14 years of age, which are above the average. Youths 15 to 17 years of age, although they constitute 60.0% of the employed population between 5 and 17 years of age, their rate 78.6% (28,417) is below those of the other groups, thus, more than three quarters of the active minors in these ages are employed.

Furthermore, males have an employment rate of 85.6%, which reveals that 36,882 boys and male adolescents are working or have employment. The employment rate for girls and female adolescents is 76.8% (11,094), which is lower than that for boys and thus below the average.

By age groups and sex, overall the male employment rates exceed that of females, except in the case of children between 5 and 9 years of age, since all of the girls were employed, nevertheless, there were only 362 employed girls as against 2,493 employed boys in that age group.

The most immediate problem of interest is the counterpart of child and adolescent unemployment: the employed population between 5 and 17 years of age, its range of labour market participation, occupations carried out, hazardous conditions in which it works, extended working shifts, possibilities of merging work and studies, how it values its job through remunerations received, access to social security and labour guarantees, among others, that will be studied in the following sections.

5.8.2 Employed girls, boys and adolescents

The Survey encountered, as a logical counterpart to child and adolescent unemployment, higher rates of employment in the population between 5 and 17 years of age.

The overall child and adolescent employment rate was 83.4%, to wit, 8 of every 10 persons in the labour market (see table 24).

By gender, behaviour is similar by areas and a trend toward higher male rates is maintained with the aforementioned exceptions in indigenous areas and in Colón province, where the female employment rate (84.6%) provides a difference in their favour of almost 12 points with respect to the male rate (73.8%).

Upon ascertaining the number of boys, girls and adolescents that have or had some labour experience prior to the Survey; the total was 73,299 persons, of whom 74.3% (54,484) were male and 25.7% (18,815) were female. This research, then, takes into account the 47.9% minors employed during the last reference week prior to the Survey; the 5,824 minors that indicated they had worked previously and were currently out of work; and, the 19,499 minors not economically active but who declared having worked at some time in the last 12 months.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and age groups</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number %</th>
<th>Employment rate (%)</th>
<th>Number %</th>
<th>Employment rate (%)</th>
<th>Number %</th>
<th>Employment rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Number %</td>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Number %</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>10-14</td>
<td>2,854</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>90.5</td>
<td>2,630</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>88.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>7,765</td>
<td>72.6</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>7,097</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>95.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-indigenous</td>
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<td>54.1</td>
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<td>3,798</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>90.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>11,094</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>10,365</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>93.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This group of minors, equal to 9.7% of the whole population between 5 and 17 years of age, constitutes the group found by the Survey that are or at some point were involved in the labour market.

5.8.3 Characteristics of the economically inactive population

The central purpose of this study is to ascertain the situation of working children. The study would be remiss in meeting this goal, however, if it does not also examine the situation of the population that indicated it was not economically active.

This statement is based mainly of the following. On the one hand, the number of minors who, although inactive had been a part of the labour market during the last 12 months, as researched and found by the Survey. On the other hand, although household activities are not defined as gainful employment (work), i.e. labour subject to remuneration, it is true that the aid provided by minors within the household, which is usually not researched, holds special interest from the point of view of inferring whether it is compatible with education, and adult physical efforts and responsibilities assumed by minors, among others.

5.8.3.1 Inactive minors with work experience

A was mentioned above, a contingent of 19,499 inactive minors indicated that they had worked at some time during the preceding 12 months, which represents 2.8% of the inactive population between 5 and 17 years of age, while the remaining 97.2% responded negatively to this question (see table 26).

Of this group that worked during the last 12 months, 70.2% (13,683) are males and 29.8% (5,816) are females. At 5 years of age, there were no interviewees who responded affirmatively to this question, and starting at 6 years of age the number responding affirmatively increases by age, reaching a maximum of 3,735 minors aged 17 years.

The largest number of minors in this situation, 10,057, is found in urban areas (51.6%), and the rest, 9,442, in rural areas (48.4%). In indigenous areas there were 975 minors representing 5.0% of the total of this population segment.

Within the inactive population, 616,157 minors (88.3%) are full-time students, and of these 2.75% (16,879) worked on occasion over the last 12 months, and represent 86.6% of all of those that had answered affirmatively.

Among males that did work, an ample majority (90.0%) are students and there are similarities with the females (78.9%).

In the case of inactive females, who constitute more than 50.0% of the inactive population, there were 17,528 (5.0%) women who were housewives, of whom 6.2% did work during the reference period.

In rural areas, the proportion of inactive females declaring themselves to be only housewives was 8.9% (13,176), thus, more than three-quarters of the housewives encountered are rural. In indigenous areas, among the inactive women, 13.0% were housewives (the highest proportion found), while at the same time there was a lower proportion of female students, compared with other areas and provinces. In urban areas, there were 4,352 housewives, who represented just 2.1% of their gender.

In general, it was encouraging to find that most inactive children and adolescents were fully given over to studies (according to the statement “only student”), which is found at any level of geographic disaggregation.

At the opposite extreme, the girls and adolescents that are housewives at early ages are a motive of concern, due to sequelae arising from this in their ability to develop a positive life project at this stage, which is important for setting favourite goals and the possibilities of a better and more decent life in productive, personal and even reproductive terms.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and province</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employed population</td>
<td>Employment rate (%)</td>
<td>Employed population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47,976</td>
<td>83.4</td>
<td>36,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban area</td>
<td>14,991</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>10,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural area</td>
<td>32,985</td>
<td>90.8</td>
<td>26,817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-indigenous areas</td>
<td>38,199</td>
<td>80.9</td>
<td>30,192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bocas del Toro</td>
<td>1,569</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>1,214</td>
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<td>4,701</td>
<td>87.8</td>
<td>4,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colón</td>
<td>2,083</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>1,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiriquí</td>
<td>4,525</td>
<td>75.7</td>
<td>3,736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darién</td>
<td>1,033</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herrera</td>
<td>1,279</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>1,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Santos</td>
<td>1,509</td>
<td>90.4</td>
<td>1,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panamá</td>
<td>13,645</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>9,662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veraguas</td>
<td>7,406</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>5,995</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indigenous areas | 9,777 | 94.9 | 6,690 | 94.7 | 3,087 | 95.4 |

Labour force insertion by minors at some time during the year prior to the Survey, and who declared that they were students, may be related to their participation in agricultural harvests (coffee, sugar cane, among others), and in occasional activities, such as hawking and others that can be carried out during school vacations. Were this not the case, these minors may repeat their working cycle during the recess from school and in so doing not return to school for different reasons (the possibility of greater permanence at work, more attractive remuneration, family and financial pressures, reaching the age where school attendance is no longer required, lack of educational infrastructure nearby, among others). These assumptions can neither be asserted nor corroborated with statistical data generated by the Survey.

### Table 27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration of work in gainful employment</th>
<th>Area and province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Less than 1 month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bocas del Toro</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocle</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colón</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiriquí</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darién</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herrera</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Santos</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panamá</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veraguas</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous areas</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


An interesting comment regarding the population declared inactive at the time of the Survey, but that was part of the labour force during the year immediately prior to the survey, is that slightly less than three quarters (74.3% / 14,480) came from households of 5 or more members, the rest from households of less than 5 members (25.7% / 5,019). This relationship is similar by gender of head of household, although in the case of male-headed households, the proportion of minors from households of more than 5 members is slightly higher than those headed by females.

By areas, all areas have a greater significance of these minors in households of 5 or more members, but there are variations in importance.

In indigenous areas, one hundred percent of minors between 5 and 17 years of age that had been active during the year are from households of 5 or more members, whether these are male or female-headed households.

In rural areas, the distribution of minors previously active by size of household, 8 out of 10 come from households of 5 or more members. A similar but slightly higher relationship is found in male-headed households (82.9%), and a slightly lower one in those headed by females (71.7%).

By gender, there is a similar pattern, with a predominance of having worked between 1 and 3 months during the last 12 months; however, a temporary employment of from 4 to 6 months was more common among females while work lasting less than one month was more common among men.

In urban areas, the percentage of previously active minors coming from households of more than 5 members is lower (68.6%) than in other areas, whereas in female-headed households there is a greater concentration (73.1%) in comparison with those headed by males (67.4%).

Theinactive population that participated in labour markets during the 12 months prior to the Survey experienced a varied incorporation by duration of employment: 47.5% were occasionally active between 1 and 3 months; 70.0% were temporarily active from 4 to 6 months; 1.5% worked between 7 and 9 months; and 3.8% did so on a more customary basis from 10 to 12 months (see table 27).

Economically inactive population between 5 and 17 years of age that does household chores at home on a regular basis, by area and age group according to sex (Year 2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and age group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Do you regularly carry out household chores during the week?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>697,508</td>
<td>490,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>298,490</td>
<td>161,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>278,089</td>
<td>227,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>120,929</td>
<td>102,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>407,505</td>
<td>283,228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>290,003</td>
<td>207,691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous areas</td>
<td>61,539</td>
<td>42,354</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Economically inactive population between 5 and 17 years of age that does household chores at home on a regular basis, by area and age group according to sex (Year 2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and age group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Do you regularly carry out household chores during the week?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>697,508</td>
<td>490,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>298,490</td>
<td>161,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>278,089</td>
<td>227,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>120,929</td>
<td>102,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>407,505</td>
<td>283,228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>290,003</td>
<td>207,691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous areas</td>
<td>61,539</td>
<td>42,354</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Labour force insertion by minors at some time during the year prior to the Survey, and who declared that they were students, may be related to their participation in agricultural harvests (coffee, sugar cane, among others), and in occasional activities, such as hawking and others that can be carried out during school vacations. Were this not the case, these minors may repeat their working cycle during the recess from school and in so doing not return to school for different reasons (the possibility of greater permanence at work, more attractive remuneration, family and financial pressures, reaching the age where school attendance is no longer required, lack of educational infrastructure nearby, among others). These assumptions can neither be asserted nor corroborated with statistical data generated by the Survey.

With regard to inactive minors, 70.4% (490,919) carry out household chores on a regular basis, but the Survey does not delve into the nature of these chores.

Females help out at home to a greater extent (75.8%) than their male counterparts (64.9%). This behaviour is the same at all age levels in the study population increasing progressively in the three age ranges studied, especially among adolescents.

By areas as well, there is also a female primacy over males with regards to carrying out household chores, which is somewhat more intense in rural areas, followed by indigenous areas, and finally urban areas.

### Table 28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and age group</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you regularly carry out household chores during the week?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>697,508</td>
<td>490,919</td>
<td>206,589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>298,490</td>
<td>161,226</td>
<td>137,264</td>
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<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>278,089</td>
<td>227,500</td>
<td>50,589</td>
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<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>120,929</td>
<td>102,193</td>
<td>18,736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>407,505</td>
<td>283,228</td>
<td>124,277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>290,003</td>
<td>207,691</td>
<td>82,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous areas</td>
<td>61,539</td>
<td>42,354</td>
<td>19,185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participation in domestic chores among girls 5 to 9 years of age exceeds 65.0% in provinces such as Chiriquí (61.9%) and Darién (65.6%). By area, this relationship is highest in indigenous areas (63.3%).

About three-quarters of the population between 5 and 17 years of age (73.0%) that declared doing household chores on a regular basis are found in households with 5 or more members. This pattern is stable throughout all the areas, but is lower in relation to female-headed households in urban areas (54.3%) than in indigenous (76.3%) and rural areas (65.3%).

In general, a majority of the economically inactive population that helps at home does so every day of the week. Thus, the greater frequency and temporal intensity dedicated by girls and female adolescents to domestic chores is corroborated by the fact that 54.0% of them participate 7 days a week in these activities. This relationship is greater in rural areas (57.6%), followed by indigenous areas (56.8%) and urban areas (51.1%). Among males, it is also most common to find them helping out every day of the week (44.1%), although to a lesser extent than the girls and female adolescents.

A majority of male and female youths that help at home on a regular basis do so less than 5 hours a day. This is true for both sexes and in each one of the areas.

Given the interest in ascertaining the greatest amount of time dedicated to household help, the situation of those minors that dedicate more than three hours a day to these chores is noteworthy, insofar as it provides an idea of the hours available for use in other activities, such as studies, socialization and play, among others.

The statistical data indicate that 6.5% of the minors use more than 3 hours per day in household chores. Among the females this relationship is twice as high as among males (8.8% vs. 3.7%). This pattern is maintained when we look at the figures by area. The largest proportion is found in indigenous areas (10.8%); furthermore, these areas also have the highest ratios of females (37.7%) versus males (6.7%) in comparison to other areas.

Another result derived from these data is that the proportion of minors using 3 or more hours per day for household chores grows as the age group increases. Thus, the 15 to 17 year old group, at any level of disaggregation or comparison predominates in the application of 3 or more hours to household tasks. This dedication is greater among the females than the males.

This relationship shows almost no differentiation by area or province; in urban and indigenous areas and the provinces of Colón, Darién and Panama, the proportions of males and females attending school are very close, with the former slightly above 50.0% and the latter exceeding 49.0%. The only exception is in Los Santos province where females have a greater relative weight in school attendance (51.1%) than males (48.9%).

When analysing whether they attend school or not by sex, a slight relative importance can be seen for females (85.4%) versus males (84.4%), which also exceed the average (84.9%).

The trend is similar in the country’s different areas and provinces, except for Bocas del Toro province (81.7% females vs. 83.7% males), and in particular, indigenous areas (65.1% females vs. 69.3% males), where the proportion attending school is lower among females than males in the same group.

The breakdown by age groups shows that 84.4% (232,140) children 5 to 9 years of age and school, 92.2% (275,516) of those between 10 and 14 years of age were attending, and 70.5% (110,789) of those between 15 and 17 years of age were attending (see table 38).

By sex in the first two age groups, males absorb about 51.6% of all school attendees; while in the last group, females make up 50.1%. The opposite is true in the 15 to 17 year old group only in rural and indigenous areas and Bocas del Toro, Darién and Los Santos provinces. This may be due in part to a relationship with cultural patterns that affect access by young and adolescent girls to the educational system.

By areas, school attendance by minors aged 5 to 9 years as a proportion of total school attendees in rural areas (42.9%) is relatively higher than the national average at those ages (39.7%), the proportion aged 10 to 14 years is also higher (44.4%) while that for adolescents 15 to 17 (12.7%) is below the average for that age group. The opposite occurs in urban areas, where this latter group represents a higher proportion (20.8%). In spite of the fact that middle school education is free, this age group in particular represents reduced school attendance.

### 5.C Educational situation of the population between 5 and 17 years of age

#### 5.C.1 General characteristics

Currently, there can be no doubt about the privileged recognition granted to education as a mechanism for integration, advance and social mobility, permitting greater personal achievement and labour market insertion.

In the case of minors between 5 and 17 years of age, educational access and attendance are elements that take on special importance, as long as education is not merely a training process, but also a stage in the lives of children, where they build their images of the future and adequate and stable life projects. The wealth of formal education that one acquires from childhood, as growing human capital, must be one of their potential resources for obtaining a better quality of life.

##### 5.C.1.1 School attendance

According to the Child Labour Survey, 84.9% (640,735) of minors between 5 and 17 years of age are attending school, and 15.1% (114,297) are not attending.

When looking at the population as a whole, it is clear that more males are attending school than females: 51.3% (328,605) are males and 48.7% (312,130) are females (see table 29).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and province</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area and province</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban areas</td>
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<td>640,735</td>
<td>114,297</td>
<td>389,389</td>
<td>328,605</td>
<td>60,784</td>
<td>365,643</td>
<td>312,130</td>
<td>53,513</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural areas</td>
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<td>592,447</td>
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<td>353,820</td>
<td>304,945</td>
<td>48,875</td>
<td>293,169</td>
<td>288,502</td>
<td>40,676</td>
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<td>Non-indigenous</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bocas del Toro</td>
<td>21,825</td>
<td>18,056</td>
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<td>11,107</td>
<td>9,299</td>
<td>1,808</td>
<td>10,718</td>
<td>8,757</td>
<td>1,961</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>21,733</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colón</td>
<td>57,497</td>
<td>51,649</td>
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<td>28,898</td>
<td>26,027</td>
<td>2,861</td>
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<td>25,622</td>
<td>2,887</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiriquí</td>
<td>96,476</td>
<td>81,323</td>
<td>15,153</td>
<td>50,659</td>
<td>42,389</td>
<td>8,270</td>
<td>45,817</td>
<td>38,934</td>
<td>6,883</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darién</td>
<td>11,207</td>
<td>9,818</td>
<td>1,389</td>
<td>4,244</td>
<td>3,887</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>4,037</td>
<td>3,531</td>
<td>506</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herrera</td>
<td>25,066</td>
<td>22,546</td>
<td>2,520</td>
<td>13,643</td>
<td>11,161</td>
<td>2,482</td>
<td>12,793</td>
<td>10,930</td>
<td>1,863</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Santos</td>
<td>18,723</td>
<td>16,327</td>
<td>2,396</td>
<td>9,377</td>
<td>7,987</td>
<td>1,390</td>
<td>9,346</td>
<td>8,304</td>
<td>1,006</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>32,569</td>
<td>29,046</td>
<td>3,522</td>
<td>17,044</td>
<td>15,047</td>
<td>2,997</td>
<td>19,665</td>
<td>16,242</td>
<td>3,423</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veraguas</td>
<td>60,499</td>
<td>51,487</td>
<td>9,012</td>
<td>32,364</td>
<td>28,135</td>
<td>4,229</td>
<td>36,274</td>
<td>32,682</td>
<td>12,664</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Indigenous areas  | 71,843 | 48,289 | 23,555 | 35,569 | 24,660 | 10,909 | 36,274 | 23,628 | 12,646 |

within the population between 5 and 17 years of age, and on a differential basis. This latter fact may be related, on the one hand, with better opportuni-
ties and conditions for school attendance in urban areas, and on the other, with greater labour force insertion at these ages as well as reduced near-by
school infrastructure at the middle school level in rural areas.

By specific ages, those under 5 years of age –pre-
school age- stand out with 30.3% non-attendance at school at the national level: 65.3% in rural areas; in Bocas del Toro, Cocle and Chiriquí, this falls into
a range that varies between 60% and 65%; and climbs to 64.0% in indigenous areas. Females are the ones most affected.

Non-attendance at school could be associated to different factors; a scarcity or the non-existence of offi-
cial free pre-school centres, the fact that only “formal schooling” is reported, and the non-competitive char-
acter of these programmes, among others.

With regards to the population between 5 and 17 years of age that was gainfully employed at some time
during the last 12 months, 86.6% (16,879) attended school (as full-time students) and 13.4% (2,620) did not attend. Of those minors employed during the last
12 months and that were active students, 78.5% resided in households headed by males and 21.5% are from female-headed households. This behaviour is
also found by area. The proportion attending is high-
her than those not attending in all of the study areas, but with differing magnitudes, thus in indigenous
areas the proportion of these minors attending school is greatest (92.3%), followed by urban (89.7%) and rural (83.2%) areas.

A further observation worth mention regarding the
inactive population with employment experience
during the last 12 months and their participation in the
educational system is that 38.5% (7,504) attended school at the same time that they were gainfully
employed (and 61.5%, or 11,995 minors were not
within the school system). This proportion is highest in urban areas (47.1%), while the lowest proportion
is found by rural (29.3%) and indigenous areas (23.1%).

Simultaneous dedication to work and studies in the
group in question at the overall level was more
common among males (42.2%) than females (29.6%). By area, there are some variations with regard
to the national average. Incidence among males
is higher than females in urban areas (52.2%), but not
in rural (31.8%) and indigenous (18.2%) areas.

By age groups at the national level, in general
duplicate activities (studies and employment) were
more common, in rank order, among those 10 to 14
years of age (49.0%), 5 to 9 years (47.6%) and 15 to 17 years (28.5%). This pattern by areas is only appli-
cable to urban areas, since rural and indigenous areas
show the 5 to 9 year old group assuming first place. It
is worth noting that in indigenous areas, 100% of
minors between 5 and 9 years of age who worked and
attended school during the year prior to the survey
correspond only to males.

A majority of the inactive minors between 5 and 17 years of age who declared having carried out
household chores on a regular basis in the home of their parents or guardians was found
within the educational system: 90.7% attended
school. This proportion is higher in urban areas
(95.1%), than in rural (84.8%) or indigenous
(73.7%) areas. In general terms, at both the
national level and by areas, most of the minors in this
condition, independent of their school atten-
dance, were concentrated to a greater extent in
households with more than 5 members, although it
is slightly higher among those not attending.
Similarly, if the concentration of this population
segment is greater in male-headed households, whether they are in school or not, the proportion
is higher among those not attending school over-
all and only in rural areas.

By sex, the inactive population with employment
experience shows the 5 to 9 year old group assuming
first place. It is worth noting that in indigenous
areas, 100% of the total; 46,570
and 17 years of age that were not attending school,
percentage of children that have never attended school.

It is worth noting that the school year expands the possibilities for greater
learning assimilation by boys, girls and adolescents.

5.C.1.3 Dropouts

With regards to the 114,297 minors between 5 and
17 years of age that were not attending school, the
Survey revealed that 67,727 minors had aban-
donned their studies, 59.3% of the total; 46,570
had never attended school (see table 31).

Although there is no statistical evidence to imply
the effect of daily attendance on school performance, the fact that there is regular school attendance during the
school year expands the possibilities for greater
learning assimilation by boys, girls and adolescents.

5.C.1.2 Regularity of school attendance

With regards to the regularity with which the
640,735 minors between 5 and 17 years of age
attended school at the time of the Survey, most (636,098) did so every day, equal to 99.3% of
the population. There is no variation in this situation when analysing the data by sex, age, groups, area
and province. The rest attended three days a week
(68.0%) or less than three days a week (0.3%).

Urban areas hold 61% of youths between 5 and
17 years of age with daily school attendance, and in
the distribution by sex, in the province, those
(46.2%) and Chiriquí (12.8%) absorb the largest
relative weights of the population with daily
school attendance.

Although there is no statistical evidence to imply
the effect of daily attendance on school performance, the fact that there is regular school attendance during the
school year expands the possibilities for greater
learning assimilation by boys, girls and adolescents.

Looking at the counterparts, the proportion of those who have never attended school is higher among females (42.8%) than among males (38.9%).

In rural areas, school dropouts are a higher proportion among non-attending males (61.3%) than in urban areas (60.8%), and these proportions exceed those of females (55.4% and 60.6%, respectively). But, in indigenous areas, 43.4% of non-attending males were dropouts, while among women this climbs to 48.8%.

The proportion of male dropouts among all non-attendees by province is above 70%, in descending order in Los Santos (76.3%), Colón (75.1%), Herrera (70.4%) and Coclé (70.2%). In the remaining provinces this proportion varied between 59% and 69%, with the exception of Bocas del Toro at 47.8%. Among the females, the proportion of dropouts from the educational system by province is generally below that of males, with the highest values above 60% in Darién (63.1%), Coclé (65.0%), Herrera (64.3%), Panama (64.3%) and Los Santos (63.1%).

According to the distribution of dropouts by province, looking at total dropouts, the largest concentration was found in rural areas, with over 60% of those not attending for each sex. By province, the most important concentrations in relative terms for both sexes were found in Panama, Coclé and Chiriquí.

One interesting aspect regarding child dropouts is the lapse since they stopped attending, taking the date of the Survey as reference point.

In the period prior to the Survey, 1.4% dropped out less than one month prior, 17.3% between one and 11 months prior, while 43.7% and 37.6% dropped out between 1 and 2 years and 3 or more years, respectively. The first two proportions of more recent school dropouts, taking as reference date the Survey, are higher in urban areas than in other study areas. The third percentage, seen as an intermediate lapse of time is also higher among urban minors. The fourth percentage of dropouts further away from the interview date (who are also less savable) is higher among rural dropouts than the rest of the areas.

Overall, there are more recent school dropouts among males than females. This pattern holds true for the different areas.

In summary, a total of 67,727 (59.3%) minors dropped out of studies for different reasons, of these 54.8% were males and 45.2% were females. The main reasons for dropping out will be examined in the following section.

5.C.1.4 Principal motives for non-attendance and school dropouts

The Child Labour Survey researched the motives leading the 114,297 minors between 5 and 17 years of age to not attend school.

For the purposes of this study, the following analysis will only look at information from clearly defined motives stated by the interviewees. To wit, data recorded as “other”, corresponds to a variety of reasons, which makes its classification for representative purposes difficult.

Having cleared up that aspect, and deducting the 59,323 minors that responded “other” from the 114,297 non-attendees, we have a total of 54,972 minors with clearly defined motives that affected their school attendance.

When analysing only information from this group of 54,972 youths with clear motives for non-attendance at school, motives related with their impossibility to pay for studies, low school performance, lack of interest in studies, failure at school and sickness and disability stood out. By gender, among females motives related to their inability to pay for their studies, disease/disability and having to help out with household chores are more significant than among male dropouts.

Table 32 provides by order of importance each of the motives for school non-attendance by the population between 5 and 17 years of age classified by lapse since dropping out or never attended. Rankings were established by absolute values to avoid percentage values of little significance.

In the foregoing table, in general the main motives that stand out are: a lack of resources to continue in the school system, low school performance and the need to work.

Motive for those that stopped studying less than a year ago or between 1 and 3 years and more:

Table 32: Ranking of main motive defined by the population between 5 and 17 years of age for non-attendance at school by time since dropping out, according to sex (Year 2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main motive</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Less than 1 year</th>
<th>1 to 3 or more years</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Less than 1 year</th>
<th>1 to 3 or more years</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Less than 1 year</th>
<th>1 to 3 or more years</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Less than 1 year</th>
<th>1 to 3 or more years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No convenient school available</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-support</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannot pay for studies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low school performance/ no interest in studies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failed at school</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family does not allow</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sickness / disability</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To help out with household chores</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To help out in household enterprise, business or farm</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To work for income/salaries</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To work in own business</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

show no substantive difference. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that if an attempt were to be made to re-insert this group into the education-

system, differential measures would have to be 

applied, as a function of the time outside the system 

and their prior school history, among others.

Another noteworthy aspect is that for the popula-

tion that never attended, although “can’t pay for 

studies” is in first place, second place is held by 

“sickness / disability”.

By grouping the different reasons by economic, 
educational or sickness / disease, as is shown in table 33, it is possible to view the rankings by area and sex, which 

alternate between economic and educational motives.

Overall and in rural areas, the population not 

attending school indicated that it does not do so for 

economic reasons, which is true for each sex at that 

level of disaggregation. A similar situation is charac-

teristic in those same areas and by sex in the case of the 

populations of non-attendees and dropouts.

In indigenous areas, school non-attendance is 

related more to educational reasons, which is also 

true in the case of females, since among males, 
educational motives are more important. However, 
educational reasons are the main motive for drop-

ping out of school. This is also true for females, 

but among males educational reasons prevail.

In urban areas, educational reasons are of greater 

weight among males, in both non-attendance and for 

dropping out, while among females economic 
educational motives are more important in both situations.

With regards to sickness and disability, as a 

motive for non-attendance and dropping out of 

school, it is worth mentioning that it is more 

important for the former situation than the latter. Similarly, there are higher proportions in both 
cases (non-attendance and dropping out) in urban 

areas and with a greater representation among 

females than males.

In summary, nationwide, economic motives 

related to a shortage or unavailability of monetary 

resources, the need for work and aid the house-

hold, in providing either direct or indirect genera-

tion of income for household support explain 

slightly more than 52% of both non-attendees and 

dropouts in the population between 5 and 17 years of 

age; educational motives explain 37.0% and 

40.8% of these factors, respectively.

The processed information available, which 

has been examined here, although it includes the 

whole population of non-attendees, without dif-

ferentiating the part involved in the labour mar-

ket, indicates in an acceptably robust manner that 
school non-attendance and child and adolescent 

labour market insertion are closely related; and in 

congruence, the influence of a shortage of finan-

cial resources. In second place, educational reasons 

point to the need to improve educational quality. 
The situation in urban areas is a clear reminder of 

the need for this emphasis.

In summary, nationwide, economic motives 

related to educational reasons, which is also 

true in the case of females, since among males, 
educational motives are more important. However, 
educational reasons are the main motive for drop-

ping out of school. This is also true for females, 

but among males educational reasons prevail.

The ecological situation of the labour force 

between 5 and 17 years of age reflects a serious real-

ity. Statistical evidence points to the fact that minors 

that join the labour market, whether employed or 

unemployed, to a very large extent are outside the 

educational system, under conditions that far from 

stimulating re-entry to the educational system, limit 

total annul their motivations and possibilities of 

so doing. (see table 34).

### Table 33

**Distribution of the population between 5 and 17 years of age not attending school and that dropped out of studies, by type of main motive and sex, according to area (Year 2000)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of motives for not attending or dropping out of studies and sex</th>
<th>School non-attendees</th>
<th>Dropouts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Urban</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of an economic nature</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of an educational nature</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>44.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to sickness / disability</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of an economic nature</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of an educational nature</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>53.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to sickness / disability</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of an economic nature</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of an educational nature</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to sickness / disability</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Economic motives include: self-support, not being able to pay for studies, family does not allow him/her to study, to help out with household chores, to help out in household enterprises, business or firm; to work for income/valut; to work in own business for income. Those of educational origin include: no competent school or high school available, low school performance / no interest in studying, afraid of the teachers. Source: CGR/DEC, Child Labour Survey, October 2000.
Of the universe of 53,800 persons that make up the economically active population between 5 and 17 years of age, 22,018 (40.9%) attend school, while the remaining 31,782 (59.1%) are outside the educational system.

In proportional terms (although not in absolute figures), school non-attendance is more severe among female minors 66.8% (7,857) of the total of 12,999 women recorded as economically active were not attending school as against 39.6% (5,142) that were doing so. Among males, 58.6% (23,925) did not attend and 41.4% (16,876) did attend.

School attendance in the child and adolescent labour force is more favourable in urban (51.4%) than rural (35.2%) areas.

Non-attendance at school among economically active youths between 5 and 17 years of age at the provincial level is more acute in Darién (63.7%) and Cochlé (82.2%) provinces. At the other extreme, Bocas del Toro has the highest attendance rate for working minors (69.7%), which is 20.6 points above Veraguas (49.1%), the next highest province.

The ages between 10 and 14 years stand out as ones where minors in the labour force began working, both for those attending school (48.2%) and those who do not attend (51.5%).

Girls initiate more frequently between the ages of 15 to 17 years (38.1%) than boys (22.5%), while the opposite is the case among the other age groups. This pattern is found both among those who attend and do not attend school.

The Survey found 47,976 employed youths; of these, 20,137 (42.0%) were in the educational system, distributed to a greater degree in rural areas (50.9%) than in urban areas (41.0%), and primarily in Panama (31.1%) and Veraguas (18.4%) provinces and indigenous areas (28.2%). Girls that study and work (42.8%) were in a slightly higher proportion than boys (41.7%).

In the distribution by age groups, occupied minors that also studied aged 10 to 14 years were the largest group, 55.5%, followed by 15 to 17 year olds (39.8%) and finally those 5 to 9 year olds (10.6%). The 10 to 14 year-old group was also the most important among males at 53.3%, with 34.9% and 11.8% corresponding to 15 to 17 and 5 to 9 year-old groups respectively. Among females, those 15 to 17 years of age were the most prevalent with 51.8%; these were followed by those 10 to 14 years of age (41.4%) and those 5 to 9 (6.8%).

By areas, the distribution of working male and female minors who also attended school according to the ages at which they began working is quite heterogeneous: in rural areas ages 4 to 9 years and 10 to 14 years both surpassed 45.0%, with proportions between 5% and 6% for those aged 15 to 17 years, whereas in urban areas it was ages between 10 and 17 years that predominated. This highlights the greater precariousness of labour force insertion in rural areas.

It is possible to infer from the foregoing results that in spite of the fact that rural labour force insertion occurs at earlier ages –corresponding to rural and indigenous cultural patterns-, the value of those that are not attending school is comparatively higher than that observed in the educational system.

Among the employed child labour force, 53.9% began working between 10 and 14 years of age, followed by the 15 to 17 year old group, with 26.1%, and the 4 to 9 year old group, with 19.4% (see table 33).

Girls initiate more frequently between the ages of 15 to 17 years (38.1%) than boys (22.5%), while the opposite is the case among the other age groups. This pattern is found both among those who attend and do not attend school.

Table 35

Employed population between 5 and 17 years of age, by sex and school attendance, according to area and age group of initiation in the labour force (Year 2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and groups at initiation in labour force</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Employed population 5 to 17 years of age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>32,985</td>
<td>26,817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>14,991</td>
<td>10,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47,976</td>
<td>36,882</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 15 to 17 year old age group is the one where unemployed minors usually initiate their labour experience. Non-attendance of school may have a critical impact on the unemployed (out of work) population. Unemployment implies the exclusion of minors from the labour market, which, in turn, generates serious restrictions for them where they cease to perceive monetary resources to satisfy their own basic necessities as well as those of their family group.

Loss of employment, in the case of a minor, should be interpreted differently than in the case of young adults or adults.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and age group at initiation in labour force</th>
<th>Unemployed population between 5 and 17 years of age</th>
<th>Table 36</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,824</td>
<td>3,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-9</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>2,347</td>
<td>1,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>3,176</td>
<td>2,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>3,981</td>
<td>2,665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-9</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>1,364</td>
<td>799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>2,460</td>
<td>1,709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>1,843</td>
<td>1,254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-9</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous areas</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unemployed population between 5 and 17 years of age, by sex and school attendance, according to area and age groups at which they began to work (Year 2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and employment status</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economically active 1/</td>
<td>53,800</td>
<td>22,018</td>
<td>31,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>47,976</td>
<td>20,137</td>
<td>27,839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>5,824</td>
<td>1,881</td>
<td>3,943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not economically active</td>
<td>697,508</td>
<td>617,546</td>
<td>79,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked at some point during last 12 months</td>
<td>36,882</td>
<td>15,385</td>
<td>21,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carries out household chores</td>
<td>490,919</td>
<td>445,492</td>
<td>45,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>428,720</td>
<td>389,991</td>
<td>38,729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active 1/</td>
<td>18,972</td>
<td>9,746</td>
<td>9,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>14,991</td>
<td>8,247</td>
<td>6,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>3,981</td>
<td>1,499</td>
<td>2,482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not economically active</td>
<td>697,508</td>
<td>617,546</td>
<td>79,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked at some point during last 12 months</td>
<td>36,882</td>
<td>15,385</td>
<td>21,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carries out household chores</td>
<td>490,919</td>
<td>445,492</td>
<td>45,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>326,312</td>
<td>250,744</td>
<td>75,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active 1/</td>
<td>34,828</td>
<td>12,272</td>
<td>22,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>32,985</td>
<td>11,890</td>
<td>21,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>1,843</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>1,461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not economically active</td>
<td>364,486</td>
<td>326,558</td>
<td>37,928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked at some point during last 12 months</td>
<td>9,442</td>
<td>7,854</td>
<td>1,588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carries out household chores</td>
<td>207,691</td>
<td>176,213</td>
<td>31,478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous areas</td>
<td>71,843</td>
<td>48,288</td>
<td>23,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active 1/</td>
<td>9,885</td>
<td>4,058</td>
<td>5,824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>9,777</td>
<td>4,058</td>
<td>5,719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not economically active</td>
<td>61,539</td>
<td>44,079</td>
<td>17,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked at some point during last 12 months</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carries out household chores</td>
<td>42,354</td>
<td>31,216</td>
<td>11,138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

School attendance of the population between 5 and 17 years of age, by area and employment status, according to sex (Year 2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and employment status</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economically active 1/</td>
<td>53,800</td>
<td>22,018</td>
<td>31,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>47,976</td>
<td>20,137</td>
<td>27,839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>5,824</td>
<td>1,881</td>
<td>3,943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not economically active</td>
<td>697,508</td>
<td>617,546</td>
<td>79,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked at some point during last 12 months</td>
<td>36,882</td>
<td>15,385</td>
<td>21,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carries out household chores</td>
<td>490,919</td>
<td>445,492</td>
<td>45,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>428,720</td>
<td>389,991</td>
<td>38,729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active 1/</td>
<td>18,972</td>
<td>9,746</td>
<td>9,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>14,991</td>
<td>8,247</td>
<td>6,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>3,981</td>
<td>1,499</td>
<td>2,482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not economically active</td>
<td>697,508</td>
<td>617,546</td>
<td>79,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked at some point during last 12 months</td>
<td>36,882</td>
<td>15,385</td>
<td>21,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carries out household chores</td>
<td>490,919</td>
<td>445,492</td>
<td>45,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>326,312</td>
<td>250,744</td>
<td>75,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active 1/</td>
<td>34,828</td>
<td>12,272</td>
<td>22,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>32,985</td>
<td>11,890</td>
<td>21,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>1,843</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>1,461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not economically active</td>
<td>364,486</td>
<td>326,558</td>
<td>37,928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked at some point during last 12 months</td>
<td>9,442</td>
<td>7,854</td>
<td>1,588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carries out household chores</td>
<td>207,691</td>
<td>176,213</td>
<td>31,478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous areas</td>
<td>71,843</td>
<td>48,288</td>
<td>23,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active 1/</td>
<td>9,885</td>
<td>4,058</td>
<td>5,824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>9,777</td>
<td>4,058</td>
<td>5,719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
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<td>44,079</td>
<td>17,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked at some point during last 12 months</td>
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<td>900</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carries out household chores</td>
<td>42,354</td>
<td>31,216</td>
<td>11,138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possibility exists that the pressures caused by their impossibility of active labour force insertion may induce these minors to become involved in illegal activities, in order to obtain resources that are indispensable, and that free time may turn into delinquency, drug addiction, or other pitfalls.

The search for educational alternatives, for the population in these conditions is an area for defining policies and putting into practice focused actions to rescue these minors from a vicious circle, often irreversible, if effective action is not taken, of low or no educational and productive qualification.

With regards to the adolescent population segment, which represents 80.0% of all of the unemployed population, important considerations arise.

At the age of 15 to 17 years, on the average, more than one-half of those unemployed began their excursion into the world of work, and to a great extent are outside the educational system.

If one considers that these ages, 15 to 17 years, coincide with reproductive ages, the combination of precarious labour force entry, separation from studies and exclusion from the work force, provides a space for distortion of adequate life styles for their development, with much more reason if at these ages children are produced (although the Survey does not delve more deeply into aspects that the minors must dedicate to studies or gainful employment, by number of hours), which may have a deterrent effect on their school performance.

Non-attendance of school and full-time dedication to the above-mentioned activities harms the full enjoyment that minors should have of their education and further reduces, one could say tragically, their options for accumulating a core human capital that would grant them access to better opportunities.

5.0.2.2.2 Perceptions of educational aspects referred to the employed population

It is important to reiterate that among the reasons for dropping out of school for much of the population between 5 and 17 years of age are the educational reasons related to the availability of educational centres near or convenient to their needs, learning difficulties leading to low performance or failure, indiscipline or lack of interest in studies and fear of the teaching personnel, although the Survey did not delve more deeply into aspects that would provide an objective view of the failings of the educational system itself.

In rural areas, as was seen in table 33, more than one-quarter of minors between 5 and 17 years of age dropped out of school for reasons related to educational aspects, while in urban areas, the relative importance climbs to almost 50% of the dropouts. Notwithstanding, aside from the relative values, in absolute terms the situation is clearer: the number is larger in rural areas (11,084) than in urban areas (7,260). In the case of employed minors it could be assumed that they would adopt a behaviour similar to that indicated, i.e., excluding diverse and heterogeneous reasons grouped in “other”.

Of the 20,137 employed minors that attend school, 17,953 (89.1%) indicated that their work did not affect their studies. Among males (89.3%), it appears that the double function of working and studying affects them slightly less than the females (88.2%), as can be seen in table 38.

Their behaviour is differentiated by sex and age groups: among employed male children aged 5 to 9 years (25.5%) gainful employment affects their studies more than among females (8.6%). In rural areas there is a similar pattern, although with less relative weight (11.3% males and 9.9% females), while in urban areas this proportion reaches 89.4% among males and there is no counterpart among females, as there is no record of employed girls affected in this age group; something similar occurs in indigenous areas, where only boys are affected (12.5%).

Among 10 to 14 year-olds and 15 to 17 year-olds, it is the females that report a greater negative incidence with regards to a double function of worker and student, at 15.1% and 9.5%, respectively, versus 10.3% and 6.2% among males.

By areas, rural female adolescents feel the impact of work on their studies (31.3%) more than males (43%). In indigenous areas, only women indicate an impact (50.9%), since none of the male adolescents stated that they felt an impact from working and studying.

From the point of view of the parents or guardians of working children, the reasons why they allow them to work related to educational aspects, such as the lack of an adequate school programme and the distance to school, are not seen as relevant. This is the case in different geographic divisions.

To the contrary, parental permissiveness regarding gainful employment by minors is overwhelmingly explained by economic reasons (98.4%), when considering only the categorical responses, i.e., excluding diverse and heterogeneous reasons grouped in “other”.

This endorsement by parents or employed minors who also attended school, when broken down by response, shows the most important response as adding a household enterprise, business or farm (53.1%), and in the case of employed minors not attending school, the need to add to household income (53.5%).

For all gainfully employed minors by area, independent of whether they attend school or not, the two reasons mentioned are of different priority: the former is typical of rural areas (54.3%) and the latter of urban areas (75.3%).
By gender, working to complement family income is the most important reason for both males and females. Although its relative importance among females is slightly higher (50.6%), while helping out in a family business or enterprise presented proportionally higher, although minimally so, among males (47.7%).

In indigenous areas, minors work in response to a need to help out the household enterprise, business or farm, with this reason voiced by about 70%, whether males of females, and without discriminating for school attendance.

The need within the family milieu for minors to support income levels while impairing their incorporation in educational activities is evident in the case of those not attending school when surveyed.

This reality leads us to reflect on the future of those not attending, since by not improving the economic-monetary conditions of their parents, it is to be expected that this condition will make them dedicate their time only to their work activities. Thus, dropping out of school becomes a latent and potential deed, as a function of the fact that in general, in these circumstances it isn’t an easy education that holds sway over labour force involvement, but just the contrary.

As the parents or the persons closest to them stated on the survey, the child and adolescent population in gainful employment in productive activities, has 4.2% (403) with their future vision preferences primarily related to their interest in education.

Indeed, 30.9% would prefer to complete their education and begin working and 20.8% would dedicate full-time to studies, adding both, they cover 51.7% of the economically active population by areas is nothing less than dramatic. It is worth keeping in mind that, on the one hand, the panorama of the educational level of the child and adolescent labour force is more favourable to them, due to role differentiation, has as their future vision preferences primarily related to their interest in education.

Indeed, 30.9% would prefer to complete their education and begin working and 20.8% would dedicate full-time to studies, adding both, they cover 51.7% of the economically active population as a whole. It is worth noting that the smallest children aged 5 to 9 years dedicate time to play whether with friends, siblings or alone at home, in view of the positive repercussions of recreational activities at these ages for their physical, psychic and psychological development and their socialisation, already limited by the combination of this time with their work.

5.0.2.3 Educational level of the child and adolescent labour force

About 36,700 working children, equivalent to 63.8% of the economically active population between 5 and 17 years of age, have, as their sole educational capital, some grade of primary education, and of these 33.3% have completed primary school. At this level, and with a duration of 6 years, the students are expected to receive a solid basic education, after which they should be able to read, write, carry out basic calculations and have elementary knowledge of different disciplines.

This relationship varies in the economically active population by their actual status in the labour force. Those with completed primary education constitute 34.5% (16,527) of the gainfully employed population, with 86.2% of employment; 27.2% (2,645) of the unemployed population with an unemployment rate of 13.8%; 30.1% (1,751) of the out of work population and 24.0% (892) of the new workers (see table 39). Secondary education is oriented towards deepening the integral formation of the students, and completing their acquisition of basic knowledge as well as acquiring specific competencies, which will allow them access to higher education and the world of work.

Completion of secondary school (which means accumulating a minimum of 12 years of schooling, or 14 years, if they also completed the initial 2 years of pre-school) broadens the perspectives for minors to opt for or get involved in more advantageous and better-paid occupations. These benefits are not limited only to the world of work, including as well better welfare, a more rational and productive use of resources, better prevention and health care and higher levels of education.

A little more than 2.0% of the child and adolescent labour force has completed secondary education. The occupied population amounts to 1.2% (572) with an employment rate of 58.3%, the unemployed segment constitutes 4.2% (403) with an unemployment rate of 41.3%, those out of work are 0.9% (55), and those aspiring to entry in the labour market 9.3% (348).

The proportion of working minors with any year of higher education (270), whether university or not, and vocational (334) is minimal, when taken together, do not even represent 1.0%. Within the occupied population, those with any grade passed signify 5.5% (2,657) and have an employment rate of 96.3%.

The panorama of the educational level of the child and adolescent labour force is not towards educating at the national level, but a study of the situation by areas is nothing less than dramatic.

The child and adolescent labour force without any grade passed in urban areas (0.7%) is, in percentage terms, below the national average (4.8%), but in rural (7.2%) and indigenous areas (16.8%) it is far above the average. A similar situation is encountered when comparing this ratio in the occupied population. In urban areas, there are no unemployed without schooling. This is also true among males in indigenous areas; thus, all of those out of work in this area are only females.

More than 40% of the child and adolescent labour force in rural areas, both employed and unemployed, has completed primary education, while this proportion drops to about 20% in urban areas, which is below the national average. In indigenous areas, this proportion reaches 26.4% for employed and 14.2% for unemployed.

Indeed, this is so, as generally in urban areas there are higher proportions of the labour force with completed secondary education that in rural areas, while in indigenous areas, the survey did not find population that has completed secondary education.

Behaviour by gender is somewhat heterogeneous. However, in an attempt to distinguish characteristics, the following stand out: among working female minors, overall and in rural and indigenous areas those with no schooling prevail in comparison to males; the males that make up the economically active population and the employed population have completed primary to a greater extent than the females nationally and in rural areas, while the opposite is true in urban and indigenous areas; on average, unemployed females present, nationally and in rural areas, greater advances insofar as they have finished 6 years of primary, in contrast, in urban areas, this relationship favours males and in indigenous areas only males appear. The relative importance of completed primary schooling overall among the group of working females and in rural areas is higher among males than among females, in rural areas, first time female workers have completed primary more than males, whereas the contrary is true in urban areas and as a national average.

With regards to completed secondary, although some occupational statuses do not record females in certain areas, generally females have higher proportions than males. It is worth noting that overall, the number of males and females with some university education is equal (132), however, there are females with some higher education (6) and a greater quantity of them with vocational education (261) than among males (73).

From the foregoing, we can infer that it is probable that females have fewer opportunities for schooling at their disposition, due to role differentiation, but that their stay during the course of the educational period is more favourable to them than males, who have a higher tendency to dropout and join the labour market earlier.
Bocas del Toro province has the highest percentage of economically active population with no schooling (13.6%), followed by Darién (8.1%), Veraguas (5.5%), Panama (3.0%) and Herrera (2.6%), while in Chiriquí and Coclé provinces it is less than 1.0% and in Colón and Las Torres there is no data recorded in this regard.

As a result, the child and adolescent labour force in Bocas del Toro province presents a very preoccupying situation in terms of educational levels, insofar as it has an activity rate close to 8.0% and more than 90.0% are employed. In comparison with the rest of the provinces, it has the largest proportion of working minors with no schooling, there are no adolescents that have completed secondary education and it has the lowest percentage of the working population with completed primary education.

In summary, on observing the gainfully employed population between 5 and 17 years of age, according to their different employment statuses, levels of education achieved, and corresponding rates of employment and unemployment, we can propose a hypothesis that work and education are not compatible, since labour insertion is an obstacle to remaining in the school system so that these minors could reach higher levels of instruction and opt for employment in the formal labour market.

To the contrary, the greater frequency of school non-attendance in the child and adolescent labour force to which we have referred, together with lower instructional levels, leads to the inference that the lower the level of schooling, the greater the tendency to abandon studies or interrupt them, and these lower educational levels, together with dropping out, means that these minors find a precarious place in the world of work.

The educational wealth of the working population between 5 and 17 years of age is clearly insufficient and limited. A serious reality at ages whose priority should be an inclination to education to acquire the necessary training to become productive; lacking this, the mere fact of having a work permit means that these minors find better opportunities allowing them to break out of the circle of so many shortages associated with ignorance, discrimination, social marginality and poverty, among others.

5.D.1 The main occupations

Upon analysing the distribution of the child and adolescent labour force by occupation, it is clear that one half of it, 50.0%, is employed as workers in agricultural, forestry, fisheries and hunting. 26,886 minors of a total number of 53,800 members of the economically active population, excluding those that never worked from among the unemployed. This is congruent with the employment rate seen by areas, which was higher in rural areas, placing it above the national average (see table 40).

Street hawkers, service workers not classified in other groups, day labourers and peons hold the second level of importance in occupations among the child and adolescent working population (24.3%, 13,191).

In third place we find occupations as salespersons and salespersons in trade and markets (16.1%, 8,666). Artisans and workers in mines, construction, manufacturing industries, mechanics and related occupations hold fourth place (5.4%, 2,927).

Occupations as office employees holds fifth place in relative importance (2.1%, 1,127).

Another occupation which, although only groups 304 minors, is no less important due to its inherent hazards, related to operators of fixed machinery and installations, assemblers, drivers and operators of mobile equipment (1.1%, 592). "Other occupations" groups those whose relative weights were less than 1.0%, which are indicated in the note to table 40.

It is important to emphasise that the child and adolescent labour force repeats the same pattern found in the economically active population 5 or more years of age, regarding the relative importance of the major occupations.

On examining the occupational insertion of minors by area, occupational status and gender, the findings are particularly interesting for designing policies and measures focused on reducing and regulating child workers and protecting their integral development.
Overall, males (37.7%, 23,553) are primordially involved as workers within agriculture and related sectors, while females are employed as street hawkers (30.2%, 3,291).

In rural areas, employment as agricultural labourers is the main occupation for the whole population (73.6%, 25,647), although to a greater extent among males (79.5%, 22,325) than females (49.2%, 3,322). Occupations as service workers (10.5%, 3,666) and hawkers (10.2%, 3,548) follow in importance in rural areas, with the former of greater import among males (9.0%, 2,513) and the latter among females (20.2%, 1,362).

In urban areas, occupations as hawkers (50.9%, 9,643), service workers and salespersons in trade and markets (26.5%, 5,020), and artisans and related (7.7%, 1,467) predominate. This same order of importance is found among males: 55.7% (7,084), 17.9% (2,279) and 10.4% (1,329), respectively. Among urban female works in personal services (44.0%, 2,750) and hawking (41.0%, 2,559) hold clearly predominant positions, followed by office employment at much lower levels (9.5%, 590) with regard to males and the area average.

Agricultural labour predominates in indigenous areas (82.4%, 8,122), more so than rural areas. Employment as artisans, miners and other related jobs is in second place but with a much lower proportion (7.6%), not comparable to the former and given the greater importance of service work for this sector (56.4%, 376), which occupies second place for males and third place for females (7.3%, 225).

Among unemloyed minors, the predomiance of agricultural labour declines (11.7%, 681), ceding to occupations such as hawking (53.2%, 3,100) and service workers (26.3%, 1,532). This hierarchical arrangement, as mentioned above, is coherent with the higher unemployment rate in urban (29.3%) than rural areas (9.2%), in view of the fact that these occupations are more characteristic of the former. Thus, this same order of importance is found among unemployed minors in urban areas, with proportions exceeding national averages. Indeed, as urban street hawkers there are 60.0% (2,398) of the total unemployed, 75.9% (2,024) of the males and 78.8% (366) of the females; and 24.0% (955) as service workers, an occupation that is the most important among unemployed females, at 57.9% (762) versus 7.2% (193) of males. Among the latter, agricultural labour is second most important with 7.8% (207).

Economically active population between 5 and 17 years of age, by area, sex and employment status, according to occupation (Year 2000, percentages)

Table 40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Office workers</th>
<th>Service workers and salespersons in markets</th>
<th>Agricultural labourers and related</th>
<th>Artisans and workers in mining, construction, industry, mechanics, and related</th>
<th>Operators of fixed machines and installations and related</th>
<th>Street hawkers</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
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<td>1.1</td>
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<td>56.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>40.4</td>
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<td>2.8</td>
<td>44.5</td>
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<td>49.1</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>20.2</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
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<td>0.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>82.4</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>9.5</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>6.1</td>
<td>83.1</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7.3</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.9</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1. Includes the following occupations: workers in armed forces and unidentifiable occupations; members of executive and legislative branch; directive personnel in public administration, private enterprise and social interest organisations; professionals, scientists and other intellectuals, middle-level technicians and professionals.

Source: CGR/DEC, Child Labour Survey, October 2000

By age groups, the occupational structure of the working population between 5 and 17 years of age presents very interesting variations.
Overall, 86.1% of minors to 5 years of age are involved in agricultural labour, with a higher proportion among males (86.6%) than females (82.9%). This relationship reaches 94.6% in rural areas, among working children, also in a larger proportion among males (95.1%) and females (93.8%). The same applies to indigenous areas, which is striking, as one hundred percent of male and female children in this early age group are involved in agriculture or related activities. In urban areas, there is a prevalence of street hawkers (59.9%), among both males (55.2%) and females (100%), and in second place, agricultural labour (33.9%) these being only male.

The impact of agricultural labour is, in relative terms, less among the groups aged 10 to 14 years (61.8%) and 15 to 17 years (40.5%), in comparison with the 5 to 9-year-old group, as a result of a broader dispersion in labour markets, as hawkers (19.6% and 28.2%, respectively) and as service workers (14.3% and 18.9%).

This pattern is similar in rural areas, although with quantitatively significant differences, since 82.9% of adolescents between 10 and 14 years of age and 65.0% of those 15 to 17 years of age are in agricultural sectors; and indigenous areas, these percentages climb to 93.9% and 68.3%, respectively. In urban areas, to the contrary, the figures are broadly lower: 9.6% at ages 10 to 14 years and 4.5% in the 15 to 17 year-old group, among whom hawking predominates (55.6% and 48.7%, respectively) together with service industries (30.7% and 25.4%).

By gender, there is significant variation in the 10 to 14 and 15 to 17-year-old groups. Males aged 10 to 14 years were proportionally more involved in agriculture (68.1%) than females (32.4%), which is also the case among those 15 to 17 years old: 48.3% versus 21.2%, respectively. In its service industries, males in both age groups have lower proportions than females: at age 10 to 14 years, 10.0% versus 34.6% for females and 13.8% at ages 15 to 17 years versus 25.9% for females. In the case of street hawking, the proportions by gender for those ages 10 to 14 years are very close: 19.6% males and 19.9% females; in those aged 15 to 17 years, female presence surpasses that of the males, (34.2%) versus (25.9%).

In urban areas, among males 10 to 14 years of age, occupation as street hawkers predominates (63.6%) and a greater extent than among females (34.2%), among whom service employment prevails (55.4%) over that of males (21.1%). In this population group, 13% of males are in agricultural labour, while among females this is insignificant (0.8%). It is worth noting that 9.6% of females aged 10 to 14 are found in office tasks, an employment where only 1.3% of males are found.

More than half (52.1%) of the male working population in urban areas, aged 15 to 17 years is employed in street hawking, followed by the service sector (16.9%), artisans and related (15.1%), agricultural workers (7.0%), office workers (4.8%) and operators (3.5%). Among females this varies with 42.5% in hawking, 41.0% as service workers, 9.5% in office work and 2.9% as artisans.

In rural areas, among males 10 to 14 years old agricultural employment is primordial (86.6%) as it is also among those 15 to 17 years old (72.1%), female proportions are lower (58.9% and 42.6%, respectively). Females aged 10 to 14 years are more involved in service industries (17.2%), as artisans (6.3%), which also occurs among those aged 15 to 17 years (18.0% and 12.0%, respectively).

Females aged 10 to 14 and 15 to 19 years are more involved as street hawkers (7.9% and 28.5%, respectively) than males (4.7% and 10.6%, respectively). In these age groups, females are also employed more as artisans and related labourers (15.3% and 10.9%) than males (1.2% and 3.7%, respectively).

In indigenous areas, large proportions of both males and females in the 10 to 14 and 15 to 17 age groups are involved in agricultural labour, although with greater relative importance among males in the younger group, insofar as males 10 to 14 years of age are fully dedicated to agricultural labours (100%), while among females this drops to 66.8% with the remaining 33.2% working as artisans. Among those 15 to 17 years of age, 78.8% of males and 58.1% of females are in agriculture, 15.1% of males and 9.6% of females are in service labour.

In general terms, from another perspective, the percentage distribution of all minors by each occupation analysed, the 15 to 17 year old group has larger proportions than the other two groups, by total, gender, area and employment status.

However, there are exceptions. In the distribution of all economically active minors by age groups involved in different occupations, the 10 to 14 year old group constitutes a larger proportion in comparison with the 15 to 17 year old group, in the following cases.

First of all, overall, this occurs among unemployed male service sector workers (53.3% vs. 46.7% for females).

Second, among all females employed as agricultural workers in urban areas (100%).

There is a third exception in urban areas among unemployed agricultural workers (97.9% vs. 12.1% for females to 17 years (49.3% vs. 26.5%) which corresponds to the same age group, with greater relative importance among males in the younger group, the 15 to 17 (53.0% vs. 33.4%), which refers only to those employed that there are no unemployed in that occupation.

One final observation derived from a careful study of the occupations, and in particular those grouped as “other”, this refers here to cases of minors who indicate that they are working as “directive personnel in public administration, private enterprise and service industries” as a result of their “intellectuals and other intellectuals” and “middle level technicians and professionals”, which correspond solely to working minors 15 to 17 years of age. Furthermore, among office workers, this group is the most representative; although there are also adolescents aged 10 to 14 years old. These observations are in agreement with the indication that to access these positions a higher level of education is required.

In summary, the study illustrates some outstanding traits indicated as follows.

The occupational “face” of the child and adolescent labour force is eminently linked to agricultural and related work. This is, needless to say, more common in rural, and particularly indigenous, areas, among both the population as a whole and by gender (with a higher male proportion), among those employed, and by age groups, where it is of note that almost all of those aged 5 to 9 years are dedicated to these occupations.

Street hawking and service workers are occupations that are next in importance after agricultural labour at the national level, and are characterized principally in urban areas, and within these areas, at any level of disaggregation (total, by status, by gender and age groups).

In urban areas, artisan, manufacturing, construction, mechanics and related employments are also more common among males, equipment operators, only among males, agricultural workers (probably in suburban areas), and as office workers, where females predominate. Similarly, there are other occupations requiring higher educational levels, where females predominate. Thus, urban areas show a greater diversity of occupations, and thus, more varied risks, in which minors are preferentially employed.

5.D.2 Sector and industry of economic activity

In congruence with the occupational structure already seen, the primary sector dominates the employment of the working population aged 5 to 15 as 65.0%, primordially among males (56.8%, 23,174), as can be seen in table 41.

This sector also shows primacy among employed children (53.9%, 25,871), with a particular concentration of males (61.2%, 22,950).

With regards to sectorial structure, the study population does not follow the pattern followed by the population aged 5 or more years, as can be seen in the structure by occupational type. In the national labour force 5 or more years of age and among the working population (15 to 17 years), the Tertiary population predominated (59.0%), followed by the primary sector (23.0%) and in third place the secondary sector (17.9%), with non-specified activities hav- ing little significance (0.1%).

Agriculture, livestock, hunting and forestry stand out in the primary sector, representing 25,273 working youths, who represent 95.3% of all of the members of this sector.

In the child and adolescent labour force, over all, we find that the younger the age group, the greater the proportion of the age group concentrated in the primary sector. This sector absorbs 82.1% of the 5 to 9 year old group, 61.2% of those 10 to 14 year of age and 50.0% of the 15 to 17 year old group (see table 42).

Statistical evidence indicates that minors aged 5 to 9 years are primordially involved in the primary sector, whether one is dealing with the whole economically active population, or those employed or unemployed, or of males or females (with the exception of unemployed females, which provides no information).

In rural areas, the proportional values for minors between 5 and 9 years of age concentrated in the primary sector are higher, varying from over 90% to 100%, when analysing information by gender or employment status. In indigenous areas, this relationship stands out in this age group in the primary sector, except for the case or unemployed females, with no children in that condition.

Among males in the rural primary sector (primordially in agriculture and related occupations), there is a visibly greater relative importance at any status, which even exceeds the corresponding average. Females in this sector, in contrast to their
lower overall participation, present significant relative weights: holding 49.2% of the female labour force and 53.0% of those employed, although in the case of those unemployed, it has a relatively minimal percentage, 9.2%, coming primarily from those 15 to 17 years of age.

In indigenous areas, concentration in the primary sector is much more relevant. Among the whole male child and adolescent labour force, more than 90% are in this sector, as well as those minors employed in it (there are no unemployed in this sector). Female indigenous labourers belong to this sector in greater proportions than their counterparts in rural areas (above 60%).

In urban areas, to the contrary, the primary sector fails to last place in importance, holding a mere 5.0% of the child and adolescent labour force, and slightly more than 7.0% of the males, overall and by employment status.

### Economic category among the child and adolescent labour force, by sector and industry, according to area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>56.8</td>
<td>42.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisheries</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>56.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sector of employment of the economically active population between 5 and 17 years of age, by area and sector, according to gender and age groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>56.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Economic activity among the child and adolescent labour force, by sector and industry, according to area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and industry</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>56.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes

- For the purposes of this analysis, it is worth the effort to examine tertiary sector heterogeneity, with regards to how the working population between 5 and 17 years of age is distributed by industry.
- Three industries stand out with regards to child and adolescent workers in the tertiary sector: first wholesale and retail trade (16.6%), second, personal service activities (11.1%) and finally domestic service (7.8%).
- In the first, overall, there is a greater proportion of female than male workers (18.0% vs. 16.3%, respectively); which is also true by gender among those occupied (18.3% vs. 13.6%, respectively). Among the unemployed, the proportion of males is larger (41.2%) that that of females (16.4%).
- In the second industry, “other community, social and personal service activities”, relative weights among males are greater than females; the unemployed are exclusively male.

In the third, domestic service, we find a greater concentration among females, outstanding by far its manifestations among males, among whom no unemployed were recorded. Similarly, among females between 15 and 17 years of age, we find the highest percentages of insertion in this industry.

The tertiary sector of the economy is characteristic of urban areas, where it concentrates 86.7% of the child and adolescent labour force, as opposed to 20.4% in rural and 9.7% in indigenous areas.

Females are more commonly employed in the tertiary sector than males, with proportions surpassing 98% and up to 100%, among the unemployed, which vary by age group in inverse order, since in the total and employed economically active population, children between 5 and 9 years are the ones with highest proportions of the three age groups, reaching 100%.

It is worth mentioning here the impact of domestic service in urban areas, where females have relative weights that far outstrip those of males. Where 14.7% of the total labour force is dedicated to household service, this is only 2.0% among males, but of the total of female workers they constitute 40.9%, a figure that reaches 33.5% among the employed females and 66.9% among those unemployed. Another aspect worth mentioning is that a majority are adolescents between 15 and 17 years of age who constitute the largest percentages among gainfully employed females (except in the case of those unemployed, which includes 100% of female minors between 10 and 14 years of age, versus 63.1% of those 15 to 17 years of age).

In rural areas there was a similar situation, though numerically speaking less severe with regards to the female population between 5 and 17 years of age, which is related to their greater concentration in the primary sector. In indigenous areas the pattern is similar.

In trade, in urban areas, contrary to what was observed overall and in rural areas, the proportion of males (38.9%) is of greater import than that of females (24.7%). Males aged 10 to 14 years stand out as being more concentrated in trade (42.2%) than other age groups of males. Among females, the 5 to 9 year old group has greater concentrations in this industry than other groups, overall and as employed, since there are no unemployed in this industry, the adolescent females 15 to 12 years of age hold first place in this occupational status.

The relative importance of males in other community, social and personal service activities (26.6%) exceeds that of females (11.0%) in urban areas, and it is the children 5 to 9 years of age that have the highest percentages, in contrast to the other groups in the whole and occupied labour force. In rural areas, the inverse is the case, insofar as the 15 to 17 year old group has the largest proportion.

The secondary sector, which is in third place, absorbs 6.9% of the total economically active child and adolescent population, 6.5% of the 5 to 9 years of age and 8.1% of the females. These figures increase slightly with regards to the employed population: 7.1%, 6.4% and 9.5%, respectively.

Manufacturing industries (3.6%) and construction (3.1%) are the two industries that stand out in this sector with regards to a concentration of the child and adolescent labour force. In the former, the concentration of females (7.1%) outweighs that of males (2.5%), in the latter, there are relatively more males (3.7%) than females (1.8%).

In indigenous areas, this sector holds 8.4% of the economically active population between 5 and 17 years of age, with greater weight going to the manufacturing industries (6.9%), primarily among females (21.4%), while males are employed in construction (2.3%). In urban areas, 9.7% of economically active males are in this sector, particularly in construction (3.9%) and manufacturing industries (3.8%), and in slightly larger proportions than females (2.1% and 2.4% respectively in each industry). Children from 5 to 9 years of age are not involved in this sector, while those aged 10 to 14 years have scant representation (both genders), so that the 15 to 17 year old stands out, especially the males.

The secondary sector in rural areas (6.1%) shows behaviour not very different from other areas. The two industries mentioned are also the most important here. In contrast to urban areas, females have a larger proportion in industry (11.5%) than males (1.9%), while only males are involved in construction (2.8%) and females are absent.

With regards to the relative importance of the child and adolescent labour force, according to sectoral structure by province, in table 43 it can be seen that the primary sector predominates in Darién, Veraguas, Colón, Herrera, Los Santos, Bocas del Toro and Chiriquí, while the tertiary sector predominates in Panamá and Colón.

The secondary sector is in third place in all the provinces, standing out due to higher proportions in the following provinces: Colón, with 31.8% and the sole influence of construction; Herrera with 9.9% emphasising equally construction and manufacturing, Los Santos with 8.7% also due to the weight of manufacturing and construction; and Panamá, with 6.9%, adding mines and quarry exploitation (which was also found in Colón) to construction and manufacturing.

This analysis allows us to state that the child and adolescent labour force is primarily concentrated in the primary sector of the economy, primarily males and those between 5 and 9 years, which is even more characteristic in rural and indigenous areas.

The tertiary sector is pre-eminent among working urban youths, with significant participation among all age groups, but with a larger representation among the youngest ages (except for those unemployed). Female stand out in this sector due to their participation in domestic service, primarily among those 15 to 17 years of age. In this sector, it is clear that in those industries that require greater educational preparation, the working children have less access, while the adolescents between 15 and 17 have greater options.

5.D.3 Employment category
A categorical analysis of occupations illustrates employment or job quality for the employed child and adolescent labour force. At these ages, years of schooling are still insufficient for access to better paid, higher quality jobs in better conditions, together with their lesser degree of experience and maturity, to seek a more adequate fulfilment of duties and the exercise of their rights.

Aware of these restrictions, the population of working minors may find itself surrounded by an unavoidable barrier that is ever-more difficult for them to overcome and emerge to take other paths that would allow them to develop better and more decently as human beings, avoiding discriminating, exclusion and exploitation, access their inalienable right to study, even in combination with work, and to be direct participants in the monetary resources generated with their efforts and tremendous sacrifices.
On analysing the occupational category of the employed population between 5 and 17 years of age, it is clear that a majority have found employment as family workers. This occupational category is not reprehensible in and of itself. Support by minors of those economic activities that sustain the family becomes in many cases irreplaceable for survival of household members. The harmful part is found in the conditions under which family labour is carried out and the child’s possibilities for attending school (extending, missing or dropping out of school, physical risks, lack of remuneration, or suitability due to their immediate responsibilities, among others).

Of the total employed population (47,976), 43.9% (21,085) perform as family workers, which is more common in rural areas (59.1%, 19,507) and especially in indigenous areas (78.5%, 7,673), as can be seen in table 44. From this it can be inferred that family labour has a great deal of a rural aspect involved in it, generally associated with agricultural labours.

The family worker occupational category has overall primacy, both among males (45.0%, 16,607) as well as females (40.6%, 4,504), although with greater importance among the former.

A similar pattern can be seen in rural and indigenous areas. However, the percentage values are much higher than the national average, in rural areas 59.0% of males and females both are family workers, while in indigenous areas this climbs to 82.0% and 70.8%, respectively. In urban areas, to the contrary, it is the females who surpass the males in relative weight in this category, 17.5% versus 7.1%.

Participation by gender is also seen on examining individuals employed within this category at the national level, of all employed in this category, 78.7% are males and 21.3% are females; in urban areas these proportions are 45.4% and 54.6% in rural areas, 81.3% and 18.7% and in indigenous areas, 71.9% and 28.5%.

Generally, in the employed population in the occupational category in question, when we study it by age group, there is a clear majority among children 5 to 9 years of age, with proportions exceeding 60% overall and by sex. Of all minors 10 to 14 years of age and by sex, the value exceeds 50%, and among those 15 to 17 years of age, the proportion averages 35.0%.

A second important occupational category in child and adolescent labour are independent workers or the self-employed. There were 11,813 minors between 5 and 17 years of age occupied in this category, representing 24.6% of the total, with a larger proportion among males (27.2%) than females (16.2%). This category blankets 40.0% of the occupied urban population, 51.7% of males and 16% of females from this area. In rural areas, 17.6% of the minors in the labour force do so as self-employed workers, with more matched proportions with regard to participation by sex, although it is slightly higher among males.

In indigenous areas, this category represents 15.4% of those employed, with a certain degree of primacy among females (17.1%) versus males (14.6%), in relative terms.

In the 5 to 9 year old age group greater import is found than among the other age groups, which reach almost 100% overall and by sex (among females it was 100%); in other areas, this population group also showed a greater proportion than the other age groups. This fact provides a focus for directed policies and measures, insofar as these early ages provide particular relevance for active incorporation into the school system, especially considering that this occupational category is constructed on precariousness and subsistence, added to the hazards of working on the street.

When looking at the distribution of all minors working as self-employed, those minors aged 15 to 17 years (35.5%) predominate, particularly among male independent workers (54.3% vs. 49.4% for females).

A third important occupational category worth noting, due to the conditions that reign within it, is domestic or household service. There were 2,950 minors involved as domestic help, signifying 6.1% of the employed child and adolescent labour force. The profile of the population between 5 and 17 years of age employed in domestic service corresponds to girls and adolescents (23.2% of females are involved in this category vs. 1.0% of males), particularly in urban areas (35.3% vs. 2.5% for males), female adolescents 15 to 17 years of age constitute the principal group (88.0% of females 5 to 17 years of age employed as domestic workers, at both overall and urban levels, belong to this age group).

The statistical evidence by occupational category for working minors 5 to 17 year olds indicates to some degree, an insertion into better quality jobs. The private sector provided employment for 24.6% (11,812) of all employed minors. Similarly, we can see that the public sector offers very few job openings to this population segment.
given that there were only 0.7% (316) from the total employed labour force in this sector.

In both categories -employees of private and government enterprise-, which can be considered as the formal employment sector, larger proportions will be found among adolescents 15 to 17 years of age than from the other two age groups. Of the total population employed in the private sector, the oldest group absorbs 79.2% (9,350), as well as 82.6% (261) in the public sector. These proportions are higher in urban areas 84.5% (4,436) and 100% (261), respectively, while in rural and indigenous areas the corresponding figures are 75.2% (4,914) and 100% (526) in private enterprise. There are no government employees in either of these areas.

The influence of merely chronological factors is important in this adolescent group. These factors are related to higher levels of schooling in comparison with minors 10 to 14 years of age (the survey is coherent insofar as no children 5 to 9 years of age were reported in these categories), for whom, on a similar basis, for legal and age reasons, there is less probability of their having access to the formal sector.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that even labour insertion in the private sector cannot be considered fully stable. Private enterprise, within the context of the profound transformations thought by competitiveness and globalization requires more qualified human resources and continuously introduces more modern technology (labor-saving at times). Under these conditions, the educational levels achieved by minors in the formal sector can be expected to be lower than those of employed young adults or those entering the labour force. Added to this is the fact that 40.1% of the employed population over age 5 years is in the private sector, thus factors such as competence, stability, experience, productivity, among others will have an impact on access to this sector.

These factors lead to the supposition of a weakness in the labour ties binding child workers to employment in the formal sector.

A review of the statistics produced by the Survey allows us to infer that a great deal more than half of the employed population birth 5 to 17 years of age (74.7%, 35,848) carry out activities of an informal or semi-formal nature, i.e., they are self-employed, family workers or workers in domestic service. Thus, there are 35,848 workers involved in informal or semi-formal occupations, categories characterized by their precarious and unstable conditions, and the perspective worsens if there are school dropouts and have developed a routine of working instead of studying, in view of their precarious labour force insertion.

Informal occupational insertion outside the educational system implies serious consequences for minors, as has been mentioned. Informal or formal occupations do not provide the benefits and advantages available to those occupied in the formal sector, such as, as access to union support, health assistance, enjoyment of vacations and conventional shifts, access to on-the-job training to develop and increase their abilities, talents and capabilities for better labour mobility, among others.

5.D.4 Place of work of male and female child workers

The analysis carried out of occupations, sectors and industries, as well as the occupational categories of the economically active population between 5 and 17 years of age, may indicate at least four major places of work: farms or agricultural units and related places, the street, private enterprise or government institutions and private homes.

The first place of work, agricultural farms or units, stands on the fact that more than one half of the child and adolescent labour force is occupied in “agriculture, forestry, fisheries workers and hunting” (50.0%). In addition, the primary sector, constituted by “agriculture, livestock, hunting and forestry” and “fisheries” concentrates almost one half of these young workers (49.3%). An analysis by gender shows that this worksite has greater import among males. By age groups, the fact that practically all of the youngest workers (5 to 9 years of age) are working on agricultural exploitations stands out.

The street is considered as another predominant place of work among working minors. It can be identified by taking into consideration that one of every four minors in the employed population born 5 to 17 years of age is occupied as “street hawker, service worker not classified in another group, day labourers and peons” and that there are over a million employed minors in this social group (62.3%). This pattern by gender is similar in the different areas, i.e., lower proportions of male minors in this shift and 62.3% for females. But in the urban areas, the difference exceeds 20 points in favour of males; while in other areas the difference is between 7 or 8 percentage points.

The day shift has a greater impact among employed minors in rural (86.4%) and indigenous areas (79.2%), than on those in urban areas (72.1%). A gender-based breakdown provides a similar pattern by area.

The evening shift has greater impact on employed female minors (13.7%) than males (12.0%). Similar behaviour is found in indigenous areas (17.1% of females and 14.6% of males) and rural areas (12.5% and 9.8%). Urban areas present an inverted situation, where 18% of males are
employed in jobs with this kind of shift, while among females the proportion is slightly less, 15.2%.

Occurrence of the swing shift among employed minors 5 to 9 years old (26.6%) follows the day shift in importance, among both males (25.6%) and females (33.7%). In rural and indigenous areas the proportion among employed women with this type of shift is above that for males (in urban areas there are no girls in this age group in the swing shift).

Likewise, occurrence among this group of minors surpasses that found in the other age groups in this type of shift, where adolescents 15 to 19 years of age have the lowest proportional representation.

Nevertheless, overall, a distribution of all employed minors in the swing shift by age groups and in each sex places the most significant proportions in the employed population aged 10 to 14 years, particularly females. In rural and indigenous areas the relationship is repeated by age and sex groupings, but with larger proportions among males. In urban areas, this group (10 to 14 years of age) holds the largest part of employed females in this shift, since in urban areas and among males, adolescents 15 to 17 years of age are the most important.

Day and evening shifts for employed minors aged 5 to 14 years (ages below the legal minimum) are of particular interest due to the possibilities these minors to alternately work and attend school, given the availability of school schedules.

5.E.1.4 Night shift

Daytime and evening work imply physical wear and tear and the loss of valuable opportunities (education). Working night shifts is even more tiring, especially if one takes into account the number of hours that can be used by these minors to carry out other income generating activities, thus intensifying their work and physical load. In addition, those who mention household service work, more characteristic among females, where those sleeping in their places of work must face day, evening and night shifts.

The incidence of night shifts among the employed population 5 to 17 years of age is relatively low (2.5%, 1,986), and is the least frequent among the four shifts examined. However, this “low” incidence increases among employed minors 10-14 years of age when we take into consideration that the incidence of night shifts in the employed population 5 or more years of age is merely 1.8%, i.e., less than that found among minors. Furthermore, in the female population 5 or more years of age, the incidence is 1.2%, implying a 1.7 percentage point difference below that of females 5 to 17 years of age (2.9%); among males in both populations the difference is minimal (half a percentage point), but it is higher among minors.

Females present a higher proportion (2.9%) than males (2.1%), particularly among minors 10 to 14 years of age (6.3%), which reaches a significant proportion in urban areas (14.5% vs. 5.7%) for males.

One encouraging statistical indicator is the lack of this shift among children 5 to 17 years of age in indigenous areas and females in rural areas. Similarly encouraging is the fact that no employed children aged 5 to 9 years are found anywhere with this shift.

Of all occupied minors on night shifts, more than 50% are found in the 15 to 17 year old group, which reaches 65.0% among all males, while among females the 10 to 14 year old group absorbs almost 60%, which is representative for this sex in urban areas.

The Survey revealed that, at the province level, the employed population working the day shift can be found in Panama (25.0%), Veraguas (15.4%), Coclé (11.8%) and Chiriquí (10.5%). With regard to the swing shift, the provinces with the largest proportions of employed minors are Panama (35.3%), Veraguas (28.6%) and Chiriquí (35.2%), while the rest do not reach 5%. The tendency for employed minors to work the night shift is more characteristic in Panama (82.2%) and Colón (5.7%), since the rest have less than 5% of all the minors on this shift. The provinces of Panama (29.2%), Colon (9.6%), Chiriquí (6.4%) and Bocas del Toro (5.6%) absorb the largest proportions of employed minors on rotating shifts.

The foregoing reflects provincial heterogeneity. Panama especially accounts for a number of employed minors between 5 and 17 years of age in all of the shifts examined, which could allow us infer that the very diversity allows less rigidity with this, we believe, is also related to the occupational structure of the working minors. The high relative concentration of those employed in night jobs is particularly noteworthy in this province, a fact that is undoubtedly tied to household workers, who probably have come to a large extent from rural origins, although the demographic component of migration is not analysed here.

5.E.2 Length of the work shift

The number of hours employed by the child and adolescent population between 5 and 17 years of age for their job is an indicator that points out the intensity with which they must meet the demands of their jobs. At the same time, this indicator provides a basis for inferring the compatibility of their dedication to economic activities and their educational involvement (and even their school performance).

5.E.2.1 Weekly hours worked by occupations and employment category

Of the 47,976 employed minors, 56.9% (27,278) worked less than 25 hours during the reference week for the survey, 26.3% (12,597) did so for 40 or more hours, 12.1% (5,824) worked 25 to 34 hours, and 4.7% (2,277) worked between 35 and 39 hours per week (see table 45).

By gender, the relationship holds with regards to the higher incidence of work for less than 25 hours, followed by 40 or more hours; however, in both cases the values are slightly higher among males than females. The proportion of females that worked between 25 and 34 hours per week (14.9%) exceeds that of males (11.3%), while the latter have a slightly higher relative proportion (5.2%) than females (3.2%) in shifts for 35 to 39 hours per week.

In urban areas, the relative importance of the population employed on jobs longer than 40 hours per week (28.8%) is higher than that found in rural (25.1%) and indigenous areas (12.3%).

At the urban level, there is a higher incidence among females of jobs extending more than 40 hours per week (33.6%) than among males (28.8%). At the opposite end, among males the proportion working less than 25 hours per week (59.1%) is higher than among females (55.4%). The situation is inverted in rural areas. In shifts of more than 40 hours per week, it is among males that a higher incidence is found (26.4% vs. 19.5% among females).

In indigenous areas, a shift of less than 25 hours per week is more frequent among males (60.2%) than among females (22.7%), followed by shifts of 25 to 34 hours (21.6%) and 40 or more hours (21.3%). In the first case, among males, the relative weight is higher (62.8%) than that of the females (56.1%), and this relationship is also found in the third group (males 13.5% and females 9.8%). However the ratio is inverted in the second group, where females predominate (28.6%) over males (19.1%). The case of weekly shifts between 35 and 39 hours is more common among females (7.3%) than males (4.5%).

Work in longer shifts is more intense among the employed population between 5 and 17 years of age. In the category of employees (of government, private enterprise and domestic service) 45.9% of the working population have shifts of 40 or more hours per week. This is more characteristic in urban areas (48.4%), followed by rural areas (44.6%) and finally indigenous areas (37.6%). Similarly, those shifts with fewer weekly hours (less than 25) predominate in urban (43.9%), rural (40.8%) and indigenous (35.0%), with a national average of 42.0%.

Employment for more than 40 hours per week has a greater impact on females (48.7%) than males (43.3%). This pattern remains in each one of the areas analysed, although in rural areas the difference by gender is greater (females are 7.2 percent-points higher) than urban areas (4.4 points), and in indigenous areas (6.4 points). And in counterpart, employment in shifts of less than 25 hours weekly there are fewer females than males (37.3% vs. 44.3%), which can be seen in all of the areas, principally rural areas (44.8% males vs. 24.7% females); while in indigenous areas, only males were recorded with this shift (66.4%), who, in turn, do not appear in the 35 to 39 hour shift, in which indigenous females predominate.

In terms of comparison, the higher incidence among occupied males 5 to 17 years old of weekly shifts lasting 40 or more hours is generally similar to that found in the active population the same age, in 5 or more years of age, with a significant exception in urban areas. In fact, in urban areas the proportion of working females is higher than that of working males, which is not the case among all those 5 or more years of age.
A comparison between both populations with different age ranges, working as employees in shifts of 40 or more hours points specifically at the greater vulnerability of the population aged 5 to 17 years, and primordially with regard to the influence of domestic service with emphasis on female children and adolescents. The male employed population aged 5 or more years has greater incidence than the female, overall and in all of the reference areas. At the other extreme, the 40 or more hour shift has a more severe incidence on females than males from the population 5 to 17 years of age, which extends to all areas of analysis.

According to what has been analysed, agriculture and related industries, generally, hold the largest proportions of the occupied population in the different weekly shifts, particularly from 25 to 39 hours, which exceed 50%. By sex, more than half of the males are in agriculture in the different shifts, which is not seen among women, except in the 35 to 39 hour shift, which reaches 50.0% (see table 46).

As can be inferred, there is a greater concentration of males in this industry, with more hours per week. As can be expected, these values are even higher in indigenous and rural areas than urban areas. For example: 83.3% and 79.1% of the occupied male population working 40 or more hours per week from indigenous and rural areas, respectively, fall in this industry, while in urban areas it is only 8.3%.

Wholesale and retail trade is another industry with significant concentrations of the child and adolescent labour force occupied in the different shifts, among which 35 to 39 hours stands out, especially among males, since among females the most important shift is 25 to 34 hours.

This economic activity is more characteristic of urban areas. Among males, 23.8% of those working more than 40 hours per week and 70.4% working 25 to 34 hours fall in commerce, while among females, the proportions are 6.8% and 67.8%, respectively.

However, it is worth noting that 49.7% of indigenous females working 40 or more hours are also in this branch of economic activity, while there was no information on males. Of all male minors working 35 to 39 hours per week, 55.9% were in this industry, yet for females no cases were encountered.

The classification of other community, social and personal service activities (personal services) is next in hierarchical order with regards to the distribution of the employed population and according to the number of hours worked. The percent distribution of the male employed population is more important than that of females in this industry for shifts between 35 and 39 hours per week (where there were no women) and at 40 or more hours.

Forty percent of the male population in urban areas in this industry falls in shifts of 35 to 39 hours per week and 21.8% is found in shifts of 40 or more hours.

Among minors employed 40 or more hours per week, 15.8% are found in domestic service in private households. Among females this proportion reaches 59.5%, dropping to 2.9% among males.

In urban areas, there is a high concentration of females in domestic service with more than 40 hours per week (72.0%) and at 35 to 39 hours (100%).

Distribution by major occupations of the employed population 5 to 17 years of age, according to the four weekly shift lengths from the survey is congruent with the previous results (see table 47).

Work shifts of more than 40 hours per week prevail in the child and adolescent labour force employed as agricultural and related workers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and gender</th>
<th>Active population</th>
<th>Employment population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than 25 hours</td>
<td>25 to 34 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>56.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>57.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>56.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban areas</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>59.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>55.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>56.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous areas</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>60.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>62.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>56.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


---

**Weekly hours worked by the employed population between 5 and 17 years of age, by areas and major industries of employment, according to gender**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major industries of employment and areas</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Less than 25</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-39</th>
<th>40 or more</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Less than 25</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-39</th>
<th>40 or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>66.5</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal services</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic service</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(52.0%), more particularly among males (63.4%) than females (13.3%). The overall proportion is 78.6%. In rural areas the ratio is even higher (74.5%), and among males as well (81.9%) more so than females (31.6%). In indigenous areas, the values climb even higher (75.0%) with males at 83.3% and females at 50.3%.

In general, this occupation holds a great deal more than 50% of the employed population in all the ranges established for weekly hours worked, this is also valid for males, but for females only those working 35 to 39 hours per week.

Slightly more than one-quarter (26%) of the employed population working 40 or more hours per week does so as street hawkers, while among males this proportion is 8.0%. In indigenous areas, it is only significant among males (8.4%), since there are no females in this group.

In urban areas, 54.6% of the minors with shifts over 40 hours per week are employed in street hawking; among females the situation is even worse (68.6%) while males fall below the average (45.9%). In the 35 to 39 hour weekly shift, the average of employed urban minors is 94.9%; by gender the proportions continue high, 100% of females and 94.7% of males in street hawking.

In rural areas, it is worth mentioning that 28.8% of females working more than 40 hours per week are employed as street hawkers, while among males this proportion is 8.0%. In indigenous areas, it is only significant among males (8.4%), since there are no females in this group.

Other occupations that are noteworthy with regard to hours worked are service workers and salespersons in trade and markets. Females are more significant, 20.8% of females working more than 40 hours per week do so in those occupations, rising to 49.7% in indigenous areas, 37.4% in rural areas and 8.7% urban. On the other hand, this relationship is more relevant for males in urban areas, representing 17.3% of employed minors, while in indigenous areas no cases are reported.

Weekly hours worked by the employed population between 5 and 17 years of age, by major occupations and areas, according to gender (Year 2000, percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major occupational sectors and areas</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Less than 25</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-39</th>
<th>40 or more</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Less than 25</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-39</th>
<th>40 or more</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Less than 25</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>35-39</th>
<th>40 or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street hawkers</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>51.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>94.9</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>68.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street hawkers</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>80.1</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>81.9</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street hawkers</td>
<td>83.1</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>85.8</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>60.9</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The employed child and adolescent labour force worked on average 31 hours per week. Males dedicated an average of 30.6 hours and females 30.4 hours per week (see table 48). Average hours worked is slightly higher in urban (31.3) areas than rural (30.2) and indigenous (24.4) areas.

The behaviour of this indicator by gender shows significant differences. In urban areas, occupied females work more hours, on the average (33.4) than males (30.3). In rural and indigenous areas males work more hours per week than females, 30.7 versus 28.0 rural and 24.3 versus 24.4 indigenous.

When comparing this indicator in the total occupied population with those in the category of employees, there is a notable difference. The employed population works more hours than those occupied, i.e., 40.4 hours per week. Among the employed population, in contrast to what happens in the whole occupied population, the average weekly hours worked is higher in indigenous (41) and rural areas (40) than urban areas (40).

Overall, females dedicate an average of 42.6 hours, which is above the figure for males (38.4), a gender difference reversed from that seen among all occupied workers. Women have higher averages than men in all areas, 41.2 urban, 43.8 rural and 46.8 indigenous.

It is worth indicating that, in view of the fact that the employee category refers to government, private enterprise and domestic service, one can expect the latter to exercise a determining influence on the average number of hours per week for females, where frequently there is no time limit, without touching on the legality of the behaviour of employers in private households.

Weekly averages are higher for females than males in the following provinces: Bocas del Toro (40.8), Darúén (62.4), Herrera (57.0), Los Santos (51.4) and Veraguas (42.6).

In view of the fact that so much female time is dedicated to domestic chores, it is difficult to visualize and quantify how much time is destined to productive effort, allowing the premise that females spend most of their time between these two activities. The question remains regarding an interval for healthy and culturally relevant school attendance, studies and play.

Indicators on average weekly hours worked by the occupied and employed population aged 5 to 17 years will be revisited when we examine income statistics for this population.

5.F.1 Income

In view of the fact that the flux of monetary resources received by the 5 to 17 year old population is directly or indirectly related to their living conditions, it is of extreme importance to ascertain and analyze not only availability in terms of quantity, but also the origin of these funds within this population segment. To wit, that some members of this age group receive an income, predominantly from the sale of their manpower or in exchange for their services (the working children), and other members receive income that they obtain partially or completely from other sources that in and of themselves imply that they need not work (assistance from family, other persons, public or private institutions, etc.)
tions, whether this be in cash or in kind, scholarships or subsidies, earnings from lotteries or games of chance, among other benefits or income).

5.1.1 Income of the population aged 5 to 17 years old

More than three-quarters (539,508) of minors between 5 and 17 years of age (755,032) recorded in the Survey do not receive any income, this ratio is valid for both genders, as well as for each of the study areas. About one in every four persons in this age group received an income less than one hundred Balboas (B/.100) per month. Another 2.2% declared a monthly income in the range of B/.100 to B/.499, and 0.1% did not declare income.

Participation by the different age groups by monthly income range varies, the 15 to 17 year old group increases its proportion as income ranges increase. Thus, their median income is notably higher (B/.82) than that of the 5 to 9 year olds (B/.53) and 10 to 14 year olds (B/.52), where generally there is an inverse correlation as one climbs through the income groups (with the exception of 10 to 14 year olds in the B/.250 to B/.299 range). In other words, adolescents between 15 to 17 constitute 20.0% of the population distribution of minors receiving less than B/.100 monthly, while above B/.125, they absorb 60.0% and the participation grows successively by range, B/.400 to B/.999 and B/.800 to B/.999 reach 91.6% and 100%, respectively.

Upon comparing median income by areas, the highest is found in urban areas (B/.57), followed by rural (B/.52) and indigenous areas (B/.51). Similarly, it is noteworthy that the highest median income is that of urban males (B/.59), the highest seen when analysing by gender or area, while the lowest corresponds to indigenous females (B/.51).

Looking at private households with minors between 5 and 17 years of age for the comparison, median monthly income is B/.290, while monthly expenses are B/.187. Highest median monthly income is found in urban areas (B/.424), which is also true for expenditures (B/.283), which exceed the averages. In contrast, indigenous areas have the lowest values (B/.27 and B/.66), followed by rural areas (B/.142 and B/.102), which allows us to make inferential references on the critical situation in these areas in terms of resource availability.

In spite of the fact that in all areas and by gender, the population aged 5 to 17 years of age attending school exceeds the non-attending population, it is important to ascertain differences between households with regards to income. Based on observing these indicators, whether the population aged 5 to 17 years attends school or not, we can corroborate economic factors in child and adolescent labour force insertion and its relation to the school system.

At the national level, households with non-attending children have a median monthly income of B/.66, and in those households with children out of school, these are B/.70 and B/.63. In urban areas, as the most advantageous extreme, these indicators correspond to B/.81 and B/.293 in the case of households with children in school and B/.325 and B/.213 in households where they do not attend.

Of the of the population 5 to 17 years of age not attending school, 34.1% lived in households whose monthly income was less than B/.100, and in general, 66.2% lived in households with less than B/.250. And its counterpart, 45.9% lived in households with monthly expenditures under B/.100, and 82.2% in households with monthly expenses under B/.250. In contrast, 40.1% and 58.9% of the population attending school lived in households with average monthly family income and expenditures under B/.250.

This indicates a more favourable situation in households with children between 5 and 17 years of age attending school, as compared to those where the minors did not attend.

In view of the fact that this part of the income analysis takes into account the population aged 5 to 17 years as a whole, i.e., it includes income flows coming from diverse sources, it would be appropriate to concentrate on income delivered by the child and adolescent labour force, arising from remunerations for their work, whether this be as employees, self-employed, additional work or “camarones” (occasional jobs), among others.

5.1.2 Income from the child and adolescent labour force

A total of 23,092 working minors received no income, representing 40.1% of the total 57,524 economically active minors (see table 49). This proportion rises to 45.8% among females and drops to 38.3% among males, for a percentage difference of 7.4 points.

By areas, the highest percentage of the economic activity population between 5 and 17 years of age that does not earn an income was found in indigenous areas (65.4%), followed by rural areas (45.8%) and urban areas (30.5%).

The prevalence of working children without income is higher among females than males in the different areas as well as nationally. The highest values for females without income fall in the indigenous areas (67.5% vs. 67.0% for males). However, if we take into consideration the percentage difference, it is in rural areas where it is highest at 11.5 points, while in indigenous areas it is a mere half a point, reflecting greater homogeneity between the sexes concerning unpaid labour. Therefore, less gender heterogeneity among indigenous minors not perceiving income and their higher proportion overall, means that this population of workers receives a lower income than the other areas under study.

Only 34.6% (3,383) of the indigenous child and adolescent labour force earned an income. Of these, 30.0% received an income of less than B/.100 per month, 1.5% between B/.125 and B/.174, and 3.1% did not state their income. A peculiarity in the income according to sex is the fact that although the proportion of females earning less than B/.100 per month (25.6%) is less than the males (32.2%), in the range between B/.125 and B/.174 is slightly larger, and this fact could influence the median monthly earnings, where females have a slightly higher median (B/.55) than males (B/.53) and the average indigenous total (B/.53). This also reveals that B/.174 is the upper limit for monthly income among indigenous children and adolescents.

In contrast, in other study areas, median monthly income for males exceeds averages and medians for females, and it is in rural areas where this differential in favour of males is sharper. Rural females have a median monthly income of B/.59, while males receive B/.67, therefore above the average area of B/.59. The range from B/.250 to B/.399 is the maximum found among males, while for females it is the B/.175 to B/.249 monthly income range.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Without income</th>
<th>Less than 100</th>
<th>100 to 124</th>
<th>125 to 174</th>
<th>175 to 249</th>
<th>250 to 399</th>
<th>400 to 699</th>
<th>800 to 999</th>
<th>1,000 to 1,499</th>
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<th>Median income</th>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
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<td>4.5</td>
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<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
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<td>3.0</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>2.9</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>55.0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In urban areas, with a median income of B/.80.7 per month, the differential between males (B/.83.7) and females (B/.77.7) is six points in favour of the former. Females exceed males in only one income range with females at 12.7% and males at 8.8% in the B/.100 to B/.124 per month range.

At the national level, with a median income of B/.67.5, the gender differential in favour of males is less than that seen in rural and urban areas, corresponding to B/.1.8 (males B/.67.9, females B/.66.1).

The distribution of working minors by different monthly income ranges by age groups is ascending; thus, at one extreme those 5 to 9 years of age have the smallest proportions and at the other end those 15 to 17 years old have the highest, whether by area or gender.

In terms of incidence in working minors by each age group, more than one half of those 5 to 9 years old earn less than B/.100 per month (52.5%) or earn nothing (44.7%), the other income ranges from B/.100 to B/.124 and from B/.125 to B/.249, have percentages that are scarcely representative at 0.4%.

Among those 10 to 14 years old, the largest concentration fell in the less than B/.100 income group (49.5%), followed by those without income (40.5%), then those earning between B/.100 and B/.399 per month (7.9%). Finally, there was a minimum participation in the range B/.1000 to B/.1499 per month (0.1%), which represents 6 cases of urban females.

Inside the 15 to 17 year age group, there were 39.6% without income, 39.4% earning less than B/.100 per month, finally a more extensive representation that the other age groups in the other income ranges, which went from B/.100 to B/.124 with a median income of B/.80.7 per month, which is very low as compared to urban areas. Relative weights among employed minors are similar to their averages, contrary to what occurs nationally and in urban areas, where it was to be expected that proportions there would amply outstrip the averages. Also inverting the urban situation, in these areas females enjoy a greater relative importance in income for work than males.

Cash wages and salaries are more common among urban working children (38.6%), than among those in rural (21.0%) and indigenous (9.5%) areas. Among those employed, the latter two areas have a greater impact in the context of those employed, 95.2% of males receive earnings for their work versus 84.5% of females.

Minors reporting income from overtime work are few in number and proportion (277, 0.5%). The only thing worth mentioning is that among females the proportion is slightly higher than males.

In urban areas, 65.1% (21,215) of the working population receives monthly income as a result of their work or employment, and this proportion increases to 91.7% of the currently employed.

The same hierarchy of types of income is maintained in urban areas as overall. However in quantitative terms the proportions are much higher than the national averages.

In a comparison by gender in urban areas, there were variations favouring males (68.4%) over females (58.6%), in contrast to what was seen overall. Within the context of those employed, 95.2% of males receive earnings for their work versus 84.5% of females.

In indigenous (15.3%) and rural (31.9%) areas, the proportion of minors receiving income for work is very low as compared to urban areas. Relative weights among employed minors are similar to their averages, contrary to what occurs nationally and in urban areas, where it was to be expected that proportions there would amply outstrip the averages. Also inverting the urban situation, in these areas females enjoy a greater relative importance in income for work than males.

This type of income predominated more among employed females in any of the areas, and particularly among those in urban areas: 66.5% versus 42.5% among males.

Monthly incomes from self-employment, on a comparative basis by area have a greater impact in urban workers (28.1%) than those in rural (10.2%) and indigenous (9.5%) areas. Among those employed population, the latter two areas show an increase, but it is not significantly different with regard to the averages, while the urban value does increase significantly, reaching 39.4%.
In urban areas, this type of income is more important among males (36.1%) than females (12.6%), and the differences become more acute among those currently employed: 50.2% for males versus 17.5% among females. At the opposite extreme, in rural and indigenous areas, with regards to both the average and those currently employed, this type of income is more characteristic among females than males.

With respect to those monthly incomes received by the child and adolescent labour force coming from other sources, family assistance (14.6%), agricultural income (2.9%) and scholarships or subsidies (2.1%) all stand out.

As a type of monthly income, family assistance is more important among females (12.2%). A similar situation occurs by gender among both employed and unemployed. Furthermore, this type of income among all employed minors (15.3%) is above the observed average.

By gender there is behaviour similar to the national average in the rest of the areas, and within them according to both conditions, employed and unemployed, but it is worth mentioning that the average by gender in indigenous areas is significantly different (19.1% males vs. 9.3% females).

Agricultural income is more common among males than females, which is valid overall, in each area and by employment condition. As could be foreseen, it is more common in rural areas, and only for those employed (no unemployed were recorded), similar to indigenous areas where only male employed are recorded. Notwithstanding, the relative weight of family workers (who generally do not receive income) is higher among child workers in indigenous areas than those in rural areas, but both of which show greater relative importance within productive activities tied to the agricultural sector.

Scholarships or subsidies, a type of income that could mean a reduction in labour force insertion and increase in school retention and human capital development, revealed a low incidence at whatever level of analytical disaggregation. In order of frequency to lesser relative importance, we have 2.5% (912) in rural areas, 1.4% (287) in urban areas and 1.1% (75) in indigenous areas.

Generally, in urban areas, females are more favoured in the child and adolescent labour force with this type of income. To the contrary, in rural areas males benefit more, and in rural areas only males enjoy this type of income, as no females were recorded.

A comparison of the occurrences by type of income among the whole economically active population (5 or more years of age), adults (18 or more years of age) and children and adolescents (5 to 17 years of age), there are conclusions of interest for this analysis.

The proportion of the labour force not receiving income is quite similar in all three segments considered, and is slightly more than 75%. When looking at the behaviour among these population groups by whether they receive income and what types, generally there is greater similarity between the whole economically active population and the adult one.

In the case of family workers, it is more characteristic among those 5 to 17 years of age since the adult (4.4%) and total (6.9%) groups have lower relative weights. In addition, the child and adolescent labour force shows notable differences among other population groups. In fact, their smaller proportions in cash wages and salaries, in kind, in overtime work, in income from lotteries or others, in agricultural income, in other income, in income from rents, annuities, interest or benefits is an insignificant percentage, as well as their larger proportions in family assistance and scholarships or subsidies. With regards to the incidence on the one hand, and the above-mentioned income types on the other, the differences are higher in the child and adolescent labour force (16.8%), and it is not diagnostically so, when compared to that of the total labour force (18.5%) and the adult labour force (18.6%).

A final observation to mention refers to the distribution of minors by income type overall, according to their age groups. The higher relative weights associated with income from work or employment corresponds to those 15 to 17 years of age, and in particular the higher values fall to females.

With regards to income coming from other sources, the distribution by age groups is less homogeneous. Those types having to do with monthly income from “rent, annuities, interest or benefits” (100%), “lottery or others” (100%), “agricultural income” (77.7%) and “other income” (69.2%), the oldest age group contributes the smallest amount among working minors. On the other hand, in types such as “family assistance” and “scholarships or subsidies” those minors aged 10 to 14 years have the largest proportions 60.0% and 55.0%, respectively.

Without a doubt, income received by the economically active population 5 to 17 years of age, is not merely a monitory or other type of resource for their own benefit, but is also an “ironically” valuable contribution, in many cases, to end in raising material and living conditions in the households where they reside. This is a given, in spite of the precariousness characterised by the income received, pursuant to the statistical evidence seen up to this point.

5.5.2 Utilisation of income of the employed child and adolescent labour force

By means of responses from employed minors to the question: “Do you give part or all of your income to parents/guardians with whom you normally live?” in the survey form, we can ascertain the contribution of this age group to the household.

One response to this question by 41.6% (19,916) was that they were family workers, so that although there was no monetary contribution to family household, they aided family members to generate income (see table 51). Aware that this circumstance is more common in rural areas, given the influence of cultural factors and limited living conditions, this proportion is higher in indigenous (73.8%) and rural (56.7%) than urban areas (8.0%).

Nationally, by gender, among males, this proportion is higher (42.6%) than among females (37.8%), which also occurs in indigenous areas (77.5% males and 65.9% females). However, in rural areas this relationship is slightly higher among the female population (57.4%) than males (56.6%), as well as in urban areas with a larger difference (13.3% females and 5.4% males).

Observing the relative incidence of contributions as family workers among working minors, it declines as age increases, due to the insertion of those at higher ages into remunerated jobs. Occurrence is visibly greater in children 5 to 9 years of age (75.2%) and particularly in indigenous areas (92.9%). When analysing by age groups and gender, an underlying heterogeneity can be seen. The girls in this age group show both overall and by areas, except for the urban areas (without cases), higher proportions than boys as contributors to the household. The child labour in productive household activities, reaching 100% among the girls in indigenous areas and 96.9% in rural areas.

Complementing the foregoing, it is important to note that on revising the distribution by groups of age of all minors who declared that they were family workers, the population 10 to 14 years (44.9%) and those 15 to 17 years (44.7%) present, in this order greater concentrations nationally. This behaviour is also characteristic of rural and indigenous areas, but...
age distribution. Among males, for both complete and partial deliveries (2.0%). The higher occurrence in this area is among minors. The highest percentage of complete delivery favors partial delivery. By areas, there are slight differences among all or part, showing minimal differences overall in both types of contribution, the 15 to 17 year olds constitutes the largest proportional group by age. This situation includes all ages and both sexes. As was seen above, this group, whether by area or by gender stands out among all minors that do not provide assistance to the household.

As was mentioned previously, 42.0% of employed minors attend school and 39.0% of those attending fall in the 15 to 17 year old group. Faced by this combination, we might infer that male and female adolescents, although they do not contribute to the household or save, encounter limits to their ability of self-actualization (or preference) of savings. This is related, at least in the case of those minors in this situation that do attend school, to their desiring resources to aspects related to other indirect costs (transportation, school supplies, etc.) to sustain themselves within the school system; to satisfying the requirements of their survival and that of their families, especially if they are heads of household (the Survey encountered 186 household heads by minors 15 to 17 years of age), as well as activities typical of their stage of socialisation in adolescence.

Results related to occupied minors who do save show that females tend to save more, both regularly and occasionally, overall and by areas, except for rural areas in the case of occasional savings. In urban areas, in particular, the relative importance of those who save is more significant, whether they do so occasionally or regularly. There may be more favourable differential conditions in these areas that have a bearing on the occupied population with income; besides aiding their households, they are able to harmonize their final destination by their own means.

The answers obtained on the perceptions of the occupied minors with regards to “What is your main reason for saving?”, fell into a selection of three preset classifications; to begin a business, to go to school or other. As usually happens, the open categories that lead to a multitude of responses, set limits at what an attempt is made to group them into more homogenous categories, which may reduce their significance for qualitative interpretation.

The “Other” category, which appears in table S2 is a sample of the foregoing, so that we will examine only the behaviour of the other two categories, which are also more relevant for the analysis.

Educational and productive activities predominate in the occupied child and adolescent labour force, as important goals that they set for themselves when they analyse the opportunity cost of their savings. The implicit value assigned to education is obvious from the fact that 22.6% (2,755) of the 12,174 occupied minors that save part of their earnings do so “to go to school.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<th>To go to school</th>
<th>Other to school</th>
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</tbody>
</table>


Table S2

5.2.2 Savings

Together with the contribution of their income to the household, some working minors also save part of their earnings, except for family workers who receive no income whatsoever.

Contingent on the above, the question: “Do you save any of your earnings?”, was asked of the contingent of 28,060 (58.5%) minors receiving income from among the 47,976 employed.

The Survey shows that of those occupied minors earning income. 43.4% do save, 17.5% (4,913) save regularly and 23.9% (7,261) do so occasionally. The rest, 56.6% (5,220) of the minors do not save.

By areas, those not saving tops 50% throughout, with higher proportion in rural (39.5%) and indigenous areas (58.6%), while in urban areas (52.4%) although it is higher than the aforementioned threshold, it is below the national average.

In terms of occurrence by sex, except in rural areas by a minimal difference, males have higher proportions than females with regards to those that do not save.

Of all minors that do not save any of their earnings, those 15 to 17 years old constitute the largest proportional group by age. It is important to point out that the number of family workers recorded by the question referred to here is not in agreement with that indicated above when looking at the occupational category of the working children. This relates, primordially, to the order of the possible responses, i.e., the minors interviewed, prior to reporting themselves as such have declared “do not contribute” or “other reason”.

Continuing with the statistical review by incidence of the contribution of income by employed minors to their parents or guardians with whom they live, 29.6% (14,218) hand part of these over themselves and 9.7% (4,662) hand over all of their income. Except in the rural areas, proportions among females are higher than males overall and in the rest of the areas regarding those handing over part of their income. With regards to sustaining all of their income to the household, overall and in urban areas males predominate, while in rural and indigenous areas females have a greater tendency to deliver all or part, shows minimal differences overall in both types of contribution, the 15 to 17 year olds constitutes the largest proportional group by age. This situation includes all ages and both sexes. As was seen above, this group, whether by area or by gender stands out among all minors that do not provide assistance to the household.

In the case of the employed child and adolescent population that contributes nothing to the household, we find at the national and urban levels that more than 50% do attend school, allowing us to infer that they may be working to support their studies and meet other needs they are unable to satisfy within the home. Were this so, it would be in a certain sense an indirect aid to their parents. In rural areas, this proportion does not reach 50%, in indigenous areas the situation is contrary, since occupied minors not contributing to the household do not attend school, so that we may surmise that they work for their own subsistence and that of their families.

Income from employed minors delivered to parents or guardians by their employers, whether all or part of their income, shows minimal differences overall in favour of partial delivery. By areas, there are slight differences in both types insofar as this bears on the minors. The highest percentage of complete delivery by employer to parents is found in urban areas (2.0%). The higher occurrence in this area is among males, for both complete and partial delivery, and it is primordially among those 15 to 17 years of age, congruent with the age distribution.

not urban areas, where the 15 to 17 year olds concentrate more than one-half of family workers.

Age distribution by gender, overall, is greater among males from 10 to 14 years (46.3%) and females 15 to 17 years of age (52.6%), a pattern that does not change in rural and indigenous areas, but does in urban areas, where these groups change rank by gender.
It is particularly noteworthy that this proportion reaches 27.4% (the highest among the different areas) in indigenous areas, taking into consideration the often generalised tendency to assume that among the indigenous (and rural) populations, given the traditions, beliefs and cultural patterns, formal education has a less positive valuation. In other words, working children and adolescents in these areas don’t want to sacrifice their school development.

In rural areas, although the proportion in question is the lowest at the area level (21.3%), it is noteworthy that among children 5 to 9 years of age we find the highest proportion (32.8%) saving for schooling, with regard to the other areas in the study. Their option for studies may decline as their fantasy confronts growing obstacles that hinder it. Focusing educational opportunities and alternatives becomes a necessity, even in the ethical sense, for the different sectors and players in society as a whole.

Another relevant aspect is that, at the global level and in rural and indigenous areas, females have a greater propensity to save for studies. Contrariwise, in urban areas males are favoured.

With regard to savings to begin their own business, among the major findings was that the greatest incidence among employed minors was in indigenous areas, followed by rural areas and then urban areas. Furthermore, it also stood out in all areas that the greater interest in saving to start one’s own business occurs among females. This relation is valid in all areas and in the national average (except for the case of indigenous areas where no males were recorded as counterparts).

Based on the foregoing comments, several questions arise, among others: how significant is the income earned by these minors, towards satisfying their own basic needs? How irreplaceable is it for the minors to confront the growing obstacles that hinder it? Focusing educational opportunities and alternatives becomes a necessity, even in the ethical sense, for the different sectors and players in society as a whole.

A comparison between those households with all minors between 5 and 17 years of age (391,004) and those with working minors of the same ages (43,396, 11.0% of the total) shows significant divergences. For this analysis these will be referred to as the first and second groups, respectively.

The average number of persons per household in the second group (6.3) is higher than the first group (5.1). In the first group of households, there were 695 households with a head of household between 15 and 17 years of age, with 1,663 persons dwelling in them, an average of 2.4 members per household. This average increases to 3.2 in those households headed by 15 to 17 year olds with working children, in a population of 586 persons.

An analysis of the figures referring to median monthly income corresponding to the representative basic family food basket for the City of Panama, which was set at B/.225.43 for the year 2000, and its value is compared with the monthly income distribution. Median monthly income in the first group of households, B/.325, is almost double that of the second group B/.186. Consequently, the income of the occupied children is, logically, the same: B/.170 monthly (see table 53).

In terms of comparative differences, the aforementioned table shows that, overall, median income of females-headed households in the second group is higher than that corresponding to households headed by males, and even higher than the average, while in the first group, the situation reverses in favour of male-headed households.

By areas, the first group exceeds the second group with regards to average monthly income. The highest monthly income for both groups of households is found in urban areas B/.447 and B/.389, respectively. In indigenous areas we find very similar values for both groups (B/.79 and B/.75), which allows us to deduce the influence of the working children.

Median monthly income corresponding to the total population residing in the second group of households (B/.176) is below that found in the households in the first (nonworking) group (B/.316). This fact constitutes an element that aids us to understand why the second group must recur to child labour. Obviously, more explicative and solid reasons could be provided if we were to examine behaviours taking as a point of reference the differentiation by income of the adult population, particularly those actually employed. The income topic, as well as others arising from this survey, may constitute motive for further studies not included in this analysis.

An analysis of the figures referring to median monthly income of the household also show differences in favour of the first group, with regards to the whole population 5 to 17 years old living in either group. For the first group it is B/.290, and for the second B/.168. Similarly, for those currently unemployed there are variations less favourable to the second group, with a monthly median income of B/.163 versus B/.225 for the first group.

If we take as a reference the cost of the representative basic family food basket for the City of Panama, which was set at B/.225.43 for the year 2000, and its value is compared with the monthly income of the occupied children, particularly those actually employed. Obviously, more explicative and solid reasons could be provided if we were to examine behaviours taking as a point of reference the differentiation by income of the adult population, particularly those actually employed. The income topic, as well as others arising from this survey, may constitute motive for further studies not included in this analysis.

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incomes for total households and in both groups, it remains clear that there is insufficient income in the second group of households, even to cover only their minimum nutritional requirements, since including other requirements would merely make the shortages worse. As was seen in table 38, this situation is dramatic in rural and indigenous areas.

In consequence, in those households with occupied children, there are neither sufficient resources to allow a minimally decent life nor the conditions to achieve integral human development. The lack of resources and their association with poverty constitute a cause that goes beyond the economic situation of the household.

Another notable difference to point out exists between both groups of households regarding their distribution by monthly household income rank. In the second group, 31.0% of the households have an income of less than B/.100 per month, 33.6% of the whole population and 33.9% of the population to 17 years of age in these households, these percentages are double the ones corresponding to the first group (see table 54).

By grouping the different ranges into incomes below B/.250 per month, from B/.250 to B/.999, and more than B/.1000, much more than half of the households in the second group (59.1%) and the total population dwelling therein (61.2%), fall into the first income range.

In the second income range, from B/.250 to B/.999, we find 33.8% of the households from the second group and 49.1% from the first group. And among those headed by females (13.0%) in the first group.

In general, terms, more than half of the households in the second group headed by either males (59.2%) or females (58.8%) fall in the range of less than B/.250 in monthly family income.

In the first group, there is greater gender disparity in earnings, 50.3% of the households with male heads fall in the B/.250 to B/.999 range, but 46.9% of households headed by women fall in the less than B/.250 income per month range.

In the case of occupied minors aged 5 to 17 years (47,976), it is worth noting that 34.5% (16,555) of them live in households whose income does not exceed B/.100 per month. There are 28.4% (13,614) between the ranges from B/.175 to B/.399 (Year 2000, percentages) and more than half of the employed minors live is one of the main causes of the existence of child and adolescent labour and their consequent reduced incorporation into the educational system or their dropping out of it.

The productive contribution of employed children becomes imperative in their homes as a means of providing economic assistance for the family group’s subsistence, without this aid, the family group’s subsistence, without this aid, the family group’s subsistence, without this aid, the family group’s subsistence, without this aid, the family group’s subsistence, without this aid, the family group’s subsistence, without this aid, the family group’s subsistence, without this aid, the family group’s subsistence, without this aid, the family group’s subsistence, without this aid, the family group’s subsistence.
budget would be leaner yet and would cover even less to supply “a part” (not even a minimum) of the nutritional requirements, a more critical aspect in relation to satisfying other basic needs.

In this context, the foregoing is not a justification of the existence of child and adolescent labour, indicating, in fact, that it is society's lack of protection, reflecting a problem of greater complexity related to the conditions of impoverishment of their households, isolated from the benefits of progress and social and economic development.

Tied to the above indications, the statistical evidence compiled in the Survey points to the precariousness of remunerations and income for working minors, as was already seen, nevertheless, when making comparisons regarding the employed population aged 5 or more years, there are aspects and variations of importance.

According to Survey results, the monthly average wage or salary for employed minors is estimated at $46.77 per month and to satisfy basic needs acquire the basic family food basket (B/.46.77 per month), which, without altering their relative importance, varies by their different weekly working hours of work (32.7 hours) from that of the total work population. This is another element sustaining the precariousness in the employed population between 5 and 17 years of age.

In summary, the information analysed indicates that those of minors 5 to 17 years of age who are salaried earners, more than 60% earn wages less than B/.100, which, it is assumed would allow them to satisfy other basic needs.

### Table 55

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area and Population</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Population 5 or more years of age</th>
<th>Total Population 5 to 17 years of age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Less than 25</td>
<td>25 to 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>244.5</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>141.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>251.8</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td>114.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>230.6</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>274.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>322.7</td>
<td>105.6</td>
<td>316.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>348.3</td>
<td>121.5</td>
<td>244.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>273.9</td>
<td>93.5</td>
<td>388.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>110.2</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>80.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>116.8</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>81.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>76.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>62.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>289.8</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>298.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

that 75.0% of the employed youths earn salaries of less than B/.100 per month with an average weekly shift of 37 hours. Probably, the situation would be seen as more critical if we were to breakdown the monthly wage range of less than B/.100.

The results continue to assume the influence exerted by domestic labour (more characteristic of urban areas), whose minimum legal wage was B/.105 for predominantly urban districts (Panama, Colon and San Miguelito) and B/.95 for the rest of the country’s districts (according to Executive Decree No. 59, July 2000, which set the minimum wages rates then in effect), as well as the fact that usually the work shift lasts more than 8 hours per day.

One characteristic that can be indicated in the case of the employed population aged 5 to 17 years, is that there is a possibility of legal control to ensure their labour rights and protection, while putting into effect more effective measures to stimulate their incorporation and retention in school, instead of their labour market insertion.

Finally, upon comparing income distributions between the economically active population aged 18 or more years and the 5 to 17 year old labour force, there is a clear disadvantage with regards to the earnings of the latter, whose largest concentration can be seen precisely in the lowest income ranges. Among the 5 to 17 year old labour force, 43.3% earn incomes of less than B/.100 per month, in comparison with 18.5% of the adult labour force. Similarly, average monthly income among the youths, B/.675, represents 28.5% of that obtained by the whole labour force age 5 or more nationwide (B/.2368).

The foregoing analysis shows that, among others, the low productivity of the child and adolescent labour force, the low schooling prevalent at these ages that limits even further their access to better jobs and wages, which would permit more than a minimal subsistence; their lack of labour protection; the duration of working shifts that do not allow simultaneous work and studies; as well as a certain degree of abuse that they are submitted to, even in formal employment.

5.4.2 Relationship with the employer

Based on the responses by 32.7% (18,817) of the economically active minors aged 5 to 17 years (excluding the self-employed, family workers and new workers) to the question “How is or was your relationship with the employer?”, the Survey found that 80.4% (15,134) catalogued it as “good”; 19.3% as “normal” and 0.3% (52) as “bad”. This hierarchy holds throughout all the areas for those employed or unemployed, and by age groups, with the particularity that only the “good” category stands out, corresponding to minors between 15 and 17 years of age, especially those employed.

Similarly, in each sex, the responses show the same order, although among females the proportion considering the relationship with the employer “good” is higher than among males, which is repeated by area, age group and employment condition, except in the case of urban employed, where among males the proportion is slightly higher than among females.

Although the relative weight of the child and adolescent labour force scoring their relationship as “bad” was not very representative, equal to 52 youths in absolute numbers, the main reasons for this are worth highlighting. Thirty-eight minors indicated “bad pay”, corresponding to 15 to 17 year olds, particularly males (27); 14 females aged 10 to 14 years old reported “physical and verbal abuse”; and 2 females 10 to 14 years old considered the employer “wants them to do much work”.

By employment condition, the 14 minors aged 10 to 14 years declaring physical and verbal abuse are unemployed, and are found primarily in rural areas (12) the rest in urban areas (2). The 27 males considering the employer pays poorly were employed rural adolescents, while the 11 females indicating the same were unemployed urban adolescents.
In general the relationship with the employer is an indicator that allows us to assume the state of human relations in the labour milieu, and the reasons these are not good provide parameters on the basic state of dissatisfaction with the different aspects and the possibility of making demands, as well as requirements for human and working rights.

5.0.2 Benefits offered by the employer

Access to social security, labour benefits and other benefits offered by the employer allows us to ascertain labour law compliance, and at the same time the disposition of employers to provide conditions that favour their employees and contribute to productivity through a better working environment.

The results of the question “Which of the following benefits are or were offered by the employer?” with multiple responses, indicate that these benefits are not widespread.

Of the 18,791 economically active minors, 73.8% (13,868) declared that they did not receive any benefits from their employer (see table 57). This proportion reached 84.0% among males and 54.2% among females. In indigenous and rural areas, this proportion is close to 78% and in urban areas around 70%. Behaviour by gender is similar to the national average in the different areas, except for indigenous areas, where the female proportion is higher.

By employment condition, overall this relation was higher among the unemployed (80.8%), holding true in urban (85.1%) and indigenous areas (100%); the contrary was true for rural areas, where it occurred among the employed (79.6%), who indicated a higher incidence of lack of benefits.

In general, it was the minors from 15 to 17 years of age who were affected most by the lack of benefits, representing 80.2% of all minors who indicated they had not received any benefit. Among other benefits, the following stand out in order of magnitude, 18.9% (3,411) of the youths received free meals, 6.2% (1,141) free housing, 4.5% (843) free transportation, 2.8% (526) free uniforms, 1.4% (267) free food, and 0.1% (11) subsidised housing.

It is important to note that free room and/or free board is more common among females than males, which may be related to domestic service, which is more characteristic of females. These proportions were higher in urban than rural areas, which strengthens the relationship with domestic service.

Analysis of indigenous areas must be carried out separately, since it varied from the other areas. In the former, youths only declared that they had received free meals (22.2%) as a benefit provided by the employer, and the incidence is lower among females than males.

An analysis of the distribution of economically active minors, according to the benefits received from the employer by category of economic activity, confirms the relative importance of household service, and reveals the degree of compliance of those under legal protection in the more formal industries.

The highest concentrations of working youths by industry occurred in the private household category, with regards to paid vacations (50.7%), frequent benefits or bonuses (49.9%), uniforms (35.2%), free food (64.9%), transportation (35.7%) and housing (96.4%); while the ones with the highest proportions of youths that declared not receiving any benefit from the employer are those with the highest proportions of youths that declared not receiving any benefit from the employer.

The first two industries predominate more among males and the last among females.

A final important point, in order to have a more correct image of the benefits offered by employers, looking for compliance of labour rights of the economically active minors, reference is made to the distribution of the minors according to their insertion in each one of the different economic categories and the benefits they receive from them.

The statistical evidence indicates that in a majority of the industries, the rights of the minors suffer and they are offered limited benefits, given this high incidence of “no benefits” where the proportions vary from a little more than 70% to 100% in some cases (fisheries, exploitation of mines and quarries and electricity, gas and water distribution). The exceptions are in teaching, public administration and defence, with obligatory affiliation social security plans, and in financial intermediation, in which benefits are offered, concentrated on access to social security, and paid vacations and sick-leave. In the first two categories, it is to be expected that legal compliance...
and control would exercise greater influence as a function of the stronger relationship of the employer with governmental institutions.

### 5.0.3 Job satisfaction among the child and adolescent labour force

The question "Are you satisfied with your current job?" was asked of the employed minors seeking their perceptions in this regard. More than three-quarters of the 47,976 employed minors responded affirmatively to this question (32,217 vs. 10,709 that responded negatively), and this pattern holds throughout the areas and by gender. Only two behaviours were at variance: among the children 5 to 9 years of age, particularly males, 77.7% declared their dissatisfaction with their current jobs, and in indigenous areas, among females, the degree of satisfaction is somewhat reduced (58.9%) from the area and national averages.

In the distribution of the employed minors, analysing whether they are satisfied or not with their current job, there is a direct correlation by age, so that adolescents 15 to 17 years of age have the highest proportions, at a substantial distance we find the group 10 to 14 years of age.

Although this pattern is valid for different areas and by sex, the indigenous areas do present a different situation, in the latter, among those expressing themselves as satisfied, the difference is not very large between the 15 to 17 and 10 to 14 year old groups (slightly more than 2 percentage points), due to the lower satisfaction among the adolescent males, among whom those 10 to 14 years of age are the ones with greater relative job satisfaction.

Job aspects, such as those referred to remuneration received or earnings obtained, intensity of work, and employer's attitude during the job or other reasons, are the ones that stand out as the determinants of job satisfaction.

Of the 10,759 employed youths dissatisfied with their current jobs, 27.2% (2,949) said that the main reason was that the job was tiring and very hard; 24.3% (2,617) responded that there was another (various) reason; 20.9% (2,244) that the wages were too low; 17.3% (1,856) that the income from self-employment was very low; and, 10.3% (1,103) that the employer was very hard on them and demanding (see table 59).

Upon observing these proportions by area, excluding the reasons gathered together as "other" in order to achieve better significance with the statistics, we find that in order of importance, in urban areas, low wages, a demanding employer, insufficient earnings from self-employment, and tiresome work prevail. In rural areas, tiresome work, low wages, low earnings from self-employment, and demanding employers stand out. In indigenous areas, the prototypical problems are tiresome and very hard work, low income from self-employment, wages too low, and the demanding attitude of the employer.

The hierarchical order of the reason for job dissatisfaction among the employed minors attending or not attending school provides interesting considerations.

Overall, tiresome and very hard labour arises as the main reason, both among those employed youths attending school, and those outside the school system.

This reason also stands out in rural areas among minors, whether they attend school or not. In indigenous areas, this reason stands out as the main reason among the minors attending school, while among those not attending, the primary reason refers to the very low income obtained from self-employment. This latter reason also stands out in urban areas but among the employed minors attending school, contrastwise, among those not attending, low wages constitute the fundamental factor.

In summary, tiresome and very hard work stands out among employed youths in rural areas, with implications related to the intensity and exhaustion produced by their insertion in primarily agricultural activities.Something similar occurs in indigenous areas.

To the contrary, in urban areas, where minors tend more to be working as employees within a more

![Distribution of the economically active population, aged 5 to 17 years, according to benefits offered by the employer, by categories of economic activity (Year 2000, percentages)](image)

**Table 58**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Social security</th>
<th>Paid vacations</th>
<th>Paid sick leave</th>
<th>Frequent bonuses or uniform</th>
<th>Free meals</th>
<th>Free transportation</th>
<th>Free housing</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and related</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exploitation of mines and quarries</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing industries</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, gas and water supply</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and retail trade</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels and restaurants</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation warehousing and communications</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 59**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distribution of the employed population 5 to 17 years of age dissatisfied with their current jobs, by reasons, according to school attendance and gender (Year 2000, percentages)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reasons for job dissatisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages too low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiresome / very hard work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer hard / demanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very low income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from self-employment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

formal sector (government, private enterprise, private homes) and as independent workers, the amount earned in wages or income constitutes the factor given greater relevance for their job satisfaction.

In terms of the importance of different reasons by gender, very low wages, tiresome and hard labour and low earnings for the self-employed bear more heavily on the disengagement of young males than females. In the case of the hard and demanding employer, the incidence is almost equal, although slightly higher among females, which is associated with household work, more characteristic for them.

This last observation is confirmed by the greater occurrence of this factor among urban females, more than doubling the incidence among males. This is coherent with the greater concentration of domestic workers in this area, in addition to the well known fact of the demands frequently placed on many of them, in terms of their long working shift, at times without a schedule, the obstacles for attending school, the distance from their families and their limited leave time, responsibilities regarding child care and even aiding or supervising their schoolwork, expectations regarding impeccable cleanliness, order and food preparation, beyond the skills they may have and the reduced options to acquire them, among others.

5.0.4 Use of personal safety equipment by the employed child and adolescent labour force

The multiple responses provided by the employed youths when asked: “Do you and your companions use any of the following equipment when working?” provide a clear view of the precarious safety conditions to which they are exposed when working.

The immense majority, 85.6% (41,091) responded that they use no safety equipment. Of those that do use, 8.7% use “other equipment” (diverse equipment or categories); 5.6% use special footwear; 1.2% safety glasses; 0.4% helmets; and, 0.4% earplugs. Their companions at work followed the same order for use.

The greatest incidence of non-use of safety equipment occurred in urban areas (91.7%), followed by rural (82.9%) and indigenous areas (78.5%). Generally, the incidence of this category is higher among females than males, at the level of the national average and in all of the areas. In the distribution of this category by age groups, adolescents 15 to 17 years of age stand out with the largest proportion not making use of safety equipment.

In spite of the fact that the categories established do not allow us to reach more specific conjectures with regard to occupations (except, in part and indirectly, for occupations in manufacturing industries, construction and mines, among others) and norms protecting the physical health of minors in the workplace, the information analyzed illustrates the harm to which the economically active population between 5 and 17 years of age is exposed, with respect to their health and safety.

The effects on health and safety, and other areas, derived from the adverse working conditions and from child and adolescent labour itself will be approached in the analysis in the coming chapters.

6.A Education

Incorporation and permanence within the educational system of minors between 5 and 17 years of age have positive effects. The effective influence of such an endeavor is obvious at the macro-collective level with the development of human capital for society, which in turn increases productivity, competitiveness, economic growth and social wellbeing. At the micro-individual level, one must consider the right to full enjoyment of education and the proper recreational activities for this age as necessary for integral development.

The data analysed reveal that 84.9% of the population between 5 and 17 years of age participate in educational activities and 15.1% are outside the school system. School dropouts constitute 59.3% of minors in this age group who do not attend school. Among the main causes for abandoning the school system, economic reasons stood out, followed by educational motives.

When comparing some educational indicators, in addition to attendance and dropouts, that can be calculated from Survey data, such as proportion of overage students, between children who are dedicated exclusively to their studies and those who are trying to balance school and work, very important elements were found for the combined population of children between 5 and 17 years of age.

Chapter VII, titled “Educational Characteristics” in the child labour survey questionnaire, collected information on school attendance, main reason for not attending school, length of time without schooling, regularity of attendance and educational level of minors between 5 and 17 years of age. All of the above-mentioned indicators have been analysed in the preceding chapter. The survey does not provide information with direct evidence on school performance. However, in this chapter, an attempt is made to infer the educational effects of early labour insertion of children between 5 and 17 years of age.

By crossing data obtained from educational characteristics in the survey, in particular with respect to the highest school year passed by minors between 5 and 17 years of age and information derived from economic aspects, particularly the employed category within the specific ages in this population segment, the proportion of overage students or students who are behind the grade that corresponds to their age (the relationship between age and school year passed) can be calculated and comparisons can be made.

Therefore, for the purposes of the current analysis, the starting point is to accept grade-age distortions as a representative indicator of the effect that child labour has on the education of minors.

Before analysing the statistics, some considerations must be emphasised.

To begin with, two groups of minors have been disaggregated for the analysis: the first one refers to the population of children between 5 and 17 years of age who go to school and do not work; the second one includes only the working population within this age group, those who go to school and work. It is possible to distinguish the problem of the effect of work on the education of minors inserted in the labour market from how serious this effect.
be studying in the first grade of primary school. However, based upon the survey question which asks about the last school year passed and the timing of the survey, which was in the month of October, months after the beginning of the school year, one can assume that children declaring having passed their first grade of schooling could only do so if they were more than 7 years of age (excluding those children who were under-age). This criterion was successfully applied according to the passed school year and age at the time the child was surveyed, assuming an additional one-year margin.

The first population group tested was that composed of 620,598 children between 5 and 17 years of age attending school and not working and the second group included 20,137 minors who worked and simultaneously attended classes in an educational centre (see table 60). Urban areas concentrate 61.5% of minors in the first group, whereas in the second group, 59% are in rural areas (including indigenous areas). In the first group, indigenous minors represent 7% of the first group. The percent difference is the difference of 25.7 points between them in favour of the first group.

In the second group, 57.9% and 25.5% go to primary and secondary school, respectively. The corresponding values for the second group are 62.2% and 33.5%. It is interesting that although in both groups the proportion of males attending primary school is greater than the proportion of females, the situation is reversed during secondary school, a fact that can also contribute towards explaining the higher mean for passed grades among females than males.

Corresponding to the greater value females give to education, it must be stressed that while among those females attending an educational institution and working, 2.8% have at least one year at the university level and 0.1% have passed at least one year of vocational studies, while among the males, these relationships are null, that is, no information was registered for either category. From this fact one might infer that females in this group are older.

When age groups are studied separately, it is evident that in fact these are 17-year-old women. While their peers in the first group tended to choose less education at the non-university level, in this group, in spite of having to distribute their time between studies and work, and probably helping at home as well, they prioritised higher education. The survey does not offer information with respect to whether the minors have children; i.e., data that would allow a consideration of the greater responsibility and other differential conditions when rearing and upkeeping of children is added.

After revising and comparing indicators associated with overage students, the most serious differences are evident at the primary level in both groups studied.

Among minors in primary school, 40.2% y el 14.5% for the first and second groups respectively were not overage for their age, whereas the difference of 25.7 points between them in favour of the first group. The percent difference is the same for overage students at this level but with higher values for the indicator in each group (59.8% and 85.5%, respectively).

In the second group, mean passed grades is 5.4 and for the first group, 3.9. This difference is influenced by the higher relative weight of older minors in the second group. Thus in this group, 38.8% of minors are between 13 and 17 years of age, a percentage that is more than twice the number in the first group (16.5%). This indicator, mean passed grades, is higher in females than in males in both groups and by areas, except for indigenous areas in the first group.

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Among working urban minors in the second group 16.1% attending primary education do so without lag, that is to say, a proportion which is greater than in rural areas (13.9%) and indigenous areas (4.2%). A similar pattern may be seen in the first group, although with values more than twice those for the second group in urban and rural areas, and almost seven-fold higher in the case of indigenous areas.

The percent difference between genders in primary school attendance without grade-age distortions in schooling is greater in the second group (5.6%) than in the first (2.9).

Significant variations are visible among areas with respect to attendance without lag in schooling at the primary level. Attention is drawn to the variations by gender in the second group in urban areas, which is 14 percentage points higher for males. In indigenous areas in this group, no females attending without lag were registered, which means that all females that attend school are overage. In the first group, gender differences favour females both in the total and in all areas, where the greatest difference occurred in rural areas.

At the primary level, overage students among minors is greater in the second group (85.5%) than in the first (59.8%). In general, in all areas, this indicator is above 80% in former group; however, in indigenous areas the situation of minors who study and work is dramatic, since 95.8% of them are overage and, as already mentioned, 100% of females attending school are behind the grade that corresponds to their age.

A more favourable view may be expected in the first group of minors who attend school and do not work. However, this expectation is countered by statistical evidence revealing that grade-age distortions are seen in more than 50% of all minors. The total indicator is 59.8% and only urban areas are under this value (55.8%). The values for indigenous and rural areas are 72% and 65.2%, respectively. In the first group, grade-age distortions at the primary level affect more males than females, whereas in the second group, the situation is more acute in females.

Secondary grade-age distortions in minors in the second group are less common in urban areas (54.7%), whereas in indigenous areas, this indicator is much higher (80%), followed by rural areas (67.4%). Thus, more than half the minors in this group that studies and works suffer a marked lag in their schooling, which can reasonably be assumed to be a result of their early labour force participation.

Although there are fewer minors behind the corresponding grade at the secondary level in the first group than in the second group, it must be emphasised that this fact does not imply a favourable result for the Indicator. Statistical evidence contradicts expected results, since overall and in urban areas, almost 50% (49.2% and 47.5%, respectively) are behind the corresponding grade with respect to their age grade, an indicator which climbs further in rural (53.7%) and indigenous areas (60.4%).

In the first group, females attending secondary educational centres are behind their corresponding grade less frequently than males, both overall as well as by areas; while in the second group, such a pattern can be seen only overall and in urban areas, since males have less grade lag in rural areas, albeit slightly, and particularly in indigenous areas, where 100% of females attend school with grade-age distortion.

The proportion adolescents who are not behind the corresponding grade at the secondary level and by area is higher in the first group, as compared with the second. Females predominate in attendance without lag in the first group and in all areas, as compared to males. In the second group, this is seen only overall and in urban areas, whereas in other areas, the ratio favours males over females, particularly in indigenous areas where only males are represented.

By province, primary school grade-age distortions in the second group are as follows, in descending order: Darién (100%), Coclé (90.9%), Colón (83.9%), Los Santos (82.8%), Chiriquí (82.5%), Panama (81.5%), Bocas del Toro (80.4%) and Veraguas (75.2%). Furthermore, with respect to secondary education, the provinces are listed as follows: Darién (97.3%), Herrera (75.5%), Bocas del Toro (66.7%), Los Santos (66%), Chiriquí (62.5%), Coclé (62.5%), Colón (61.3%), Panama (54%) and Veraguas (52.9%).

As can be inferred from the above, both educational levels Darién and Herrera provinces are considered to have the worst grade-age distortions. This is worth noting that in the first group, Darién province also occupies first place, due to its elevated degree of students behind the corresponding grade at both educational levels: 72.5% in primary and 64.6% in secondary school.

To conclude, in spite of the fact that 89% of working minors declared that their work did not interfere with their studies, the analysis confirms that minors who study and work have a worse educational situation as compared with those minors who attend school and do not work, according to the above-cited indicators. Furthermore, the information that is available and has been revealed that an early labour force insertion, together with current school attendance, has unfavourable repercussions on the minors, under circumstances where not even a full-time dedication to studies presents an encouraging perspective.

In spite of the stark contrast between both groups, the marked differences by area and within each group reveal that in urban areas, minors between 5 and 17 years of age seem to have greater opportunities influencing an improved situation. Moreover, it is worth emphasising the positive assessment conferred on higher formal education by females who routinely alternate work and study.

Aside from the two groups that have been analysed, there is other statistical information which seems to be relevant and must be mentioned and considered when designing policies, plans and programmes for minors aged 5 to 17 years. The survey detected that 1,389 minors do not attend school or work; 616,157 only study; 27,839 only work and do not study; 20,137 work and study; 3,052 study and are looking for work and 6,496 are looking for work and do not study.

Without demeaning the harmful impact of early labour market insertion on educational advancement and schooling in minors between 5 and 17 years of age, this is not an unequivocal effect in the situation of minors. Herrera (94.5%), Colón (90.9%), Chiriquí (89.3%), Los Santos (82.8%), Bocas del Toro (80.4%) and Veraguas (75.2%). Furthermore, with respect to secondary education, the provinces are listed as follows: Darién (97.3%), Herrera (75.5%), Bocas del Toro (66.7%), Los Santos (66%), Chiriquí (62.5%), Coclé (62.5%), Colón (61.3%), Panama (54%) and Veraguas (52.9%).

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Finally, what has been stated in multiple documents and reports with relation to jobs and the work of minors should be re-emphasised: educational inclusion is the most fundamental grade-age and age of 17 years of age, as well as their desirable full time dedication to study, aside from the positive effects on their future possibilities, may contribute to the reduction of adult unemployment, in particular among those who are close in age, that is, young adults.

6.B Health

Accidents and occupational illnesses not only are problematic for workers and their families but imply high expenditures for the productive sector and society in general. These are determinant fac-

tors for sustainable socio-economic growth.

Among those factors contributing to injuries, accidents and occupational illnesses, the following is worth mentioning: stress, exposure to harmful agents and work practices, as well as environmental deterioration.

Globalisation and the changing nature of work dramatically impact the labour force and worker health. Novel technologies have contributed towards economic development, but they in turn generate new health risks, including occupational risks in areas, where these practices, as well as environmental deterioration.

Further consideration must be given to the fact that, due to the country’s difficult economic situation, a considerable number of minors are entering the labour market. Because of their inexperience, stress and lack of use of appropriate equipment, or perhaps due merely to their desire to do things more rapidly, minors are more likely to be injured.

In this sense, the Child Labour Survey results reveal that of 47,976 working minors aged 5 to 17 years, 3,148 (representing 6.6% of all working minors) had suffered work related injuries or illnesses. Of these, only 55.3% (1,741) received medical attention. It is appropriate to note the effect that the different participation of boys and girls in the labour market has on the incidence of lesions by age and gender. One would expect that there would be a direct correlation between a greater participation and a greater tendency to be injured.

The largest number of lesions and illnesses occurred in the 15 to 17 year-old group, which, as was noted in preceding chapters, has the greatest participation in the labour market. This age group concentrates 57.8% of all injuries in the 5 to 17 year-old population. Minors between 10 and 14 years of age suffered 38.4% of all lesions, and 3.9% occurred in minors aged 5 to 9 years.

When analysing lesions by gender, these pre-
dominate in male working minors, with 91.1% of all lesions in the 5 to 17 year-old population, in contrast to 8.9% among females.

By province, Panama (20.8%), Coclé (19.6%) and Veraguas (16%) provinces and Indigenous

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tors for sustainable socio-economic growth.
Areas (14.3%), have registered the greatest number of lesions. The smallest numbers of lesions are registered in the Colón (2.7%), Los Santos (2.9%), Bocas del Toro (3.2%) and Darién (3.7%) provinces.

Information on lesions disaggregated by gender reveals that in some provinces, females do not suffer work-related injuries, in spite of having registered important female employment rates in some provinces, such as Bocas del Toro, Colón, Chiriquí, Los Santos, Veraguas and Indigenous Areas.

According to the survey, 1.9% of working minors have suffered frequent injuries as a consequence of their work, 4.6% have suffered occasional injuries and 93.2% have rarely suffered injuries.

By age groups, we find that in the 5 to 9 year-old group injuries have been frequent in 8.1%, occasional in 38.7% and rare in 53.2%. As can be seen from the above, there are periodic injuries in a significant number of minors. It is noteworthy that female minors in this age group have not suffered lesions.

With respect to the 10 to 14 year-old group, injuries have been frequent in 1.9%, occasional in 2.1% and rare in 96.0%.

And in the 15 to 17 year-old group, a similar trend was seen, since injuries have been frequent in 1.5%, occasional in 3.5% and rare in 95%.

It is important to note that the most frequent lesions were wounds or cuts (62.4% of all injuries suffered); in second place were blows (15.8%) and in third place other types of lesions, which are not described individually due to their low significance.

Skin and back problems had a lower frequency (0.9%), as well as eye injuries (1.1%), general illnesses such as fever and colds (1.6%), burns (2.6%) and fractures (4.1%).

As can be seen in the following table, 70% of burns happened in female working minors, while 100% and 98% of fractures and wounds, respectively, were seen in male working minors. This could associate with domestic work in the case of females and agricultural work in males.

Internally within the country all provinces show wounds or cuts as the first cause of injury. The second place is not as homogeneous, since in some provinces such as Bocas del Toro, Chiriquí, Darién, Panama and indigenous areas this position is occupied by blows, in the rest of the provinces, other lesions are in second place.

Only Bocas del Toro and Darién registered eye infections; in a similar fashion, skin problems and back problems were registered solely in Coclé.

Because of their greater physical vulnerability, minors have a greater probability of suffering various work related lesions and illnesses as compared to adults. Furthermore, due to the fact that they still have not achieved sufficient mental maturity, minors are less aware – or not aware at all – of the risks involved in certain tasks they carry out in the workplace.

The results of the Survey carried out by the Statistics and Census Bureau show that 71% of working minors were hurt while working as agricultural labourers, 14.9% as service workers and commercial salespeople, 10.6% as street hawkers and the rest (3.5%) in occupations such as artisans, miners, construction and industrial workers, fixed factory operators and other non-identifiable occupations.
In the case of female working minors, 100% of all lesions happened while they were working as street hawkers, service workers and salespersons; for male working minors, 78% suffered lesions while working on agriculture, farms or forestry.

### 6.B.3 Medical care received

As was mentioned above, 3,148 working minors suffered injuries and of these, 1,741 received medical care, 65% were seen by a medical doctor, 15.6% by an indigenous medicine man, 7.9% by a nurse, 7.1% by another person, and 4.4% by an auxiliary nurse. As has been seen, an important amount of injuries were not taken care of, in spite of being blows, wounds and eye infections.

Of those receiving medical care, 15% were at home, 0.7% in the workplace, 0.2% in a clinic and 35.1% in a health centre. No important differences are evident with respect to the place where medical care was received and gender and, for this reason, it cannot be concluded that there was discrimination with respect to quality of care.

In relation to medical care and age, it can be seen that all injuries to minors aged 5 to 9 years were taken care of in a public hospital (84.8%) or a health centre (15.2%).

In the 10 to 14 year-old group, the survey revealed that 13.8% were seen at home, 34.9% in a public hospital and 31.3% in a health centre. In the 15 to 17 year-old group of injured minors, 16.7% were taken care of at home, 1.3% in the workplace, 41.6% in a public hospital and 39% in a health centre.

Of the 1,741 minors receiving medical care, 28.3% were admitted to the hospital and were mainly immersed in agricultural occupations, 25% were not hospitalised but needed to temporarily stop working as a consequence of their work-related lesion.

On the other hand, it is convenient to point out that 35.5% of injured minors stopped attending school as a consequence of the injury, which in most cases was a wound or cut.

An interesting fact was the response from 47.5% working minors who were asked if they were aware of any work related health problem; 14.9% were aware, versus 85% who were not aware. This is worrisome since it reveals what we mentioned initially, these minors tend to be injured when working because they totally underestimate the effort they must exert.

### 6.C Family income

Child labour is relates to the income asymmetry existing in the country. According to data from the Department of Economics and Finance (Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas), the mean per capita income is superior to that of other countries in the region; nonetheless, a high level of inequality is still present. The wealthiest 20% of the population concentrate 63% of total income, whereas the poorest 20% of the population receive 1.5% of the income. That is, the wealthiest 20% of the population has 15 times the income of the poorest 20%.

This asymmetry is also seen with respect to consumption. Annual mean national consumption per capita was $1,820.00 in 1997, with range from $320.00 for the poorest 20% of the population and $4,182.00 for the wealthiest 20%; thus the richest population has an overwhelmingly greater consumption capacity than the country's poorest. During the same year, the Department of Economics and Finance estimated that 33% of children less than 5 years of age were living in poverty.

For children between 5 and 9 years of age, the poverty index was 50.4% at the time, while for those between 10 and 14 years of age, the number was 46%. This seems to indicate that as age increases, there is a relative decrease in the poverty index. Nevertheless, it is not clear what causes this relationship.

However, one this is clear: endemic poverty is increasing to alarming and complex levels; in other words, there is an evolution from structural poverty to structural impoverishment. This leads to confusion between causes producing poverty and consequences of poverty. According to UNICEF, this occurs as a consequence of the precarious income levels and conditions of poverty and indifference in which important segments of the country’s population are immersed. The above-mentioned problem tends to worsen gradually, as settings of exclusion increase and diversify. That is, as poverty conditions become truly closed circuits of poverty, where entire families and their future generations are condemned to be poor, the barrier of a right to a dignified life for present and future generations is trespasse.

Within these circuits of poverty, most working minors will replicate their parents' history: working as children in order to survive. At present, working children do so to help their parents and grandparents, as was the norm in the past. These minors are neither able to estimate nor understand the mid-term consequences of their labour market insertion for themselves, their families or society. These circuits of poverty gradually and gravitationally exclude and remove children from human development and a decent quality of life.

This quasi-cultural fact seems to establish an uncertain but consistent cycle of poverty that includes an important structural component with particularly deep roots in rural areas, where early inclusion of children into productive activity is considered “natural” so they can help their parents reduce costs associated with subsistence production and simple commercial activity. Rural to urban migration also impacts this process.

Migration reduces the adult labour force, which, as it becomes scarcer, increases its cost and must be replaced. Thus, this leads to rapid formal and informal hiring of children and females.

Generally, Panamanian male children will work in agricultural activities, while females will be hired mostly as domestic servants. In urban areas, street workers are also manifest with a parallel occurrence of violence and child sexual exploitation as a means for survival and income generation.

### Table 66 Working population that was injured or suffered any injury as a work related consequence by age groups and gender, according to place of care (Absolutes and percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages groups</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>3-9</th>
<th>10-14</th>
<th>15-17</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>3-9</th>
<th>10-14</th>
<th>15-17</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
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<td>Total Age</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Place of care</td>
<td>Health centre</td>
<td>Total Home</td>
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<td>Place of care</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
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</table>

Source: CGI/DEC, Child Labour Survey, October 2000. Note: Multiple responses were accepted.
Seminar on Child Labour in Central America organised by ILO-IPEC presented the most relevant characteristics of the relationship between child labour and work conditions. Child labour and work conditions are mediated by job intensity, work environment, risk of accidents and work illnesses.

Some of the most relevant features of this relationship include those indicating that while risks are implicitly associated with the nature of jobs in agriculture and industry (characteristics of the implements and working conditions) in the service sector most hazards arise primordially from working conditions.

Such is the case with commercial child sexual exploitation that, by its very nature, is an affront to their psychological, moral and physical integrity and needs to be addressed particularly. The physical and mental risk surpasses the framework of "child labour" and the meaning of labour relations instruments and analysis.

Notwithstanding the above, these features reveal that when child labour is considered within the formal sector, it can be dealt with by laws establishing criteria for instruments and conditions; however, when child labour is carried out outside the formal sector,
Table 67

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Sector</th>
<th>Labour Hazards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agriculture</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support supposedly dangerous weight</td>
<td>Use of tools and equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>designed according to adult capacities (sharpness, concentration, strength, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact with agrochemical products</td>
<td>Carring or bearing weights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>requiring great or disproportionate efforts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prolonged exposure to solar radiation</td>
<td>Use of scaffolds and work at insecure heights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>States of prolonged tension due to possible aggression (derogating treatment,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>including sexual abuse and aggression and persecution (thief)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure to sudden temperature variations and rain</td>
<td>Sexual abuse and harassment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>by adult workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prolonged static posture</td>
<td>Lack of facilities for rest, meals and personal hygiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and, in particular, driver’s carelessness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of heavy and/or cutting tools</td>
<td>Prolonged static posture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>related to routine and monotonous tasks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work accidents due to inadequate use of agricultural and agro-industrial machinery and equipment</td>
<td>Overpopulated locales with precarious conditions (related to protection from,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>extreme temperatures in particular heat, ventilation, illumination, among others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Demanding sustained performance in all types of work shifts, including holidays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contact with hazardous settings (venereal disease, drugs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deficient diet (fatigue, malnutrition)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


7.B Child domestic work

Child domestic work in third-party homes implies such tasks as cleaning, cooking, washing, ironing, running errands, and caring for sick, elderly or infant persons, among others. This occupation has implicit risks for boys, girls, and adolescents, including hazards such as burns, cuts, fatigue, depression, and exposure of child labourers to physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. Long working hours also negatively affect domestic child workers’ schooling.

According to Child Labour Survey data, approximately 3,000 boys, girls, and adolescents are toiling in this kind of activity, mostly females.

A study based on 250 domestic child workers revealed that 24% of this group are males and 76% are females. These child labourers come from Veraguas, Cocle, Herrera and Los Santos provinces, as well as from marginal areas in Panama province. Their ethnic origin is 89% Hispanic and 20% black or indigenous. These boys, girls, and adolescents are between 8 and 17 years of age but most started working between 10 and 12 years of age.

The negative effects of work on schooling are evident: 81% of these labourers do not attend school. Furthermore, 54% of the total sample live in the workplace, which distances them from their families and exposes them to greater abuse. Also, these minors work an average of 15 or more hours a day, causing fatigue. In 250 domestic child workers who were interviewed, 85% rested only one day a week. 76% received a salary below the legal minimum wage, 88% received a cash salary but 12% did so in kind, in exchange for room and board, and 69% did not enjoy paid vacations. According to survey results, 80% ignore their rights and the laws that protect them.

7.C Commercial sexual exploitation

ILO Convention 182, which was ratified in Panama by Law 18 on 15 June 2000, includes commercial sexual exploitation of boys, girls, and adolescents among the worst forms of child labour. However, the country still lacks a law that specifically typifies and sanctions commercial sexual exploitation of minors.

A recent study on this subject interviewed 100 boys, girls, and adolescents who were victims of commercial sexual exploitation in Panama City and San Miguelito District. Among the boys, girls, and adolescents who were interviewed, 20% were male and 71% female, with ages ranging between 11 and 17 years and with an increase in incidence proportional to age. There were three foreigners in the sample, one from Dominican Republic and two from Colombia. Survey results revealed that more than half (51%) do not live with their families of origin, mostly due to “family problems”. A total of 29% had been sexually abused before age 12, mostly by someone they knew and generally by a family member. Most victims (63%) were between 9 and 14 years of age when they fell victim to commercial sexual exploitation. More than 80% of males and females receive less than US$50 per client and female income is lower.

Commercial sexual exploitation has very serious effects on minors. Most victims interviewed were illiterate and the incidence of school dropouts is high. School non-attendance reaches 67% and the percentage is higher in females. A significant number of cases reported that they or their abusers do not use condoms, and thus have a high infection and pregnancy risk. Furthermore, 49% of the female sample had been pregnant and 32% had had at least one child; 24% had been infected with a venereal disease, and 39% had been a victim of physical abuse. Commercial sexual exploitation is also linked to drug and alcohol abuse; the numbers in this sample are 31% and 49%, respectively.
8. A. Government programmes specifically for children and their families

In recent years, strategies, plans, programmes, and projects have increased substantially; a fact that reveals a significant perception and actions directed towards combating child labour. This national institutional concern reflects the seriousness of the gradual but consistent deterioration of material living conditions leading to child labour.

Government programmes destined to protect children are the result of public policies that have been structured according to international commitments after ratifying International Conventions sponsored by the United Nations Organisation (UN), ILO, OEI and the Organisation of American States (OAS). The Departments of Education, Health, Labour and Manpower Development, and Youth, Women, and Family are the principal entities in charge of implementing these policies and programmes.

8. A. 1 Department of Health

The main role the Department of Health plays with respect to children refers to eradicating the consequences and repercussions of child labour affecting children’s health; thus, the Department of Health’s actions are carried out in prevention, rehabilitation, and healing, responding to its Constitutional mandate in the area of fundamental children’s rights.

The Department of Health is carrying out an extension programme to cover integral health and nutrition services for migrant populations. The Department of Health has two main objectives: to provide universal access to integrated health care and improve service quality. Its strategic interest resides in developing multi-sectorial actions in the area of child labour, to identify risk factors that may affect children’s health, quality of life, education and psychosocial perspectives, focused on equality and human development.

Technical assistance, child labour prevention, training and project implementation are the activities carried out by the Department of Health. In the extension programme covering integral health and nutrition services for migrant populations, a basic health care team goes to coffee plantations during coffee-picking season to carry out promotion, prevention and health care activities for workers particularly those from indigenous populations.

Currently, the Department of Health is focusing its child labour related efforts on indigenous populations. Most of its resources and efforts are directed towards this group and actions are carried out with the support of international agencies such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). The Department of Health promotes national policies related to child labour and its commitment to solve indigenous population problems in the areas of human rights, environment, education and health through its different divisions and regional coordination units in those provinces with agricultural activity. The Department of Health intends to extend its action programme to cover health and nutrition for inter-provincial migrant populations.
Division approved training and research on child labour is planned for different areas of the country. This soon to be created division includes specialized staff requiring proper equipment for adequate performance, as well as the necessary budget to finance all tasks and activities covering the entire country’s geography. This division plans to offer user services, data capture and statistical organisation related to child labour monitoring. All told, the Division will generate an information system on child labour.

Child Labour Division objectives include vigilance and control of labour law compliance as related to child labour and receiving reports child labour rights violations. The Department is strategically integrated in counting minors, employers and the general public with respect to the best way to observe legal dispositions and will work to agri-cultural areas to advise workers.

8.A.3 Department of Youth, Women, Children and the Family

This Department is responsible for creating and executing government policies for child protection. Founded in 1990, the Department has been participating actively in the process of ratification and implementation of ILO Convention and agreements which are aimed towards the progressive eradication of child labour, as well as the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. At present it is working on public policies on child labour, street children and sexually exploited children, among other activities. That is, the problem is being addressed from a social perspective. Such actions are focused on minors aged 0 to 18 years at social risk, including coffee and sugar cane workers and those in sanitary landfills in Panama province.

This Department has a division for childcare and protection. Its main objective is to monitor children's rights compliance as established in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, with a strategic interest in progressive eradication of all kinds and manifestations of child labour. The Department is active in the areas of health, education, food and nutrition, recreation, and promotion of artistic activities, for social development, child oriented violence, legislation, prevention, intervention, child labour, sexual exploitation and street children. Activities are carried out in research, technical assistance, child labour prevention, training, childcare, project execution, and intervention. The Department carries out plans and programmes in the areas of detection, prevention, care, and coordination for children and adolescents working or surviving on the street, as well as scholarship support for continuing education, monitoring of continuity within the school system, awareness of competent authorities and parents with regard to the hazards of child labour, and subsidies to support programme development by non-governmental institutions.

8.A.4 Department of Education

The Department of Education is a government institution that provides psychological, orientation, and psycho-pedagogical services to the school population. Its plans and strategies include actions in the following: a) programme for learning difficulties; b) programme for professional orientation; c) integral pre-school; d) orientation for parents; e) education for street children; f) education on population and family life. Geographic coverage is by district and areas of risk, particularly focused on street children and indigenous minors. The Department of Education produces and reproduces publications and materials within international agreements with government and non-governmental organizations, as those related to eradication of child labour. It has also carried out research for curricular development of educational programmes for street children. The Department has an ample infrastructure for programme execution and the improvement of such: rooms, board, and clothing to vocational training in farms and workshops. This integral programme on children and adolescents allows them to develop child labour themes.
8.C.4 Childcare in Day Care Homes

This project included caring for children whose mothers worked and lived in marginal and remote communities. Its aim was stimulating child development in children’s environment. Childcare at this stage is crucial since family ties are developed and socialization begins. The Department of Labour and Manpower Development was in charge of this project and it also gthered it was intended to assist 500 families and 3,500 children less than five years of age.

8.C.5 Post-Basic Training for Students With Incomplete Schooling

This programme was aimed at youngsters who had not finished their pre-university studies. Its goal was training adolescents in technical careers and artistic and creative activities that could be useful to develop a decent life. It also sought to stimulate youngsters so that they would conclude their respective studies. The programme’s implementation unit was located in the Department of Education. Minors benefiting from the programme were basically living in Boca del Toro, Darién and Chiriquí provinces. This programme sought to care for 3,000 minors between 12 and 18 years of age.

8.C.6 Minors in Particularly Difficult Circumstances

The purpose of this project was to establish mechanisms and methodologies for identifying actions to facilitate caring for minors under difficult circumstances. The programme sought to analyse and diagnose the problem in order to configure a model for care in a family environment. Childcare at this stage is crucial because separation of 16 year-old minors is not coordinated with follow-up that facilitates social and labour insertion. This sequential rotation of minors calls for urgent action to find adequate insertion mechanisms within the rehabilitation dynamics, once the child labourer’s condition or social risk situation is overcome.

8.D.1 Children’s Village

The Children’s Village was established in 1968, to provide home-based care for destitute children or for those with socio-economic limitations. Religious entities, government representatives, civic clubs and private associations all collaborate with the Children’s Village. A board of trustees heads this institution and it receives minors aged 6 to 16 years old, who are in difficult situations, and who arrive either by reference from institutions or volunteer-care programmes.

Such is the case of poor children, minor single mothers, malnourished children, and children with learning difficulties. Institutional financing is achieved by raising pigs and chickens. This income subsidises shelter for 100 children. Various workshops provide training. The Children’s Village operates cyclic programmes; when these end, difficulties arise because separation of 16 year-old minors is not coordinated with follow-up that facilitates social and labour insertion. This sequential rotation of minors calls for urgent action to find adequate insertion mechanisms within the rehabilitation dynamics, once the child labourer’s condition or social risk situation is overcome.

8.D.2 Darién Pro-Children Foundation

The Darién Pro-Children Foundation started in 1990 in order to provide food and education to peasant and indigenous children in Darién. Its objective is to promote and manage social and cultural educational development of the marginal minor population. From this perspective, this is an alternative to agricultural and fishing activities that children carry out from an early age.

Initially, the Darién Pro-Children Foundation’s programmes cared for 870 children. Gradually, this foundation has increased its coverage, insofar as its support has remained constant. However, Darién province is in a precarious economic and social situation.

The Darién Pro-Children Foundation developed welfare programmes through dissemination of agricultural techniques and practices promoting greater income from local crops. Between 1987 and 1990, the Centre for Latin American Studies in Panama sponsored the first research on children’s problems in Panama. Furthermore, CEALP has produced diverse documents related to the rights of children, thus improving knowledge on working conditions in Panama. Furthermore, CEALP has also published brochures on child mistreatment. During the nineties, CEALP undertook research on child labour with funding from international organizations. This research was the first to systematise a set of norms for child labour of boys and girls.

8.D.4 Permanent Committee Against Child Abuse

This Centre has carried out a series of activities against child mistreatment, among which are campaigns for achieving approval of ILO Convention 182 with regard to the worst kinds of child labour. The Committee’s group of activities have extended to Central America and México. This regional campaign has had support from diverse organisations and entities related to fundamental children’s rights promotion.

The Committee is a non-governmental organisation that began operations in 1993 with the following objectives: to defend human rights, to promote knowledge, to organise and defend the environment. Its strategic interest refers to the full application of human rights. Its organisational structure consists of a General Assembly, a Board of Directors, a Coordination Team and Programmes, all led by the President of the Board. Activities carried out are: social development, environmental and reforestation, ethnic and cultural diversity, research, and legislation.

The Committee’s goal is to promote inter-institutional coordination to prevent and deal with child abuse, as well as to promote rights of children and adolescents. The following are some of its actions: publications, prevention of child labour, training of technical and administrative forces on behalf of children.

8.D.5 Peace and Justice Service Association of Panama (SERPAJ)

This non-governmental organisation carries out diverse activities for children. Its activities and objectives are centred on the Global March Against Child Labour in Panama, the campaign to achieve approval of norms for eradicating child labour and the institutional and social recognition of children’s rights. SERPAJ achieves these objectives by means of seminars, workshops, publications, and debate with students and citizens who are involved in sustainable human development for children.

8.D.6 Centre for Child Research and Care (CIAN)

The Centre for Child Research and Care has participated relevantly in the development of research on childhood problems. Furthermore, it has developed diverse publications on sexual exploitation of children. CIAN carried out this research during the nineties. The Centre was a pioneer in research on children from an integral perspective.

CIAN is focused on research and care of children. This not-for-profit association’s main objective is to carry out research on children’s true conditions in order to provide elements on which to base preventive and therapeutic actions for this population. CIAN plans include orientation in areas related with the most frequent problems affecting Panamanian children; promotion of actions to strengthen respect for children’s rights; preparation of teaching materials to raise the population’s awareness with regard to the need to join forces on behalf of children.

8.D.7 Casa Esperanza

Casa Esperanza is a non-governmental organisation created from the national experience with Casa Alianza, based in the United States. Casa Alianza was an institution with programmes to protect street children who could not go home, for family reasons. However, since this problem in Panama has different characteristics and connotations when compared to those in Central America and Brazil, Casa Alianza closed its doors in Panama. Notwithstanding the above, the staff working on Casa Alianza’s programmes continued being interested and cooperating with sustainable human development for children, according to the particular needs in Panama. In October 1992, a series of proceedings, Casa Esperanza began its operations. From the beginning, this institution aimed at establishing an autonomous body with specific methodologies to facilitate the minor’s incorporation into society, instead of institutionalising programmes for integral recuperation or internships that would promote activities not immersed in the real world.

Thus Casa Esperanza configured an active and direct integral care model to eradicate and prevent child labour.
Towards this end, Casa Esperanza implemented programmes for care, training, awareness, and prevention, based on a diagnosis of the situation of children in all areas when they carry out their daily activities. Furthermore, Casa Esperanza provides care for minors in various sites. Most of Casa Esperanza’s programmes do not have a specific timing; rather, due to their importance and significance, they are goal based. Casa Esperanza’s projects are self-financed, with occasional support with external resources obtained through annual support campaigns.

Among the programmes developed by Casa Esperanza, those initially related with the identification of street children are included. By forging a closer relationship with these children, this programme prepared an initial evaluation and then invited the child to participate in the social rehabilitation programme promoted by this institution. The activities included in this programme were educational in nature, such as games and sports, and included snacks.

All programmes carried out by this non-governmental organisation are directed at eradicating and preventing child labour in Panama. Its specific objectives are to offer opportunities for development for boys, girls, and adolescents living in situations of extreme poverty, especially those who generate income for their families, through integral care services.

Casa Esperanza’s strategic interest is the eradication and prevention of child labour by means of integral care, family orientation, and promotion of children’s rights. It is organised in two regional departments that guarantee programme execution, as well as departments for administration, public relations and two collection departments. All report to an executive director who, in turn, reports to the Board of Directors. Casa Esperanza’s areas of action are health, education, sports, food and nutrition, recreation and promotion of artistic activities, family, micro-enterprise, social development, research, violence against children, legislation, prevention, child labour, sexual exploitation, and street children. It carries out actions in the fields of consulting, research, child labour prevention, training, childcare, project executive, loans and credits, and intervention. Casa Esperanza publishes an information bulletin (Panama and Colón) and a regional bulletin (Coclé, Chiriquí and Ngöbe Buglé Comarca).

9.A Conclusions

In contrast to prior surveys, for the first time the Child Labour Survey (ESTI 2000) studied child labour in minors younger than 10 years of age. Estimates reveal that the working child population includes 57,524 minors between 5 and 17 years of age, with a specific participation rate of 7.6%. This population segment represents 7.9% of the economically active population in the country in homes with children between 5 and 17 years of age. These survey numbers for working minors are the most current estimate for the volume of child and adolescent work.

One could possibly consider that this relatively low labour participation suggests that by itself, the number of working minors is not high and thus not relevant. However, it would not be prudent to mistakenly imply that a lesser or greater amount of child-adolescent labour may reduce the significance that this issue has on society.

There are at least two arguments to counter such a possible fallacy: every human being should be the centre of development and as a group, this is our true national wealth; furthermore, the correct interpretation of quantifiable data or quantifiable variables greatly depends on the qualitative dimensions of human life. Under these premises, one must emphasise that this is a population that needs to be completely inserted in educational activities as a way to develop bonds with society, instead of doing so through participation in economic and productive activities that go against their physical, mental and social integrity.
and almost 40% do not attend or abandon school, respectively, for educational reasons.

Processed data reveals, in an acceptably robust fashion, that school non-attendance and child-adolescent work are closely linked and, accordingly, the insufficiency of economic resources influences this association. The fact that in second place stands educational reasons according to the classification of an important priority for improving educational quality. Urban areas clearly reflect a need for such a focus.

Among the reasons for most of the 5 to 17 year-old population to desert school, those related to educational causes are notable: the availability of education centres close to home or convenient according to their needs, learning difficulties that cause low performance or failing grades; the indisposition or lack of interest in their studies; and a fear of teachers. However, the survey does not delve deeper into issues that could characterise objectively important deficiencies within the educational system.

The study may be synthesised as follows: the child-adolescent work force is mainly concentrated in the primary economic sector, is principally manual and is mostly between 5 and 9 years of age, all of which is more characteristic in rural areas and indigenous areas.

The tertiary sector is pre-eminently composed of urban working minors, with a marked participation in all age groups but with a higher incidence in younger minors aged 5 to 9 years (except for the unemployed condition). The 15 to 17 year-old female group predominates in this sector, as they participate in the domestic services arena. In this sector, it is evident that minor workers have less access to those activity areas requiring greater education: and that greater options are available for male and female adolescents between 15 and 17 years of age.

When analysing occupational categories, one can visualise the quality of work into which the child and adolescent labour force tends to be inserted: urban work sites are the principal one for working females aged 5 to 17 years and particularly for those in full adolescence (15 to 17 years of age). The greater relative weight seen for the economically active female population between 5 and 17 years of age inserted in the category titled "private homes with domestic help" further proves the point. It is encouraging to note that no boys or girls aged 5 to 9 years old were registered as having this work site.

Male and female working minors’ vulnerability applies to any of the job sites mentioned. Hazards, lack of protective mechanisms, and exploitation of different types, physical deformities, psychological distortions, and exclusion are among the risks the child and adolescent labour force faces every day with all the imaginable and unimaginable consequences that can last their entire lives.

International agreements such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which has been ratified by Panama, include as part of their content an obligatory nature for those who make it part of their jurisprudence. Thus the country is forced to comply and therefore promote, by means of its legal framework, protection for minors through policies directed towards the eradication of economic exploitation and dangerous work that is harmful to minors’ physical, psychological, and moral health or that interferes with their right to education.

By means of strategic regulation of the law, the Government, the business sector, civil organizations, non-governmental and religious organizations must apply dispositions guaranteeing the rights of those minors who find it necessary to enter the labour market for countless reasons, among which the best known are economic, cultural, and social.

9.B. Recommendations

9.B.1 Actions for eradicating child labour

In order to guarantee the rights of boys, girls, and adolescents so they can be protected against economic exploitation, government institutions must carry out an integral agenda for children and adolescents with focused and segmented actions. These actions must be coordinated in all respects, in order to maximise resource effectiveness. It is not enough to institute an instrument for efficient co-ordination in public policies. Executives in these institutions must take into account the demographic transition that in a few years will place 60% of the population in productive age groups and must recognise the need for integral policies favouring children.

Furthermore, it is necessary that non-governmental organizations coordinate their actions among themselves, according to their areas of intervention, to prevent duplication of actions and tasks.

According to survey results, parental economic reasons are most important in the decision to allow children to work. Poverty drives families to child labour, a practice that in turn increases probabilities for perpetuating such poverty by preventing male and female children to enhance their human capital. Any efforts including the development and training of children must then take into account the needs of poor families.

In agriculture, child labour must be given special consideration, since this is not only the sector employing the greatest number of boys, girls, and adolescents, but also the one that generates the highest revenues. Moreover, the development of rural areas and the contingent demand for child manpower; cultural values in rural areas also see child labour as something more natural and acceptable. Thus the implication is that special programmes for rural areas must be developed and particularly for agricultural work, without ignoring child labour in other sectors.

The significant number of unemployed minors suggests the possibility that, given appropriate circumstances, the number of working boys and girls could increase. To eliminate this risk of more boys and girls being inserted into the labour market, a strong enforcement of the current law on minimum working age should be restrictively put into effect so children under 14 years of age would not be incorporated into the job market and the rights of adolescents 15 years of age and older must be protected and their working conditions have to be monitored.

Employers have to provide opportunities, access to micro-credit, and in all cases, access to decent work and under satisfactory conditions.

9.B.2 Legislation, raising awareness and monitoring

There is a great need for compilation of all legislation, norms, and jurisprudence related to child labour, including Supreme Court of Justice rulings and all of the most important international regulations among social, human and economic aspects, to prevent ignorance and to inform all of society regarding the commitments that have been acquired when signing international agreements.

The lack of such a working instrument causes a serious deficiency in the surveillance and protection of the rights of children. The recent publication of annotated versions of the Labour Code and the Family Code, as well as a document with information on all signed Conventions and other agreements with the United Nations is not enough; furthermore, these publications are incomplete.

It would be very useful to launch an awareness campaign taking the rights of children further to include rights of affection and placing the problem in a pivotal centre of attention, the right to life and the right to have a life which guarantees the development and advancement of individuality. The population of youths needs to understand and assume that a right is not enough, nor are guarantees and tutelage by the State; the right must be comprehended, demanded and integrally defended.

There is an urgent need to trespass the limits on issues of affect as something belonging to the family and to establish a dialogue on affection as a social issue, as something related to conditions where society develops, co-existence with adequate communication mechanisms among social, human and economic capital is desired.
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52. Ministerio de Trabajo y Desarrollo Laboral (Department of Labour and Manpower Development), Disposiciones Legales sobre el trabajo Infantil en Panamá, Panama: MEF.
60. -----./IPEC. Trabajo infantil doméstico en Panamá. ILO, 2002.
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65. -----./ME, Determinación de las escuelas oficiales rurales e indígenas con los menores niveles de desarrollo educativo de acuerdo a los indicadores de deserción y reprobación en los distritos de Remedios, San Félix, San Lorenzo y Tolé para el año de 1998, Panama: October 1999.
67. -----./Institute for Women, Diagnóstico de la situación escolar y de trabajo de las niñas y adolescentes en Panamá, Panama, October 2000.
69. -----./IPEC. Trabajo infantil doméstico en Panamá. ILO, 2002.
73. -----./Casa Esperanza, Niñas en las Calles de Panamá: un límite para su vida. Estudio sobre la situación laboral y educacional de las Niñas en las calles de Panamá, Panama, 2000, Mimeo.
Glossary of concepts and definitions

The main concepts used for the survey were defined to generate a common language among all parties involved in the development of this activity:

Populated place (Lugar poblado): all urban or rural locations, physically separated from each other, responding to a locally known name and inhabited by one or more persons.

Urban location (Localidad urbana): A populated place concentrating 1,500 or more inhabitants and having physical continuity from a central core extending in all directions until being interrupted by agricultural fields. All or most of the following characteristics may be found: street layout, some paved streets with sidewalks; contiguous or lined-up buildings; electricity; public water and sewer systems; one or more high schools; commercial businesses; social and recreational centers.

Indigenous populated place (Lugar poblado indígena): A human settlement where most inhabitants have professed belonging to an aboriginal group with their own socio-political organization and practicing their own cultural traditions.

Indigenous area (Área indígena): The territory where a continuous set of indigenous populated places are located, with their own cultural characteristics.

Urban area (Área urbana): Those regions within a country where one or more urban locations are gathered.

Rural area (Área rural): Those regions within a country where one or more rural locations are gathered.

Difficult to reach area (Área de difícil acceso): Those regions in the country where populated places with the following conditions exist: deficient access by land and water, making it necessary to walk more than four hours, ride a horse more than three hours or row a canoe more than six hours. In general these areas have an extensive rainy season, mountainous areas, broken topography, and some sort of hazardous geographic accident (fast-flowing river, sea inlet, mountain, etc.) hindering access.

Household characteristics (Características del hogar):

Household (Hogar): Group of people living together under a family-like regime or for reasons such as discipline, health, religion, education, etc. As a concept, census household includes the following categories:

Household size (Tamaño del hogar): Number of tallied household members, that is, who live under the same roof and share meals.

Family relationship (Relación de parentesco): Ties among household members in an individual census household, with respect to the household head. These may be relationships by family ties, affinity, adoption, work, etc. The following categories are noted:
this mistake also occurs in urban areas, where economic conditions are rapidly changing the traditional economic role of females. Thus, to determine economic activity in these groups very careful questioning is needed. In rural areas, where most male workers are young and elderly workers.

Special attention must be given to special groups whose status may be difficult to determine. Active females are one of these groups, particularly unpaid female domestic help in the family because of the widespread idea that females are generally in charge of the kitchen.

Therefore, to determine economic activity in these groups very careful questioning is needed. In rural areas, where most male workers are young and elderly workers. Economic conditions are rapidly changing the traditional economic role of females. Thus careful questioning is also needed to determine economic activity with greater precision.

Economically active population (Población económicamente activa): The economically active population consists of all persons of either gender, 5 years of age or older, who contribute the available manpower to produce economic goods and services during the reference week.

The production of economic goods and services includes the entire production and preparation of primary products, whether these go to market, are bartered or are for self-consumption. The production of all other goods and services for the market is also taken into account and, in the case of homes producing these goods and services for the market, the corresponding production for self-consumption.

The production of economic goods and services also includes building their own homes.

Persons forming part of the economically active population will be classified as “employed” or “unemployed”.

Employed population (Población ocupada): That group of persons 5 years of age and older who, during the reference week:

- Have a job or work for pay with money or in kind.
- Have their own business or are self-employed.
- Work regularly in a business owned by a family member even if no salary or pay is received (family worker). In this case, the family worker must have worked at least 15 hours to be considered as such.
- Persons temporarily absent from their jobs due to illness or accident, holidays or vacation, strike or employer lock-out, on leave for studies or training, maternity or paternity, difficult economic situation, disorganization or temporary suspension of work due to bad weather, mechanical or electrical malfunction, lack of raw materials or fuel, or other temporary absences with or without authorisation.
- Retired persons are those with a formal relationship with their jobs.

Unemployed population (Población desocupada): That group of persons 5 years of age and older who, during the reference week:

- Did not work, but do occasional jobs.
- Has no occupation or job and is looking for work.
- Has looked for work in the past and is waiting for results, that is, the person has taken measures to search for a paid job or independent work.
- Such measures may include registering at a public or private job agency, submitting job applications, finding out about work at construction sites, farms, manufacturing plants, or other work sites; placing ads, requesting help from friends and family, searching for land, buildings, machinery, or equipment to obtain financial resources, application for permits and authorisations, etc.
- The person who is unemployed and currently available for work, who has made arrangements to work in a paid job or who will carry out an independent activity after the Census Date.

Economically inactive population (Población económicamente inactiva): Includes all persons aged 5 years and older who do not undertake an economic activity. Persons who are not working or are not looking for work are taken into account in this group, such as: household workers (housewives), those who are retired, pensioned, annuitants, early retirees, students and those committed to institutions such as homes for the elderly, jails, etc.

Household worker (Trabajador del hogar): Includes persons of either gender who, without carrying out an economic activity, care for their own homes, for example, housewives and other family members who tend the home and the children.

These persons are exclusively and solely dedicated to domestic chores and others related to the household, are not looking for work, are not retired, pensioned, receive no rent, and do not attend school.

Students (Estudiantes): Persons dedicated solely and exclusively to their studies.

Invalid (Invalido/a): A person who is physically or mentally disabled for work.

Retired or pensioned (Jubilado o pensionado): A person who has stopped working and is receiving income by reason of retirement, subsidy, or pension.

Annuitant (Rentista): All persons who receive money or income from a business without working for it.
Retired (Retirado): Persons who once worked but are currently separated from all economic activity without receiving a pension or income for being retired.

Other condition (Otra condición): Persons who are not included in any of the aforementioned groups, do not carry out any economic activity, and are therefore idle.

Occupation (Ocupación): This refers to the profession, trade, or class of work practised by the person working during the reference week. If the person had more than one occupation, consider only the one producing greater income.

New worker (Trabajador nuevo): all persons who have never worked and are searching for their first job.

Industry (Rama de actividad económica): The sector of economic activity to which the business, establishment, or institution where the person works or worked is dedicated, during the reference period.

Occupational category (Categoría en la ocupación): Condition of employment of the economically active person with respect to the job carried out during the reference period, or the job that he or she carried out in the case of an unemployed person who worked and has been laid off or suspended. Includes the following categories:

Employee (Empleado): A person who works or has worked for a public or private employer and receives remuneration in the form of salary, wages, commissions, pay by piecework, or pay in kind.

Government employee (Empleado del gobierno): A person who works or has worked for the national or municipal government, autonomous or semi-autonomous institutions, and state enterprises and receives in exchange for his or her work remuneration as wages or salary.

Private business employee (Empleado de empresa privada): A person who works or has worked for a private employer and receives remuneration in the form of salary, wages, commissions, pay by piecework, or pay in kind.

Inter-Oceanic Regional Authority employee (Empleado de la Autoridad de la Región Interoceánica): A person who works or has worked for the Inter-Oceanic Regional Authority.

Not-for-profit Institution employee (Empleado de institución sin fin de lucro): A person who works or has worked for a not-for-profit institution.

Independent or self-employed (Independiente o por cuenta propia): A person who operates or has operated his or her own economic activity or private enterprise or independently practices or has practiced a profession or trade but has no employees who report to him or her. May work alone or as an associate.

Domestic service (Servicio doméstico): A person who works or has worked for a household which is different from his or her own, carrying out household activities and receives a salary in exchange for his or her work, be it as money or in kind.

Employee (Trabajador): A person who works or has worked for a household which is different from his or her own, carrying out household activities and receives a salary in exchange for his or her work, be it as money or in kind.

Employee (Trabajador familiar): A person who practices or has practiced without remuneration an occupation during 15 hours or more in the reference week in a business run by a member of his or her own family.

Member of a production cooperative (Miembro de una cooperativa de producción): A person who participates or has participated in a business association dedicated to producing or manufacturing a type of article or good, requiring some degree of transformation. Normally all associates share the same decision power and benefits are reinvested and distributed cooperatively.
### Questionnaire Questions

#### 1. WHEN WAS THE MOST REASONS THAT YOU AREN'T COMING TO SCHOOL?
- 
  - 2. AVOIDANCE...
  - 3. LIVING SITUATION...
  - 4. FAMILY SITUATION...
  - 5. CHANGE IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT...

#### 2. WHAT OTHERS DO YOU USE MOST OFTEN FOR COMING?
- 
  - 2. Computer...
  - 3. Movie...
  - 4. Music...
  - 5. Automative...

#### 3. WHAT ARE THE CURRENT ADDITIONAL-BROUPS EMPLOYED OF THE HOUSEMATES?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Roommates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Neighbors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4. WHAT IS THE CURRENT ADDITIONAL-BROUPS EMPLOYED OF THE HOUSEMATES?
- 
  - 1. Roommates...
  - 2. Friends...
  - 3. Family...
  - 4. Neighbors...

#### 5. BEHAVIORAL FOSTERED BY...
- 
  - 1. Housing...
  - 2. Living ...
  - 3. School...
  - 4. Family...

#### 6. WHERE DO YOU LIVE?
- 
  - 1. House...
  - 2. Apartment...
  - 3. Dormitory...
  - 4. Other...

#### 7. WHAT IS THE MAIN REASON YOU AREN'T COMING TO SCHOOL?
- 
  - 1. Money...
  - 2. Time...
  - 3. Study...
  - 4. Other...

#### 8. WHEN YOU COME TO SCHOOL?
- 
  - 1. Morning...
  - 2. Afternoon...
  - 3. Evening...
  - 4. Other...

#### 9. WHERE DO YOU LIVE?
- 
  - 1. House...
  - 2. Apartment...
  - 3. Dormitory...
  - 4. Other...

#### 10. WHAT IS THE MAIN REASON YOU AREN'T COMING TO SCHOOL?
- 
  - 1. Money...
  - 2. Time...
  - 3. Study...
  - 4. Other...

#### 11. WHY DO YOU NOT COME TO SCHOOL?
- 
  - 1. Money...
  - 2. Time...
  - 3. Study...
  - 4. Other...

#### 12. WHAT IS YOUR FAVORITE THING TO DO WHEN YOU ARE AT HOME?
- 
  - 1. Read...
  - 2. Listen to music...
  - 3. Watch TV...
  - 4. Other...

#### 13. WHAT IS YOUR FAVORITE THING TO DO WHEN YOU ARE AT SCHOOL?
- 
  - 1. Read...
  - 2. Listen to music...
  - 3. Watch TV...
  - 4. Other...

#### 14. WHERE DO YOU LIVE?
- 
  - 1. House...
  - 2. Apartment...
  - 3. Dormitory...
  - 4. Other...

#### 15. WHAT IS THE MAIN REASON YOU AREN'T COMING TO SCHOOL?
- 
  - 1. Money...
  - 2. Time...
  - 3. Study...
  - 4. Other...

#### 16. WHEN DO YOU COME TO SCHOOL?
- 
  - 1. Morning...
  - 2. Afternoon...
  - 3. Evening...
  - 4. Other...

#### 17. WHAT IS YOUR FAVORITE THING TO DO WHEN YOU ARE AT HOME?
- 
  - 1. Read...
  - 2. Listen to music...
  - 3. Watch TV...
  - 4. Other...

#### 18. WHERE DO YOU LIVE?
- 
  - 1. House...
  - 2. Apartment...
  - 3. Dormitory...
  - 4. Other...

#### 19. WHAT IS THE MAIN REASON YOU AREN'T COMING TO SCHOOL?
- 
  - 1. Money...
  - 2. Time...
  - 3. Study...
  - 4. Other...

#### 20. WHEN DO YOU COME TO SCHOOL?
- 
  - 1. Morning...
  - 2. Afternoon...
  - 3. Evening...
  - 4. Other...

#### 21. WHAT IS YOUR FAVORITE THING TO DO WHEN YOU ARE AT HOME?
- 
  - 1. Read...
  - 2. Listen to music...
  - 3. Watch TV...
  - 4. Other...

#### 22. WHERE DO YOU LIVE?
- 
  - 1. House...
  - 2. Apartment...
  - 3. Dormitory...
  - 4. Other...

#### 23. WHAT IS THE MAIN REASON YOU AREN'T COMING TO SCHOOL?
- 
  - 1. Money...
  - 2. Time...
  - 3. Study...
  - 4. Other...

#### 24. WHEN DO YOU COME TO SCHOOL?
- 
  - 1. Morning...
  - 2. Afternoon...
  - 3. Evening...
  - 4. Other...
1. WHAT RELATIONSHIP OR RELATIONSHIPS DO YOU HAVE WITH THE DEAD PERSON(S)?
   Owner of family household
   Unrelated
   Relative
   Other

2. SEL. Web

3. WHAT WERE YOU DOING AT THE TIME OF THE DEATH?
   Time of day:
   Date:

4. WHERE DID YOU LIVE BEFORE COMING TO THE PLACE WHERE YOU NOW LIVE PERMANENTLY?
   When did you move to this place?
   Why did you move to this place?

5. WHERE DID YOU WORK LAST WEEK?
   Were you employed during the last week?

6. DID YOU RECEIVE A WAGE OR SALARY FOR THIS WORK?
   Did you receive a wage or salary for this work?

7. WHY ARE YOU LOOKING FOR WORK LAST WEEK?
   Why are you looking for work last week?

8. WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION?
   What is your occupation?

9. WHERE DO YOU HAVE A REGULAR OR ORDINARY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WHICH YOU WERE INVOLVED IN?
   Where do you have a regular or ordinary economic activity which you were involved in?

10. WHAT IS THE TOTAL TIME WEIGHT OF ALL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WHICH YOU WERE INVOLVED IN?
    What is the total time weight of all economic activity which you were involved in?

11. WHAT IS THE REGULAR OR ORDINARY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WHICH YOU HAVE A REGULAR OR ORDINARY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WHICH YOU NOW HAVE?
    What is the regular or ordinary economic activity which you now have?

12. WHERE WERE YOU ATTENDING SCHOOL LAST WEEK?
    Where were you attending school last week?

13. WHAT GAVE YOU THE GAMES OR COMPETITIONS WHICH YOU ARE OR WERE ATTENDING?
    What gave you the games or competitions which you are or were attending?

14. WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION?
    What is your occupation?

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    Where were you attending school last week?

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    What is your occupation?

50. WHERE DO YOU HAVE A REGULAR OR ORDINARY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WHICH YOU WERE INVOLVED IN?
    Where do you have a regular or ordinary economic activity which you were involved in?
1. The Balboa ($) is on a par with the U.S. dollar.


3. The ethnically indigenous population refers to the one accepted as such by these individuals themselves at any point in the country. Enumeration of the indigenous population, without restricting it exclusively to areas inhabited by that population, was introduced starting with the 1990 population census.


8. Of the labour Conventions ratified, 36 were ratified in 1970; 18 in 1971; 7 in 1958; 4 in 1966; 3 in 1969; 2 in 2000; and 1 in 1954.

9. See Constitución de la República de Panamá.

10. Family Code, Title V, Book II (Articles 508-513), Child Labourers.


12. Complementary legislation in this sense consists of Cabinet Decree Nº 160, 4 June 1974, which approves Convention Nº10 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), regarding the age for admission of children for agricultural labour; Cabinet Decree Nº 163, 4 June 1970, which approved Convention Nº 15 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), setting the minimum age for admitting children as warehousemen or boiler stokers; Executive Decree Nº 164, 4 June 1970, which approved Convention Nº 16 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), regarding obligatory medical exams for minors employed on board ships; Executive Decree 174, 4 June 1970, which approved Convention Nº 58 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), which set the minimum age for admission of children to maritime labour (Revised in 1966); Executive Decree Nº 184, 4 June 1970, which approved Convention Nº 78 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), regarding medical exams on the aptitude for employment of minors in industrial jobs; and Executive Decree Nº 190, June 4 1970, which approved Convention Nº 123 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), regarding the minimum age for admission to subterranean labour in mines. Furthermore, the following laws are included as part of the regulations, Law 17 of 15 June
It is important to clarify that for an objective analysis when comparing by area and considering ethnic characteristics, Sánchez, Luzmila, “Panamá: Informe Preliminar de Evaluación de Educación Para Todos” In EPT Evaluación 2000, UNESCO, 2000.


Article One, Executive Decree N° 18, 19 July 1999.

Article Five, Executive Decree N° 9, 21 April 1998.

It is important to note two aspects. The first refers to the minimum legal age for starting work, 14 years of age (Law 17 of 15 June 2000, which approved ILO Convention 138 on the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment). The second has to do with the current Statutory Law on Education, basic general education is universal, free and compulsory, with a duration of 11 years. Article 18, 15 June 2000, which approved Convention Nº 182 on the prohibition of the worst forms of child labour and immediate action for their eradication, adopted by the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), on 17 June 1999.

Panama has ratified 11 International Conventions on Child Labour, among which the most relevant are ILO Conventions 138 and 182.


Article One, Executive Decree N° 25, 15 April 1997.

According to Article Five, “The Committee will have a Technical Secretariat consisting of one representative from the National Family and Childhood Council, one representative from the Social Welfare Office, one representative from the Labour Inspector's Office and one from the International Labour Organization through the International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC), Executive Decree N° 25, 10 April 1997.

It is important to mention the cost of the basic food basket responds to calculations estimated by the Department of Economy and Finance based on figures provided by the Comptroller General of the Republic through the Statistics and Census Office.


Department of Economy and Finance, 1999, Perfil y características de los pobres en Panamá, Panama: MEF, p.18.


ILO-IPEC, La explotación sexual comercial de niños, niñas y adolescentes – Panamá. ILO: 2002. The study was carried out by the Institute for Women (IMUP) at the University of Panama.

As a complement to this chapter, a survey was conducted in government and non-governmental institutions, as well as social movements that have among their action plans diverse strategies to guarantee the rights of children and to eradicate child labour. The survey objective was to obtain first-hand information to precisely characterise policies and programmes that are being carried out to eradicate and prevent forms of child labour. It is important to emphasise that 250 questionnaires were distributed among research institutions (9), unions (6) employer groups (8), Government Departments (4), universities (16) and more than 200 NGOs. From this total, only eleven (11) were completed (in certain cases only partially) and returned.

This Foundation is financed both by the Kellogg Foundation and a group of national and international donors sponsoring children from Darién during a certain period of time.