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Master's Thesis of Public Administration

**Exploring and Evaluating the
Conditional Cash Transfer
Program on Child Labor:
A case study in Pereira city**

**CCT 가 아동노동에 미치는
영향에 관한 연구:
Pereira 시에 대한 사례연구**

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Abstract

Exploring and Evaluating the Conditional Cash Transfer Program on Child Labor: A case study in Pereira city

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Some developing countries have implemented conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs as a measure for improving human capital, poverty reduction and income inequality. Since 1999, Colombia has implemented a CCT program called “*Familias en Acción*” (FA) as one of the most important policies targeting low-income households that have children under 18 years old. Some of its goals are to ensure school attendance of children and health, making the recipients household take their children to school, and also to medical check-ups or control appointments of planned growth and development as conditions of the program.

The purpose of this research is to explore and evaluate the impact of CCT program on child labor in beneficiary households who have more than 3 children under 18 years old. If a household has more than three children

under this age, the program allows parents to select any three of them to receive the school subsidy. Thus, those children left by the program may experience a different situation since parents do not have the responsibility of following these conditions to receive the aid, being very feasible that these children get involved in child labor to contribute to household income.

This research is based on qualitative methods implementing interviews to low-income households and children engaged in child labor in Pereira city and interviews to public servants experts in the sector. The main goal of this research is to explore the result of the subsidy and program in terms of how effectively human capital is being formed within the household, and whether or not the program ensures parents awareness on preventing and discouraging child labor. It is important to know if the program really influences the formation human capital through inculcating family values and sense of responsibility upon enrollment and school attendance.

Familias en Acción has been a good approach to alleviate poverty and extreme poverty in Colombia. According to the literature review and the analyzes of the interviews done under this research to heads of households, children and experts, one can conclude that the Colombian government strategy of the CCT programs as anti-poverty policy, seeks improvements on education and nutrition of children of low-income households.

Although child labor is not the main purpose for which the program was created, impacts on combating child labor have been seen as positive externalities, most in rural areas than urban areas.

To end, as policy directions to suggest, in principle loading multiple challenges in FA program may put in risk the feasibility of achieving the objectives for which it was designed. But, carefully studied and implemented, a new phase of FA considering strong parent's commitments on combating children engaged in any kind of work and including psychosocial support oriented to promote changes in parent's attitudes, are some of urgent steps to break this connection of child labor and poverty trap.

As the Economic Commission for Latin America and Caribbean – ECLAC- has said, increasing children school attendance do not always involve a reduction in the incidence and intensity of all types of child labor. Therefore the national government should open its eyes and connects probably the biggest tool on march right now – *Familias en Acción*- to reduce substantially and decisively the child labor in Colombia.

Key words: Conditional Cash Transfer program, child labor, hazardous work, human capital, social inclusion, education, poverty.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer Transferencias Monetarias Condicionadas
CONFIS	Council of Fiscal Policy Consejo de Política Fiscal
CONPES	Council of Economy and Social policy Consejo de Política Económica y Social
DANE	National Administrative Department of Statistics Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística
DNP	National Planning Department Departamento Nacional de Planeación
DPS	Social Prosperity Department Departamento para la Prosperidad Social
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe
FA	Families in Action Familias en Acción
IDB	Inter American Development Bank Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo
ILO	International Labor Organization Organización Internacional del Trabajo
PND	National Development Plan Plan Nacional de Desarrollo
SIRITI	Integral Information System for the identification, registration and characterization of child labor
SISBEN	Information System of beneficiaries of social programs Sistema de Identificación y Clasificación para potenciales beneficiaries de programas sociales
UCCT	Unconditional Cash Transfer Transferencias Monetarias No Condicionadas

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Educación, Ciencia y la Cultura
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para la Infancia
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank Banco Mundial

1. INTRODUCTION

Some developing countries have implemented conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs as a measure for improving human capital, poverty reduction and income inequality. Colombia has implemented a CCT program called Families in Action (FA) as one of the most important policies for poor families and direct monetary support is given to the mother of the household only after the compliance of education and health commitments are proven. The program started in Colombia in 1999 and was signed into law in 2012 as a national state policy and as a citizen right because of the importance and results reducing the level of poverty in Colombia. In 2012 there were 2.6 million beneficiary families representing about 10 million people, nowadays, it increases the beneficiary families since 2013 to around 3 million families.

FA program was created with a double purpose of contribute poverty reduction through cash transfer to families and encourage the investment of households in health and education (IDB, 2010). This program is known as one of the most successful programs in Colombia targeting low-income households and all families that have children under 18 years old. Some of its purposes are that parents have to take to school their children, and also to medical check-ups as conditions of the program. At the beginning was supported by the World Bank -WB-, and Inter-American Development Bank -IDB-.

Nowadays FA is fully financed by the government and each year increases the number of beneficiaries. Through the years, the target population has been expanding to people in vulnerable conditions and people from Red Unidos program. Vulnerable groups such as indigenous people, female head of household, families living in displacement and households with disable members have priority in the program to achieve the support. Currently, FA covers more than 2.6 million of families and represents 1 billion US dollars of the national budget.

In economic development is known that subsidies can generate positive and negative effects in the target population. In the Particular case of child labor, the literature recognizes that in most of the cases, children are seen as productive and income units. The exclusion of children from the labor market depends on how parents perceive and receive their son or daughter's money that have been getting from their work and how other benefits gotten from that money are seen at home.

Without doubts, for many economists, child labor perpetuates poverty and misery. Child labor is the reflection of a society without development and has not minded the welfare of their children. It also impedes the full development of children, preventing new generations growing up mentally healthy, with no physical or psychological aggression and without health problems. These inhuman acts seem invade and be characteristic of underdeveloped countries and, despite of the economic growth of some, various have failed to combat such inhuman activity.

One of the consequences of poverty, extreme poverty, inequality and the deplorable conditions of households and children without resources is child labor. According to UNICEF, there are two different concepts; child labor and adolescent work. The first one includes all children below 15 years of age and the second one involves adolescents between 15-18 years of age. However, for academic purpose of this study, all the cases presented here will not recognized any difference between these two concepts since the purpose in determining child labor as in the international arena, is designed for people below 18 years old.

In this sense, child labor involved boys and girls exposed into hard and dangerous work with tremendous results, some of them psychological, physical or related with their general development. According to UNICEF (2009, 1) “While out-of-home paid work is carried out predominantly by boys, girls bear the greater burden in unpaid domestic tasks, whether in their own homes or the homes of others”. Thus, both gender are facing child labor but boys are more exposed to physical works and more probable at risk of being victim of the hazardous works.

On the other hand, girls are carrying out the responsibility of their home duties working in constantly threat of physical fatigue or abuse, verbal violence, exploitation and mistreatment, which generally are very difficult to denounce. Additionally “they are marked by the assumption that the

burden of the care economy is entirely their responsibility” (UNICEF, 2009, 1) and attributing themselves responsibilities that do not belong to their age.

Child work is a problem that the national and international community seeks to fight and where Colombia has signed agreements for all the help. Although, the principal program goals reach the children’s welfare, their impact on child labor is uncertain. Well is known about the improvement of health and nutrition of boys and girls through the program as well as school attendance. However, there is not a clear item specifying undoubtedly how this is carried out within the measurement methods of evaluation, specially the concentration of school attendance feature of children uncovered by the program but in beneficiary households, where parents are not demanded to accomplish the obligations of uncovered children, assuming to certain extend, the impediment of child labor. Nonetheless, none studies so far, show what is happening with children that are no receiving the subsidy from the program but their siblings do.

The figures cited about work done by children are not known whether these children come from family units supported by FA program. It is unknown if the 4th child onwards who is not covered by the program, is required to work or if instead the subsidies received by children covered by the program, achieve to convince parents that it is better to send children to school and not send him to work. Knowing if the subsidy is

also forming human capital to ensure that parents raise awareness about the future of all their children for work of sensitization or merely receive money as a subsidy without generating the required consequence behind that conditional transfer.

Child labor has different manifestations and has diverse demonstration ways. Sometimes is difficult to appreciate when this act is arising and also because not all kinds of work done by children mean an aggression for them or as dangerous actions that need to be eliminated since affect their health or interfere in their studies. “UNICEF estimates that around 150 million children aged 5-14 in developing countries, about 16 per cent of all children in this age group, are involved in child labor”(UNICEF, 2008). In the same sense, according to The International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates that around 190 million children around the world between 5-14 years of age were economically active in 2000 (ILO 2006).

Today we talk about FA not as a simple program in Colombia; we denote it as the biggest welfare state policy for reducing poverty. In 2012, the government converted FA program into a national state policy with a guaranteed budget allocation regardless of changes in political administration. Therefore, we can say that it has long-term lifetime projection and strong support by leaders and government, which mean that could be a strong tool to achieve new goals in child labor scenario.

The research proceeds as follows. In the introduction section, I describe also the statement of the problem and the research questions. Section 2 explains the research method, rationale & objectives, research objectives, research approach and the qualitative approach. In section 3 is showed the theoretical framework and theoretical issues on child labor according to international organizations, the revision of the literature according to certain studies of CCT programs applied in different countries and the effects in child labor. In addition, it also provides the impact evaluation of FA in Colombia. In Section 4, I explain the empirical analysis, this is the background of Colombia and Pereira city, their demographic, economic and social profile, and on the other hand, I describe CCT programs such FA. This section contains as well the exploratory research results, covering the results of the interviews and questionnaires applied to households, children and experts, and finally, in section 5, conclusions and recommendations are presented.

1.1.STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Familias en Acción (FA) program seeks to end and prevent poverty as well as build human capital through conditional cash transfers. Recipient households are required to ensure that their children attend school, do not work, and are not subject of malnutrition, physical and sexual abuse, otherwise fail to receive cash subsidies.

Lately, FA has got positive externalities in early teen pregnancy, child labor and also began to work in pilot projects in order to prevent child labor in mining, fight teen pregnancy and improve child nutrition; support poor families, vulnerable and displacement people. FA has generated positive results in increasing human capital, reducing poverty and promoting children school attendance as well as general welfare conditions.

A 2011 evaluation of Families in Action found that the program has increased high school completion rates among child beneficiaries—particularly girls and rural children—and that it has been improving infant health.

Some economic and welfare literature looks at positive externalities of the program; That is, how it prevents and decreases child labor by providing monetary subsidies to families with children under 18 years of age attending schools and medical check-ups as a condition to receive the subsidy.

However, the program allows parents to select any three of their children under the age of 18 to receive the school subsidy. If a family has more than three children under 18 able to go to the school, those left uncovered by the program may become involved in child labor to contribute to household income. *Familias en Acción* leaves a void in terms of the beneficiary families with more than three kids, leaving others out of the school aid and unprotected by the program.

In this sense, the real question concentrates on whether *Familias en Acción* program is effective in preventing child labor in households consisting of more than three children under 18 years of age, even known that its main goals are different from preventing child labor. There is a concern whether or not those left uncovered children may have the risk to seek on the streets an income to carry it to their home. In this manner, the purpose focuses whether or not the program is giving to beneficiary families an appropriate monitoring and building social values that are expected from the CCT through which seeks, among others, foster human capital by promoting school attendance.

1.1.1. Research questions

Familias en Acción has been a good government strategy of CCT programs to alleviate poverty and extreme poverty in Colombia. Although, this strategy seeks improvements on education and nutrition of children of low-income households, impacts on combating child labor have been seen

as a positive externalities most in rural areas than in urban areas. However, it is important to highlight that child labor is not the main purpose for which the program was created.

On the other hand, despite of good efforts done by the government on combating child labor through its institutions, FA is the only CCT program in Colombia involving the entire household members for a specific purposes linked to some conditions.

Here are some research questions to address this study. Due the purpose of assessing the effects of FA program on child labor in Pereira city, and the current situation of the left children no covered by the program per household. Thence, it is imperative to go deeply in knowing what is going on with these children and how is the program facing this situation. The research questions are posed as follow:

- What is the current situation of the children in beneficiary households of *Familias en Acción* program with more than 3 kids in Pereira city?
- How is facing *Familias en Acción* program child labor in those beneficiary families that have more than three children?

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This section clarifies the methodology and approach that is used to explain and show the impact of FA program in reducing child labor, principally in households with more than three children that are not receiving school subsidy. In this section, the research structure is described in detail by explaining sampling, data collection, instruments applied and data analysis.

This research is based on the theory of deductive reasoning where the analytical process is gotten from non-quantitative method, instead is formed of a theory-generation that has been achieve through use of nonstructured data (Yang, K., Miller, G., 2007; 161). This research arises general questions of real life and social understanding such as what is happening within the low-income households? What are the priorities and needs of them? What are the values that parents are inculcating in their children? Is for parents really important the education of their family? How is the program approaching human capital within beneficiary households? These and more are examples on how addressing the research questions of this study, through which are determined by exploratory methodology.

According to Yang, K and Miller (2007; 152) exploratory researches are concentrated around to investigating little-understood phenomena to generate hypothesis for the future and constant reflection of events. This

study rests around the qualitative approach based on special contexts according to the target populations, by describing, exploring and interpreting special facts occur within low-income households, children engaged in child labor and experts on the matter.

After read and investigate widely about the literature and some studies related with this topic, one can conclude there is not a similar research on the academic sphere which can supply this study. Instead, this study makes new questions for government, public servants, institutions and policies. In sum, this research can be useful for future investigations on the specific topic.

2.1.Rationale & Objectives

To identify the impact of subsidies getting from Families in Action program in relation to child labor in families having more than 3 children in Pereira City. Therefore, It is important to establish whether the subsidy is only seen in economic terms and profitability or if behind the subsidy there is also a social accompaniment for parents to understand the benefits of removing their children from work.

In assessing the child labor impact of Families in Action in Pereira city, this research will, (a) inform a general situation of the children who are not covered by the program in Pereira city and (b) Assist the Social

Prosperity Department in its approach and strategy regarding human capital and child labor.

2.1.1. Research Objectives

- To explore through public officials, psychologists and people who work with young people whether the program can experiment some positive changes based on their expertise that can be suggested to the program.
- To explore the impact of *Familias en Acción* program in child labor.
- To know what is doing the program besides giving money to poor households in order to boost human capital within beneficiary families.
- To assess which factors contribute to the child labor prevention in the context of the program.
- To summarize literature review and international best practices in order to provide recommendations and updates on combating child labor in *Familias en Acción* program scenario.
- To deliver recommendations to improve the program in the coming next years concerning to child labor and formation of human capital within the beneficiary households.

2.2. Research Approach

This research applies a methodology which is mainly a qualitative method in order to achieve better understanding of social events that can be reached by observational methods allowing a deliberate, methodical, well-planned and dynamic observational way to be reached (Babbie, E., 2009). Moreover, observation approach throughout senses and daily events inspection can be reached by this study. Some incidents, feelings and actions will be experienced across this study throughout interviews and visiting households.

Martin, S., (2013; 34) cites (Myers, 1997; Hancock, 2002, Silverman, 2005) to clarify this kind of mixed-methods approach which facilitates researchers to use qualitative studies to identify and comprehend “why things are the way they are in our social world and why people act the way they do”.

According to Babbie, E., a field researcher does not need to participate permanently in what they are studying; the relevant point here is to get the participants to see the researcher as another participant, acting and talking at the same level of the participants. In doing so, it is crucial that the ethical perspective, which Babbie explains is “*the ethical perspective* maintains a distance from the native point of view in the interest of achieving more objectivity” (Babbie, E., 2009, 302). The interviewer will reach the head of households and children in the better way and as a friendly manner to get the confidence of them and achieve the truth. The

interviewers are professionals in the field and have a lot of years of experience treating with low-income people and understanding very well their situation.

In this research, an exploratory design is implemented to analyze social phenomena as well as to guide future studies. Questions of what, when, where, how and why are asked to target population to figure out the point of interest of this research. Due to time resource constraints analysis of qualitative data is complemented by interviews apply to public servants, such as communitarian workers, physiologists, public administrators, and social workers who deal with children and adolescents.

To effectively evaluate the impact of the program, this research contains two parts. On the one hand, there is a qualitative approach focuses on behavioral observations (specifically interviews done to the head of household and to children engaged in child labor or when the interviewer suspicions about that) of two groups of households –families that have received the program and families that have not received it - in the city of Pereira. Each of these groups consists of families with low-income and the same social backgrounds with more than three children. The main point here is to see the behavior of parents who are getting the school subsidy with their children and those who do not, and evaluate how the subsidy is taken inside the home in that sense of value education to their children.

The second part of this research is about structured interviews which have been responded by public officials some of them communitarian workers, social workers and public administrators who are working with children, adolescents and poor households with a vast knowledge of their current situation. The general target of these interviews were public servants from The Colombian Family Welfare Institute in Pereira city (Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar- ICBF-) which is a government institution established for the purposes of protecting young children and adolescents and ensuring the well-being of Colombian families, and The Social Prosperity Department (Departamento Administrativo para la Prosperidad Social – DPS-) which is the institution in charged of FA program at the National Level (in this case, just public servants from Pereira and Bogota, which is the place where all the policies are made, answered the interviews).

2.3. Qualitative Approach

This study is not designed to measure people´s levels of satisfaction with the program, but rather to find specific areas within the program that needs to be amended to improve children´s situations and to prevent child labor.

The structured interviews conducted for this research are also called group interviewing. “It is based on structured, semi-structured, or unstructured interviews” (Babbie, E. 2009, 322). Participants in such groups are not chosen through rigorous sample selection method, which means they do

not statistically symbolize any significant population. The topic under study sets the basis for selecting the target population. Part of the survey consists of structured, multiple-choice questions, while another part is composed of unstructured, open-ended questions designed to elicit answers that reveal the roots and symptoms of the problem.

On the other hand, about groups of households, the first group consists of ten beneficiary households of FA. The interviewers, who are community workers and actually are working in this area in Pereira city, have selected them randomly. The second group of households that is not receiving the school subsidy consists of six households who are not part of the program. Both groups have similar characteristics: the same range of lowest social strata (1 or 2), with young children and with daily income of about \$3-6 (or monthly income less \$200).

In addition, this research contains 16 questionnaires completed by public servants and social workers that are engaged in helping young people and poor households. A majority of the participants are workers from The Colombian Family Welfare Institute (El Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar- ICBF-). The ICBF is part of another national institution called Social Prosperity Department (Departamento Para la Prosperidad Social -DPS-), which is the head organization of Social Inclusion and Reconciliation sector responsible for Families in Action program. Questionnaires were distributed to workers from both entities in

order to get to know their functions and levels of efficiency, as well as to discover any deficiencies and areas of improvement within the program.

It is important to highlight, that the DPS- Pereira office- just counts with 4 professionals in charge of FA program, and at national level from where policy decision making is done, there are much more people working there, however not all of them are the manager or are the leaders of FA program and its policies (here is not included people that do secretarial work or similar). On the side of ICBF, Pereira office also has many employees; however people involved in child labor works remain few.

The applicants were contacted by email and asked to complete the questionnaire, which could be sent immediately after it is completed in an easy way via *Qualtrics* - an online survey software facilitating not just the data collection but also data analysis.

To delimitate in a better way the respondents and their characteristics, here there is a shot of them as follow:

Table 1 - Characteristics of the respondents of the qualitative approach

Respondents	Characteristics	Number	Description
Head of Households	Beneficiary of FA	10	Households with low-income and more than three children under 18 years old able to go to school. These households are all from Pereira city, which is a city from Colombia.
Head of Housheolds	Non beneficiary of FA	6	
Children	Part of beneficiary household	8	All of them are under 18 years old and are part of beneficiary households of FA program. Usually all of them help mother with the household chores. besides of that, four are not registered to receive the school subsidy because their other siblings receive it already and they need to find work in different duties to help parents with an income household.
Children	Not part of beneficiary household	6	They are under 18 years old and their are not part of FA program. All of them need to look for a work outside home in order to help their parents.
Public Servants	DPS	6	These respondents are part of the Social Prosperity Department which is the institution in charge of FA program. Four of them are from the DPS Pereira office and the other two are from the national level from where is leading the program.
Public Servants	ICBF	10	They are public servants from The Colombian Family Welfare Institute- ICBF- Pereira office which is a government institution established for the purposes of protecting young children and adolescents and ensuring the well-being of Colombian families.
Total respondents		46	

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Theoretical Framework

International Labor Organization –ILO- recognizes there are some works done by children that do not mean any danger to children life, quite the contrary, some activities that not affect directly their personality; physical neither psychological, teach them to gain experience and develop other skills useful in the adult life such as supporting their family business or gaining some money in school breaks.

The concept of child labor includes employment below the minimum age of 15¹, however this is “the minimum age for work that should not be below the age for finishing obligatory schooling” (ILO, convention No. 138, 1973). To illustrate better the minimum age for admission to work, see the table 2 below:

Table 2 - ILO Convention No. 138 on the minimum age for admission to employment and work

	The minimum age at which children can start work.	Possible exceptions for developing countries
Hazardous work		
Any work which is likely to jeopardize children's physical, mental or moral health, safety or morals should not be done by anyone under the age of 18.	18 (16 under strict conditions)	18 (16 under strict conditions)
Basic Minimum Age		
The minimum age for work should not be below the age for finishing compulsory schooling, which is generally 15.	15	14
Light work		
Children between the ages of 13 and 15 years old may do light work, as long as it does not threaten their health and safety, or hinder their education or vocational orientation and training.	13-15	12-14

Source: International Labor Organization, Official web page. (October 5, 2014)²

¹ International Labour Convention No. 138, 1973 - Minimum age convention.

² International Labour Organization Official Web page (October 5, 2014)

<http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/ILOconventionsonchildlabour/lang--en/index.htm>

On the other hand, many cases are converted into child labor due to the danger presenting for children and also because of the violation of their fundamental rights. Hard work for children means enormous negative effects in school participation as well as health integrity. Child labor is defined according to ILO Convention No. 182 /99³ as “work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development”. Any kind of job that affect school attendance, make children do not join the whole school schedule or make them mix dense and long work days, and in general, any work that mean danger or threaten for children, should be declared as a “Hazardous work”.

In addition, according to the ILO, the law is harder dealing about “worst forms of child labor” referring to all people under 18 years of age, prohibits to be immerse in activities such as slavery, drug trafficking, forced recruitment into illegal activities or conflict, pornography, prostitution among others⁴.

³ ILO official web page (August 27, 2014). <http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/lang--en/index.htm>

⁴ International Labor Organization Convention No. 182, 1999, defines the worst forms of child labour as: a) All types of slavery, including the sale and trafficking of children; forced labour to pay off a debt; any other type of forced labour, including using children in war and armed conflict; b) All activities which sexually exploit children, such as prostitution, pornography or pornographic performances; c) Any involvement in illegal activities, especially the production or trafficking of drugs; d) Any work which could damage the health, safety or well-being of children (so called “hazardous work”)

3.1.1. Status Quo of Latin America and the Caribbean and Colombia

Regarding to working children there is an overview of the problem itself, its relation with education and the measures and convention took and signed by the national government. The recent annual report 2014 prepared by The Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB) of The United States Department of Labor considering “The Worst Forms of Child Labor”, posted there is an important advanced from 13 countries out of 143 who are joining commercial preferences with The United States and with the propose to be consider by the Congress at the moment of renew them. From these 13 countries, 7 are from Latin America and Caribbean including Colombia.

According to this report, Colombia has advanced expanding its program of social protection and establishing an inspection unit against child labor and ratifying ILO convention 189 concerning Decent work for Domestic Workers, “which commits these governments to ensure domestic workers have the same protections as other workers and to prevent work abuse and child labor in domestic service” (ILAB, 2014; xxxix).

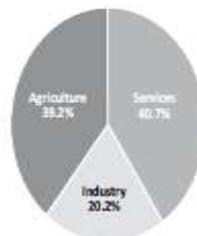
Nevertheless, despite of the remarkable progress, child labor persist in these countries in different areas being the dangerous work of agriculture the commonest as well domestic service in Latin America and indigenous, afro-decent and migrants children the most vulnerable to be exposed to

the worst forms of work. In the region, 12.5 million children ages 5-12 are engaged in child labor announced the United States Department of Labor. According to the same report -Colombian chapter-, child labor remains in Colombia in the agricultural sector and street work (Including vending, performing and begging) as more frequently ways as well as recruitment by non-state armed groups such as The Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia (FARC) which agreeing to “Prosecutor General’s Office documented 3.000 cases of children recruited by non-stage groups during the last decade: 59 percent of them were recruited by the FARC” (ILAB, 2014; 180). This report refers to the UNESCO Institute of Statistics to specify current data concerning Children’s work and education in Colombia provided by this table 3 and chart 1.

Table 3 - Statistics on Children’s Work and Education **Chart 1 – Working Children by Sector – Ages 5-14**

Children	Age	Percent
Working (% and population)	5-14 yrs.	5.9 (514,092)
Attending School (%)	5-14 yrs.	93.2
Combining Work and School (%)	7-14 yrs.	5.9
Primary Completion Rate (%)		105.0

Source for primary completion rate: Data from 2012, published by UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2014.(8)
 Source for all other data: Understanding Children’s Work Project’s analysis of statistics from GEIH-MTI Survey, 2012.(9)



The same report prepared by UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2011, announced the total number of working children in Colombia in 2011 was 752.526, which compare to 2012 there is significance advancement of about 238.434 boys and girls out of child labor. As table 4 shows, Colombian has inserted international laws and convention in order to achieve a better world for children.

Table 4- International Conventions and Selected Laws on Child Labor and Education
International Conventions and Selected Laws on Child Labor and Education

	C138, Minimum Age	✓
	C182, Worst Forms of Child Labor	✓
	CRC	✓
	CRC Optional Protocol on Armed Conflict	✓
	CRC Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography	✓
	Palermo Protocol on Trafficking in Persons	✓
	Minimum Age for Work	15
	Minimum Age for Hazardous Work	18
	Compulsory Education Age	15
	Free Public Education	Yes

Department of Labor of USA: Colombia Country Profile 2013.

Table 5- Laws and Regulations Related to Child Labor

Standard	Yes/No	Age	Related Legislation
Minimum Age for Work	Yes	15	Article 35 of the Code for Children and Adolescents (40)
Minimum Age for Hazardous Work	Yes	18	Article 117 of the Code for Children and Adolescents (40)
List of Hazardous Occupations Prohibited for Children	Yes		Resolution 3597 of 2013 (41)
Prohibition of Forced Labor	Yes		Article 17 of the Constitution and Article 141 of the Penal Code (42)
Prohibition of Child Trafficking	Yes		Article 17 of the Constitution and Articles 188-188C of the Penal Code (42, 43)
Prohibition of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children	Yes		Articles 209 and 213-219-B of the Penal Code (44)
Prohibition of Using Children in Illicit Activities	Yes		Articles 162, 188D, and 344 of the Penal Code (43, 44)
Minimum Age for Compulsory Military Recruitment	Yes	18	Article 13 of Law 418 of 1997 and Article 2 of Law 548 of 1999 (45-47)
Minimum Age for Voluntary Military Service	Yes	18	Article 13 of Law 418 of 1997 and Article 2 of Law 548 of 1999 (45, 46)
Compulsory Education Age	Yes	18	C-376/10 of the Colombian Constitutional Court (48, 49)
Free Public Education	Yes		Article 1 of Decree 4807 of 2011 (49)

Table done by The Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB) published in October 2014.

Colombia's law establishes compulsory education until the age of 18 and free education attending school until graduation without having to pay tuition. The government implements initiatives to keep children in school, such as national awareness-raising campaigns to increase enrollment and programs that provide meals to children attending school.

In 2012 the government provides meals to more than 4 million school children.

Despite that, “children younger than 15 may perform artistic, sports, or cultural work with authorization from the labor inspectorate or local authority, and adolescents 15 to 17 can work only with authorization from a labor inspector or relevant local government official” (United States Department of Labor, 2012, 20 August, 2014 Available online). The Code for Children and Adolescents in Colombia also sets the minimum age for hazardous work at 18. On the other hand, The Labor Code prohibits children younger than 18 work in underground mining and industrial painting.

Regarding hazardous work, Resolution No. 01677 of 2008 provides an extensive list of activities identified as the worst forms of child labor within 11 occupational categories and subcategories. These include agriculture, livestock raising, hunting and forestry, fishing, mining and quarrying, manufacturing, construction, transport and storage, health services, and defense; they also include informal-sector activities such as street vending, domestic service, and garbage scavenging and recycling.

The Interagency Committee for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor coordinates efforts to combat the worst forms of child labor in Colombia. It is chaired by the Colombian Ministry of Labor (MOL) and includes 13 government agencies and representatives from trade unions,

business associations, and civil society organizations. The MOL also has 545 labor inspectors. In 2012, they conducted 10,006 general labor inspections and 1,638 additional inspections to verify labor conditions for adolescent workers. The MOL further conducted 17,346 labor investigations, including 76 for violations of child labor laws. As a result of these 76 investigations, the MOL imposed five sanctions that totaled more than \$14,000. However, there is no information publicly available about the number of working children who were found as a result of the inspections or whether the fines have been collected.

The MOL operates a child labor monitoring system that, as of February 2013, had identified more than 43,000 children engaged in child labor and 92,000 children at risk of working. The purpose of the monitoring system is to refer identified cases to the ICBF, which has a mandate to provide social services to these children to remove or prevent them from entering into child labor. However, there is no information on whether the children identified by the MOL were referred to or received social services.

The ICBF also receives complaints regarding child labor; between January and July 2012, it received 780 complaints. However, it is unclear whether the ICBF forwarded the child labor complaints to the MOL and whether the ICBF took any follow-up actions to investigate these complaints. In a recent report by ICBF updated to December 2013, the ICBF has registered 3,085 girls, boys and adolescents in child labor who

are in the process of restoration of rights, this is a process through which the institution accompanying each of those children in terms of the cultural and economy change they need experience to be immersed in the normal life.

Consequently, Out of 3.085 children, 1.804 minors are male and 1.278 female. The coastal part of the Colombian country suffers from this problem forcefully in municipalities such as Bolivar, Cesar and Córdoba. In the case of Risaralda, there are 18 recognized cases; 10 of them are boys and the rest girls. The most vulnerable age is between 12-18 years old, which in Risaralda represents 13 cases out of 18. In 2013 ICBF counted with a budget of 4,7 billion of Colombian pesos (Approximately \$2.5 billion dollars) to combat this scourge and so far, the results remains in a weak intervention of reported cases.

On the other hand, the Ministry of Labor of Colombia (Ministerio de Trabajo) has settled up a system called SIRITI⁵ -Integrated information system for the identification, registration and characterization of child labor and its worst forms- have identified 4.467 children engaged in child labor in Risaralda of children between 5-17 years old.

⁵ SIRITI- Sistema de información integrado para la identificación, registro y caracterización del trabajo infantil y sus peores formas.
<http://apps.mintrabajo.gov.co/siriti/display.aspx>

In 2012, the government released: 2011 child labor survey. The survey includes current estimates of the number of working children in Colombia, However, the survey does not include in-depth information about child labor–related health, occupational safety, or other risks, nor does it attempt to gather data on children involved in commercial sexual exploitation or illicit activities.

The Ministry of Education in Colombia has said that child labor is one of causes of school desertion in the Caribbean and Pacific regions bringing more attention to the relation between child labor and the poverty cycle.

As a matter of fact, the MOL in 2012, along with local child labor committees and the Association of Sugarcane Growers, identified more than 400 children working in the collection of post-harvest residual sugarcane. Through the same study the government also identified more than 4,000 additional children engaged in other activities such as agriculture and construction, and 4,216 children at risk of entering into child labor.

3.2.Human Capital

For many economists the success of the productivity of a person focuses on factors such as education and health, through which can be reached the development of human capacities to lead a dignified life, this is what is called *human capital*. According to Amartya Sen (1996), he has talked

about “*human capital*” and “*human capability*”, understanding human capital as the character of *agency* of humans being, that throughout their abilities, knowledge and efforts, increase the possibilities of production.

The second one is about the human skills to carry out the life style, considering valuable for a person the possibilities of increase decision-making during his or her life (Amartya Sen, 1996, 3).⁶ Both perspectives are intimately related since it includes the role of human beings and the activities they acquired.

3.3. Main approaches against child labor

For Michael Todaro, is clear and proven how when children under age 15 work, their labor time disrupts their schooling and prevents them from attending school in the majority of cases. Also, the health of child workers is significantly worse putting on risk their life (Todaro, 2012).

In addition to those related consequences of child labor, many laboring children are subject to exploitative working conditions making even worse the problem itself: more than half of child laborers toil for 9 or more hours per day, more than the legal work time per day in the majority of the countries around the world. “The worst forms of child labor endanger

⁶ Sen, Amartya, “Human Capital and Human capability” translation in Spanish done by Clara Martinez. (1998). Words translated to English by the author of this research.

health or well-being, involving hazards, sexual exploitation, trafficking, and debt bondage”(Todaro, 2012; 369)

For Michael Todaro, there are four main approaches to child labor policy stated as follows:

1. Comprehends child labor as an expression of poverty and suggests abolishing poverty rather than addressing child labor. This proposal is linked with the World Bank.
2. Reinforces policies to catch more children into school, including expanded school places, such as new village schools, and conditional cash transfer incentives to encourage parents to send their children to school, whilst obligatory education is not an enough policy to prevent child labor, it is good basic education and easy accessibility. This perspective is supported by international agencies and development organizations.
3. The third approach is associated with UNICEF, which considers child labor unavoidable and believe in a way to support them and regulate their work, at least in the short run, and stresses comforting measures such as controlling it to prevent abuse, to provide support services for working children and parents and implementing social norms against children exploitation. Most often associated with the International Labor Office, ILO, which favors banning child labor in the worst forms (Todaro, 2012; 371-372).

4. Definitively, some others have proposed trade sanctions against countries that permit child labor or at least banning the goods on which children work. But if the objective is the welfare of children, and if children cannot work in the export sector, they will almost certainly be forced to work in the informal sector and “export restrictions may also make it more difficult for poor countries to grow their way out of poverty” (Todaro, 2012; 372).

3.4.School attendance, CCT and child labor

On the other hand, economy literature has presented many studies concerning the impact and external effects of CCT programs on school attendance, human capital and children nutrition showing positive results, but little is said about social or qualitative impacts.

According to literature and in the purpose of knowing the relationship between the CCT programs on school enrolment (which is the main purpose of the program by rising human capital) and the impact in child labor in both ways; income-generating (labour market and family business activities) and domestic activities, I will refer specially to one recently and completed working paper by Attanasio *et al.*, (2006) whose have found using a quasi-experimental approach, that after the implementation of FA program in Colombia in both rural and urban areas, children between 14 and 17 years old increased the school participation in about 5 to 7 percentage points.

In terms of work, they found an important decreased after the program by 10 to 12 percentage points in domestic work but generally in younger children but “whose participation in income-generating work remained largely unaffected by the program. Also he found evidence of school and work time not being fully substitutable, suggesting that some, but not all, of the increased time at school may be drawn from children’s leisure time” (Attanasio *et al.*, 2006, 5).

These authors also argue that even the program has a condition of taking children to school and in this sense increase the school enrolment; it does not mean that reduces child labor in the same scale. This is the particular case in Colombia where the school classes are taken just half day and do not extend the schedule over the full as it is in other countries like Mexico. They have shown that the program had more effect in domestic work than in income-generating activity, which had a minor effect. In sum, Camacho, A., Mejía, D., (2013, 5) cites Attanasio *et al.*, (2006) post, “the more time is dedicated to study and to academic activities, it reduces time spent in leisure and child labor by beneficiary children”.

Other literature posted by Fitzsimons, E., Mesnard, A. (2007) have contributed to the literature with an empirical analysis exposing the heterogeneous effects of FA program in Colombia on school and child labor involvement depending on parents education and school quality and

accessibility. They have concluded “the programme increases the school enrolment of children who live farther away from school by relatively more, and decreases their time spent at work by relatively more, by around half an hour” (Fitzsimons, E., Mesnard, A., 2007, 22).

Whilst for old children the heterogeneous effect did have an important impact, for younger children who lived far away from the school were not the same because the impossibility to arrive to schools by themselves. They also found, that after the program, those children living more distant from the school in treated families are more likely to not participate in work by around 13 percentage point in comparison to by 6 percentage points living near schools (Fitzsimons, E., Mesnard, A., 2007, 23).

A different study based on the causal effect of FA program in Colombia on crime, shows that after some days of the transfer to beneficiary households, the property crime decreases by 7.2% personal stealing and 1.3% car stealing, “*the results indicate that Familias en Acción reduces crime through the effect of the income transfers*” (Camacho, A., Mejía, D., 2013, 2).

Some are the studies of PROGRESA program implemented in Mexico in 1997, which was the first one of a kind in the world and nowadays is the base of many researches. One of the researches has used a quasi-experimental design, which the main goal was to determine the effects of

this CCT program in Mexico on child labor and school participation leaded by Skoufias, E., Parker, S., (2001). They chose two groups of communities (treated and controlled groups) showing in both groups that the program has a positive impact in reducing work activities of boy and girls when there is in between a condition of get them to school. Whilst they have shown a reduction in work activities of girls by schooling, the incidence anyhow is low, because the work done by girls is mostly made in domestic places. Despite that, after applying the program, girls are more dedicated to school activities than domestic labor. For boys also had a significant result in school attendance.

3.5. Official impact evaluation of FA –DNP

FA program no just counts on the permanence of school attendance of children but also the durability of longer school years with satisfactory completion of middle education. This also includes non-repetition by children of school grades as well as non-dropout of them. On the other hand, the program presumes that mayors are committed in built and open more school with better quality in order to save additional costs from households in transportation.

Nevertheless, in the program evaluation document done by DNP (National Planning Department of Colombia) in 2008, these two last components – better education and more schools - were not significant because new school buildings were not constructed and neither was possible to figure

out the education improvement since this component was not a direct program goal neither does exist an academic test to proof that desire (DNP, 2008).

The same report exposed that the greatest effect was concentrated in net profits of years of schooling in secondary education of targeted populations compared to control groups. Thus, the benefit associated to this impact is the future revenue growth of specific percentage of young beneficiaries.

On the other hand, this evaluation paper from DNP (2008: 71-80) measures the relationship among FA and child labor arguing that for any person that considers education as a normal good; the school subsidy became an important income to be invested in education. Thus, by empowering human capital, the program expects that the offer job from the familiar level decreases with the FA as a CCT program and affects in a positive way encouraging school attendance in boys and girls. Households receive this conditional subsidy in order to be invested directly in children human capital.

The DNP has assessed the supply of child labor in boys and girls between 10-17 years in two dimensions: decisions on labor participation in productive areas, measured by participation rate and hours worked per week by participants in treated municipalities and controlled municipalities. In both cases, more than 31 percent of boys and more than

11 percent of girls at least once in their life have worked for a payment. Additionally, child labor is higher in rural areas than urban.

Furthermore, this report proved that boys and girls get into work at the age of 12 and 13 years. In the treated municipalities boys between 10-17 years work on average 34.8 hours per week and girls have a little higher journals. In controlled municipalities, worked hours per week are higher in rural than urban areas.

The program had positive results in school attendance for both girls and boys between 10-17 years. Nonetheless, the positive impact was mostly in girls than boys. Girls labor participation decrease, according to DNP, around 6%, which in rural area decline 35.6% and in urban fall about 29.2%, this is according with the participation that will be without the program.

Differing, boys among 10-17 years did not show important results for urban areas but it was in rural ones regarding labor participation. It might be related to the possibility they have in urban areas to combine study and work, just reducing labor hours as an adjustment mechanism. However, the study post that if congregates all the ages together, there is not a significant impact in the total worked hours per week.

On the other hand, to be wide in the results of the impacts of the program, this study divided this range of 10-17 in two groups, 10-13 and 14-17, in order to be more concise considering the amount of hours worked at day regardless whether it was with or without any remuneration. The outcomes show the hours labor done by girls and boys between 10-13 years reduce 4.6% and in boys and girls among 14-17 the worked hours decreases 9.2%, looking at rural areas, the effects are not significant possibly because school and work schedules do not match that well (DNP, 2008: 80).

3.6. Unconditional and conditional programs related child labor

Presently, unconditional and conditional cash transfer programs are frequently applied in developing countries to protect children's rights and ensure children's welfare. However, preventing child labor by cash transfer programs is still undetermined for some authors. This is the case of De Hoop, J., and Rosati, F., (2014) who among other things, have studied deeply the literature about the relationship concerning cash transfer programs and child labor. In the study, Conditional cash transfer programs tend to reduce the prevalence on child labor whilst unconditional cash transfer programs tend to reduce child labor, although results are not uniform.

After extensive analysis of some studies in different countries, unconditional cash transfers that aim "to encourage investment in human capital tend to lower participation in economic activities" (De Hoop, J.,

and Rosati, F., 2014; 7) as it is in Ecuador, Malawi and South Africa. Regarding Ecuador case has shown strong results preventing child labor. In South Africa did not affect the time allocation and in Malawi whilst it reduces the household work spend outside, the time gained seems to be substituted in within-household tasks, according the author. “Economic theory suggests that in the absence of credit constrains, households will follow the optimal path of consumption and investment” (Ibid, 2014;8), although they do not have human capital as a principal goal, these programs seek to moderate the consequence of credit constrains, item through which CT decrease child work.

About conditional cash transfer programs the same authors, have analyzed studies using regressions and economic models concerning the impact of some programs in child labor and its heterogeneous effect. The results denote that “although there is considerable variation across programs, conditional cash transfer programs tend to reduce child labor” (De Hoop, J., and Rosati, F., 2014; 10), even there are not many studies focused on reduced hours as it is in work participation, the conclusions are quiet similar, “the average reduction is approximately one hour and a half a week” (Ibid, 2014; 10).

School participation also has a significant effect at the time of measure the effect on CCT programs. Therefore, there may have CCT programs with positive effects on education but not on child labor as it is the case of Jamaica´s CCT program or Pakistan case trough which CCT program had

a significant negative effect on child labor but not effect on school participation, argued De Hoop and Rosati. Hence, the authors post there is no necessary a direct relationship between the program and its effects on education and child labor due to different household compartments when receive money.

In terms of conditionality issue, the authors highlight that all those cash transfer program studies never pay much attention about the characteristics of the programs, the target population, the communication between the program and households and how are the conditions imposed. So in that extend, the author do recommend for some cases more information to better understand of schooling condition on child labor. According to this paper, the majority of these studies are economic literature, which focused in economic activities whit no clear idea which intervention are related in preventing and reducing the worst forms of child work and long working hours.

Many questions born of this sensible issue, others scholars investigate cases on how effect the father departure from the household due to a divorce or death and the effect of the economic shock. The authors Fitzsimons and Mesnard assessed the Colombian case of Families in Action showing that children who experienced some of these events, are less likely in five percentage points to join school and about three percentage points more probable to work, “the departure of the father is a

quasi-random event accompanied by a substantial reduction in household income” (De Hoop, J., and Rosati, F., 2014; 20).

3.7. Poverty and child labor

Actually remains a general preoccupation of the current world situation such as poverty and extreme poverty. Approximately 3 billion of people around the world live with less than \$2 usd per day and over 1 billion live with less than a dollar per day (Chang, et al, 1999). According to Chang (1999) the need for aid assistance is crucial supporting developing countries in facing big disasters, insalubrity, epidemics, diseases, etc.

The Latin American and the Caribbean situation is also tough. Despite of many governments have increased social programs, according to ECLAC, in 2005 there were more amount of poor people than in 1990, “It is estimated that 40.6% of the population of Latin America (213 million people) were living in poverty in 2005, while 16.8% (88 million) were not merely poor but were living in extreme poverty or indigence” (ECLAC, 200; 141).

Child labor is highly related with poverty and the capabilities of children to develop in good conditions and dignified life. Understand the concept of poverty is not easy to comprehend since it includes a multidimensional approach that not just affect the individual singularly consider, it implies the individual and his environment including goods, services,

opportunities, activities and so on through which make the vicious circle of poverty remains perpetuated. The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean –ECLAC- recognizes poverty “as the lack of sufficient resources to satisfy a set of basic needs, and other shortcomings that either cause poverty or accompany it, such as a lack of skills or assets, insufficient participation in society, powerlessness, restricted access to social and symbolic capital, and other social, cultural and political problems” (ECLAC, 2006; 140).

3.8. The parents arguments towards child labor

Many authors are very curious about child labor and its multiple causes and explanations. In this part, some studies explore the clear economic need of the parent’s income to justify child works. Others are the reasons such as the autonomy of the minors to have their own money and new responsibilities in order to achieve some social standards and cultural norms based on a consumer society. On the other hand, parents also allow children work in order to purchase their personal necessities such as cleaning elements or clothing, evading a responsibility that belongs to them. In this manner, the child is seen as an income for the household.

Authors such as Del R o y Cumsille (2008) in a statistical analysis using data on Children labor in Chile in 2003 analyzed the parental justification for child labor. It seems that economic pressures highly affect the decision from parents to allow their children work. This is perceived in vulnerable

groups such as the poorest and women, which support the *luxury axiom* theory suggested by Basu y Van (1998) arguing that if a household allows their children to work is because their labor income is insufficient to live in suitable parameters (Del R  o, M., Cumsille, P., 2008, 42)⁷. However, whilst parents use children as an effect of deficient incomes, on the other hand, the research also shows that the decision of work is the result of a liberal choice of child to have his own resources. They argue that the children desire to work or having their own money is a patron of justification of a consumer theory based on cultural norms and upbringing factors.

3.9. Other Cases

A lot of countries around the world have CCT programs to alleviate poverty and extreme poverty in different ways. Some are focused on preventing teen pregnancy, others for poor mother heads of households, others providing school staff, others for young people in order to remain enrolled in school and so on.

However, few are those who have focused these programs in poor children engaged in children engaged in child labor as a target population. It is the case of Jamaica with “The Programme for advancement through Health and Education” (PATH) and Brazil with “Brazil programa de Erradicacao de Trabalho Infantil” (PETI). The first one is similar to

⁷ This was a translation done by the author of this study.

Colombian case since its operation is exactly as Colombian does. This program has two incentives: health and nutrition. Despite of having the same objectives, they include the reduction of child labor by requiring children to have minimum attendance in school (ODI, 2005). However, as the literature has shown before, not necessarily increasing school attendance could achieve decrement of child labor.

The Brazilian case is more specific and focused on child labor as a target objective. It includes children between 6-15 years old. It was resulted just to reduce child labor, so it required households to enroll their children in an after-school education program (De Hoop, J., and Rosati, F., 2014; 22). They believe extending the school hours during the day, makes children more focused on their academic activities and have less time to work.

Others intervention should be matched with CCT programs in order to reduce successfully child labor, for instance “Intervention that aim to improve income-generating activities may reduce the impact of conditional cash transfer on child labor, possibly by generating increased demand for children’s time within the household” (ibid, 2014; 24).

4. EMPIRICAL ANALISIS

4.1. BACKGROUND OF COLOMBIA AND PEREIRA CITY

4.1.1. Demographic and social profile

The Republic of Colombia is a South American country with the oldest democracy in Latin America. Colombian population is about 47 millions, its administrative division comprises 32 departments or parishes, with Bogota its Capital, 1.096 municipalities and 5 special districts according to IGAC – Geographic Institute Agustin Codazzi- Risaralda is one of those departments with Pereira as the capital. Is located in the western central region of Colombia, composed for 14 municipalities and with a population of 941.283 people according to DANE, almost the 50% of this population are residing in the Capital Pereira.

Pereira, on the other hand, is located in the gold triangle of Colombia called like this because of its strategic position in terms of social and economic issues. Also because it attracts people from closest parts of the region as well as displaced population. In Pereira there are 459.690 inhabitants, among them the 84% are concentrated in the urban area. This municipality is conformed by 19 communes in the urban area and 12 corregimientos or small towns in the rural zone⁸.

⁸ <http://portal.pereira.gov.co:7778/PUBLICADOR/ASI-SOMOS/ECONOMICA.pdf>

In social terms, Pereira has had an important improvement of the conditions of poverty in households. In 1993 Pereira had an unsatisfied basic needs of 22.74% compared to 13.37% in 2011 according to DANE, which means this percentage of household still remains in vulnerable conditions. Yet, this is a huge qualitative jump between one year and the other and a significant effort to achieve every year more people in social programs that help to mitigate vulnerable conditions.

Colombian household head's size is an indicator that estimates how many Colombian citizens are head of families in each department as well the size of the households. For better understanding, household head is the usual resident recognized as such by others household members. According to DANE, the households grow more rapidly than population and in the Colombian history, men have predominated in the household's head, the case of women, through out years represent a slow increase in the rate of female households head, just an example, in 2005 for each female head of household there were 234 men head of household.

This report also helps to identify what is the number of members on average per family. In terms of national rate, the head of the household is 25.7%, which means in a universe of 100 people 25,7 are head of the household. This determines an average of 4 people per household. Looking at Risaralda case, according to DANE, 3.7 are the size of the household, almost 4 people per family too.

In terms of Human Development Goals -including a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable, and have a decent standard of living according to the UNDP- 2015 is the global deadline to achieve its requirements. Colombia is in High Human Development ranked at number 98 (UNDP, 2014), even though, there is still a huge work to do, specially because it rests inequalities among the countryside and urban areas and special population such as indigenous people and afro-descendants.

Among good news, in the last decade, poverty in Colombia decreased from 49.7% to 32,7%, which means 5.200.000 people escaped from poverty and 2.470.00 left of being extreme poor in recent 10 years (PNUD, 2014; 11). In 2012, there were 14.800.000 people in poverty of which 4,8 millions were in extreme poverty. However, this fight is causing unequal results, according to UNDP some Colombian departments such as Chocó, Cauca and Cordoba have poverty rates above 60% and others like Bogotá of 11%, similar case is in rural areas where between 2011 and 2012 poverty rates increases from 46,1% to 46,8% -about 80.000 people- Risaralda, on the other hand, as at 2012 the poverty rate stood at 24.8% (UNDP, 2014, retrieved September 2014).

4.1.2. Economic profile

According to the World Bank report “Global Economic Prospects 2013” Colombia is the fourth nation in Latin America with the best Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2013. Colombia is seen in terms of inflation

outcomes as strong growth combined with moderate consumer price inflation (WB, 2013; 48). On the other hand, The Economist (2013) has recognized that Colombian is one of the most important economies in Latin America and “a gateway to global business in the region”. It is said by the World Bank that the second half of 2013, “higher domestic demand growth raised industrial production in Colombia, which saw production grow in 40 of its 44 sectors”(WB, 2014; 54). However, despite of the economic progress, the internal conflict witnessed for more than 50 years affects the infrastructure, the access to public services and generates negative impacts to Millennium Development Goals- MDG –

Colombia is one of the most biologically diverse countries on the planet and rich in natural resources such as oils, forest products, coffee, meat, cereals, agricultural products, emerald and precious stones among others. It is consider the most mega diverse country per square kilometer (Potes, L., 2014). Even tough, remains in high-income inequality where the 30 percent of the population lives in poverty and 20 percent of households still do not have access to improve sanitation (GCR 2013-2014; 71). The latest report of the Ministry of Labor of Colombia reports that as at August 2014 the national unemployment rate stood at 8,9 percent at national level (in 2013 2.240.000 did no have employ) but in Pereira city stood at 13,4 percent, being the fifth highest unemployed city in the country.

Must take into account that Pereira is a city with about 460.000 people, with a tertiary economy and its main economy activities repose in agriculture, trade and clothing with important products such as coffee, textiles, flowers, banana, plantain and yucca. Commercial and services activities predominates in Pereira as main source of value generation. The majority of these enterprises, services and accommodations are located in the urban area more than rural.

Colombian global economic indicators reported by the World Bank shows a GNI per capita, PPP (current International \$) of 11,340, GDP (current US\$ in millions) 370.328.1, annual percentage of GDP growth of 4.0 and a life expectancy at birth of 73.8 years. On the top of that, the Global Competitiveness Report 2013-2014 established in the last World Economic Forum, that one of the 12 pillars of counties' competitiveness is related institutions matter. This issue is referring to the importance of the high quality and accuracy of institutions to achieve growth, capacity and efficiency, stable institutions through which social programs and public policies could be achieved successfully. "Excessive bureaucracy and red tape, corruption, dishonesty in dealing with public contracts, lack of transparency and trustworthiness among others, impose significant costs to businesses and slow the process of economic development" (Competitiveness report 2012-2013:4).

On the other hand, this same report of Global Competitiveness 2013-2014 recognizes an important and stable Colombian growth during the last two years with among others “positive macroeconomic conditions (33rd), with a balanced public budget, low levels of public debt and inflation that is under control at around 3 percent, financial services that are relatively sophisticated by regional standards (52nd), a considerable market size (31st), and fairly high levels of education enrollment compared with those of other countries in the region” (Competitiveness Report 2013-2014;39). Nevertheless it also affirms that Colombia remains in weak institutions and need to improve the quality of its educational system.

4.2. Conditional cash transfer programs

Since 1997 it has been implemented in more than 30 countries (including Latin American, Asian and African countries) some conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs, most of them advocated by the multilateral banks, specifically the World Bank (WB) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). This kind of programs did born to support poverty eradication as well to meet the millennium development goals. The Southern Cone manager from IDB, Manuel Rapoport argues that “The promotion of growth with inclusion requires action in two areas: improving the productive capacity of the poor and promoting their access to job markets with greater opportunities for employment and wealth creation” (IDB, 2006).

Many developing countries have implemented CCT programs such as Mexico with *Progres a program*, which means the based point on these kinds of programs, as well in other countries such as Nicaragua, Brazil, Ecuador, Argentina, Turkey and more cases widespread around the world with positive effects in human capital. Reviewing the literature related specifically concentrated in those CCT programs and theirs effects in child labor, there are some literature approaching to whether or not CCT programs have a positive impact in child labor by increasing time spending by children at the school. It is important to identify, that the majority of these CCT programs do not considerate child labor as a primary goal to combat child labor, but it is focused more in increasing human capital, education, nutrition and so on. Just few countries like Brazil, has a CCT which their main concern is child labor and which it platform is surrounding on this problem.

What is a conditional cash transfer program?

As Michelle Adato and John Hoddinott claims, a Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) program is a cash-aid delivering to households that is conditioned on their participation in health, nutrition, and education services. Almost always, this money is frequently paid to mothers because they have demonstrated that are more organized and responsible at the time to achieved household duties.

To understand better this issue Johannsen, Tejerina, Glassman (2009) posit a complete explanation about CCT programs by arguing that:

“CCT programs address market failures that are considered among the causes of low investment in human capital on behalf of the poor. Transfer schemes designed under this concept directly intervene on the demand side and aim at changing social accountability relationships between beneficiaries, service providers, and governments. By addressing demand-side barriers (such as constraints in the access to credit and insurance as well as high discount rates of investment in human capital), they combine short-term transfers for income support with incentives for long-run investments in human capital by conditioning the payments on changes in behavior that favor more adequate food consumption, higher school attendance, and use of preventive healthcare services.”

(Johannsen, Tejerina, Glassman, p. 3, 2009)

On the other hand, some of these social programs have been highly criticized for having some assistance that does not solve the big problems from root and instead creates dependency from the beneficiaries. Likewise, there are also critics about the high amount spent of state budget in these programs and the huge costs in terms of logistical issues, promotion, monitoring and measurement platforms. However, as we already have discussed in the literature review, the majority of these aids have exposed numerous outcomes and effects in people welfare and also in national economic growth.

4.3. Colombian case

An avalanche of CCT programs were highly implemented at the end of the nineties, especially in Latin American countries due to the huge economic crisis that many countries experienced and because of the high level of income inequality of these countries. In particular, the Colombian case is not a stranger to this scenario, the data from the World Bank cited by (Iusting, Stern 2000:9) shows that Colombian “GDP shrank by 4.5 percent in 1999 alone, and the national poverty rate increased by 7.2 percentage points”. In a recent speech of Tatyana Orozco -the General Director of The Social Prosperity Department in Mexico, has mentioned that during the last 4 years 3,6 million of Colombian people have overcome poverty and 2 million out of extreme poverty.

Colombian case has been a great example of success in conditional programs with other countries like Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Brazil and so on. Since 1999 Colombia policy-makers started to talk about these programs as a new opportunity to poor people. They saw closely Mexico and Brazil case, which ones already have shown successful results. Despite of the different requirements and profits of each program, each one, in his way, has been showing by historical facts and statistics that this is not about relief aid, on the contrary, it has helped to combat extreme poverty. It is precisely here when with the condition and compromise of households to accomplish some responsibilities, aid assistance gain value

since people do not feel these as a gift, on the contrary, this is perceived as a huge help for food and school materials for children.

4.3.1. *Sisben*

At the year of 2000 Colombia implemented the conditional cash transfer program called “Familias en Acción”. For this purpose, it did not benefit a person singularly consider, its target is families from stratus 1, 2 composed by children under 18 years old that are chosen according with the public national system called *Sisben*. The *Sisben* is an information system lead by the government where the poorest are identified and recorded in order to provide social services; especially education and cash transfer programs such as FA. This system assesses social stratum but also the economy position of households, it means that throughout a survey consisting of 90 questions to Colombian households, the method determines who really are part of the most vulnerable population, since the main concern is giving aid assistance to people that certainly demand social services form the State.

This methodology called *Sisbén* started in 1994 with the name *Sisbén I* conceived it in the Conpes 022 of 1994 not as a *Sisbén* but as an identification system for the poorest people. The Conpes 002 of 1994 has posted that “The National government has proposed a social policy oriented to strengthen the capacity of the poorest population in order to beneficiate from specific programs in the areas of education, health,

housing and water... and by effort of targeting social spending on poorer groups and vulnerable population”(the translation has been made by the author) (Rojas, C., 2010; 20).

Since the beginning the mayors as heads of Municipalities as well Ministry of Education and health in charge of this process. At this first level the social stratification (this is different from “social strata” used in public services) was the determinant factor and through which people were classified in a range of 0-100 points according to variables such as shelter, public services, education and social security, income and familiar composition. People who got less than 18 points in the rural sector and till 36 in urban areas composed *Sisben I*.

Lately, at the year of 1997, The Social Conpes No. 40 did not do different thing that ratify the policy until there will be an assessment of Sisbén I due to, at that time, the survey was working well and there was not proof of evidence of the contrary. Agreeing to Rojas, M., (2010; 22) the evaluation arisen effectively by the government at 2010 with three basic aspects: “policy targeting of social spending, focalization instrument and institutional aspects” (translation done by the author of this paper). In this evaluation, government recognized some defects around collecting information, political manipulation and the risk of manipulation of the instrument by involved actors.

Subsequently, The Social Conpes 055 of 2001 created the second phase of Sisben I called *Sisbén II*. Onwards, people will be classified in a scale of 6 levels; the first two levels were located the neediest people who got in rural areas 18-30 and urban areas 36-47 (DNP, 2001; 2).

In the new Sisben II besides the variables from Sisben I, was also included some specific features for rural and urban areas such as the location of the house, its general conditions, housing services, schooling and assistance, demographic characteristics, social security and durable goods. The technicians talked about the new Sisben as a new model of multidimensional approach to poverty.

Recently, in 2008 was signed out the Conpes 177 of 2008 as the third methodology called Sisben III and currently applied in Colombia. This contains the multidimensional approach to poverty as the before one but, as it is said by Rojas, M., (2010; 30) the best goal of this new survey is regarding urban and rural desegregation and also special treatment for 14 cities. It contains particular assignments and subsidies for most vulnerable people like indigenous, victims by the conflict, disable and so on.

4.3.2. Familias en Acción Program

Familias en Acción –FA- is recognized as the most important social State program concerning the poorest and most vulnerable population in Colombia, regarding to decrease poverty and extreme poverty in its

multiple ways. As it is said by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean -ECLAC, this kind of social programs tackling short-terms in regarding of households income and long-term effects building human capital in children and adolescents with the highest backwardness (ECLAC, 2006; 149)⁹.

As said previously, the human capital is the focus of this public policy, more specifically three human capital components: Education, health and nutrition. As shown throughout this research, the program provides to household specific amount of money with particular circumstances corroborated by certain periods of time. Undoubtedly, money is proving to households with children under the age of 18 and, as it is said above, households require complying the standards of Sisben. The program consists on two incentives: A health and nutrition incentive and an education incentive, which ones will be specified in details later.

The women role in the society tends to be discriminated and weak in the decision-making within household. Some studies have argued, household consumption patters are influenced according to the parent who receives the resources or generate an income, either the father or the mother. But when the mother distributes income, the household consumption inclines

⁹ ECLAC (2006) "*Programas Sociales*" Chapter 5: La protección social de cara al futuro: Acceso, financiamiento y solidaridad (Version in Spanish) Retrieved October 29 of 2014
http://www.cepal.org/publicaciones/xml/9/24079/lcg2294e_capitulo_V.pdf

to be focused in food, health and education. Besides these positive effects, the granting of benefit to the mother may encourage changes in the behavior of the family and strengthen her role in making household decisions (WB, 2003; 1)¹⁰.

Those are the reasons to boost women within the program, making them the titular of the benefit, which means she will receive money of the program and is responsible of the requirements asked by them too; if she cannot be present at the moment of the registration, the father, grandmother or grandfather or any relative of the family can assist by her name, but they have to demonstrate by certification about mother's absence. Indigenous people or female head of household, have priority assistance by the program.

Coverage

The program seeks to assist all underprivileged households according to parameters of Sisben III concerning poverty's multidimensional approach with children under the age of 18 belonging to indigenous population, Red Unidos program or all of them who are in condition of displacement. Familias en Acción covers 1.102 municipalities (is present along the

¹⁰ The world Bank (2003), "Programa Familias en Acción" Article in spanish but translated by the autor of this research. Retrieved October 02- 2014. (Available online)
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SAFETYNETSANDTRANSFERS/Resources/281945-1131468287118/1876750-1140107387177/ColombiaCCT.pdf>

whole Colombian territory) assisting more than 2.6 million of poor families in Colombia.

Red Unidos program is a governmental strategy for overcoming extreme poverty through which seeks 350 households in Colombia defeat extreme poverty. It is a red that congregates 26 State entities responsible of the provision of basic needs for the poorest in the country. It is of highest significance that the poorest people gain admission to social programs (ANSPE, 2014)¹¹.

Health incentive

Each household with children under the age of 7 is eligible for receiving per month from \$31-35 USD dollars per child regardless the number of children – money given depends on the municipality to which the family belongs, since there are some households more vulnerable than others -. This incentive is provided each two months. Moreover, the household has to register their children into the program and guarantee their medical checkups in order to follow growth and development controls and complying also with the vaccination programs determined by the Ministry of health and social protection. On the other hand, mothers must assist to health training and talks.

¹¹ ANSPE “Estrategia Unidos”(Agencia nacional para la Superación de la pobreza). Retrieved September 2014.
<http://www.anspe.gov.co/es/programa/estrategia-unidos>

Education incentive

A School incentive is given to each child between the ages of 5-18 years. This school subsidy is given maximum to 3 children per household from first grade. The program allows parents to select any three of their children among this age that are currently enrolled in school and attend classes regularly, at least 80 percent, from kindergarten (zero grade) until 11th grade. Children cannot lose up two scholar years throughout their school life. Table 6 shows the amount of money given per child within the household according to his/her school grade.

Table 6- Incentive monthly amount 2014

Grade/Group	According to the child's school grade				
	Kindergarten	1-5	6-8	9-10	11
1	\$0	\$0	\$13	\$15	\$23
2	\$10.2	\$10.1	\$12.7	\$15.5	\$23
3	\$10.2	\$7.6	\$15.3	\$17.8	\$25.5
4	\$10.2	\$7.6	\$17.8	\$20.4	\$

Source: Social Prosperity Department – Departamento para la Prosperidad Social -. The original chart is done in Colombian pesos currency but was changed by the author in US dollars according to the exchange rate.

For payment, households must ensure school attendance of children in transition, primary and secondary at least 80 % of scheduled classes and they have to show poofs of this requirement each two month that is the period of payment.

School Gap

In the current phase of FA program is including young people who are more than 18 years with special conditions. This is called “*school lag*”

that comprehend all young students between 18-19 years studying 10th grade or that with 20 years are in 11th grade.

Program specific goals

The Social Prosperity Department which is the institution in charge to lead this platform, has been improving its conditions and increasing beneficiaries over time. According to this institution, Families in Action seeks to reduce poverty and income inequality, also helps building human capital and improving life conditions through income complement. Furthermore, it is seen some additional profits thank to the spaces of community participation and the active played role of the women as program holder (DPS, 2014, Available online)¹².

From this perspective, human capital is the most important component including education, nutrition and health. Two are the most important objectives of FA according to the impact evaluation done by The National Department of Planning of Colombia–NDP- (DNP- 2008; 101):

- To improve the levels of health and nutrition of boys and girls under the age of 17.
- To increase the schooling attendance of the same population.

¹² Social Prosperity Department “Ingreso Social- Familias en Acción”. Available in http://www.dps.gov.co/Ingreso_Social/FamiliasenAccion.aspx (Retrieved September 2014).

Additionally, this evaluation show supplementary impacts, for instance changes in the levels of incomes and consumption of the beneficiary households, empowerment of women at getting the subsidies and the enhancement of human capital understood this as the improvement of public conviviality, trust in state institutions and collective action of beneficiary families (DNP 2008; 101).

Among others objectives are related to contribute the reduction of poverty and income inequality and encourage care practices within households (including especially children, women and young people) in areas such as health, nutrition and early childhood development.

According to estimates by the National Planning Department (DNP), in the absence of these cash transfer program, extreme poverty would be 1.2 percentage points higher and Gini coefficient would be medium high¹³(Social Prosperity Department, 2012) [Available Online].

Familias en Acción in Pereira city

In order to know in detail the operation and actual coverage of FA in Pereira City, according to the information already discussed from the program, there is a box presented by The Social Prosperity Department - Pereira office-, which contains the current information of the total amount invested given to households during the year 2014 in Pereira.

¹³ Social Prosperity Department, 2012 [Available Online in spanish] Retrieved September 2014. http://www.dps.gov.co/Ingreso_Social/FamiliasenAccion.aspx.

The information is sharing out by focus group whether displace people, Sisben or Red Unidos program and the total amount including previous selection. It includes 4 payments until August 2014 and specific information of total households which is 17.919, children 28.535, children cover by nutrition concept 9.323, children receiving the school subsidy 19.212, children in situation of school gap 97, 8.116 children between 0-5 years and the total amount invested until August 2014 of 5.345.289.800 Colombian pesos (about \$2.567.718 US dollars).

Table 7- Familias en Acción in Pereira city

PEREIRA						
Displace Households						
Households	Children total	Nutrition (Children)	Education (Children)	School Gap	Children 0-5 years	TOTAL AMOUNT INVESTED (4 PAYMENTS)
3.260	5.282	1.829	3.453	21	1.612	\$ 1.203.754.800
SISBEN						
Households	Children total	Nutrition (Children)	Education (Children)	School Gap	Children 0-5 years	TOTAL AMOUNT INVESTED (4 PAYMENTS)
10.692	17.006	5.739	11.267	47	5.017	\$ 3.103.232.800
Households from RED UNIDOS Program						
Households	Children Total	Nutrition (Children)	Education (Children)	School Gap	Children 0-5 years	TOTAL AMOUNT INVESTED (4 PAYMENTS)
3.967	6.247	1.755	4.492	29	1.487	\$ 1.038.302.200
TOTAL (DISPLACES + SISBEN + RED UNIDOS)						
HOUSE-HOLDS	MINORS TOTAL	NUTRITION CHILDREN	EDUCATION (CHILDREN)	SCHOOL GAP	CHILDREN 0-5 YEARS	TOTAL AMOUNT INVESTED
17.919	28.535	9.323	19.212	97	8.116	\$ 5.345.289.800

Source: Social Prosperity Department. Pereira branch. (Departamento para la Prosperidad Social- Oficina de Pereira) The original chart is done in Spanish but translated by the author.

4.4. EXPLORATORY RESEARCH RESULTS

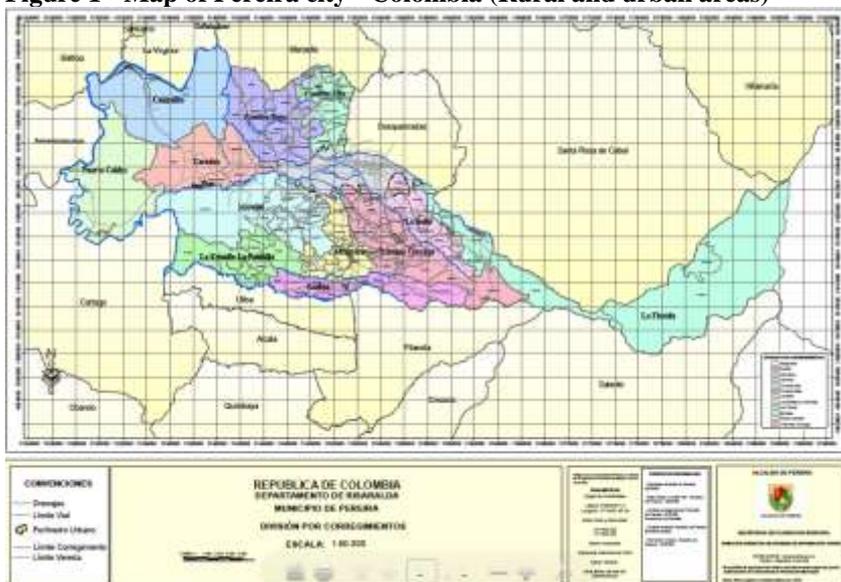
16 interviews were developed to heads of households and 14 interviews to children who were part of the same households, during the 1st of September and the 26th of October of 2014. The families were divided in two groups, the ones part of the FA program and those who are not part of

the program, in order to identify differences from the ones receiving the subsidy and those who do not.

The children selected were part of those same families, but just few of them were required to be interviewed. Just in cases when the interviewer found families with kids that were working even when the family was already part or not of the program, or kids that did not receive the school subsidy despite of having siblings receiving it.

All the families are low-income families and inhabitants of Pereira, Risaralda. The majority of households interviewed live in areas such as Cuba, Puerto Caldas, Consota, Caimalito, Villa Santana and so on. Despite of those areas are far away from the center of Pereira, and being highly vulnerable, these areas are also composed by urban settlements. The following map show us the distribution of Pereira city.

Figure 1 - Map of Pereira city - Colombia (Rural and urban areas)



Source: Mayor of Pereira.

In addition, I conducted this exploratory research in families with more than 3 children, looking for some clues about what is happening with those families and children that do not receive the school subsidy and whether or not they are engaged in child labor.

Community workers who were carefully selected and hired based on their experience in social work and aware of the region characteristics developed the interviews prior trainings on the semi-structured questionnaires defined. In all cases the transportation was offered and incentives such food vouchers were given to the interviewed after the interview.

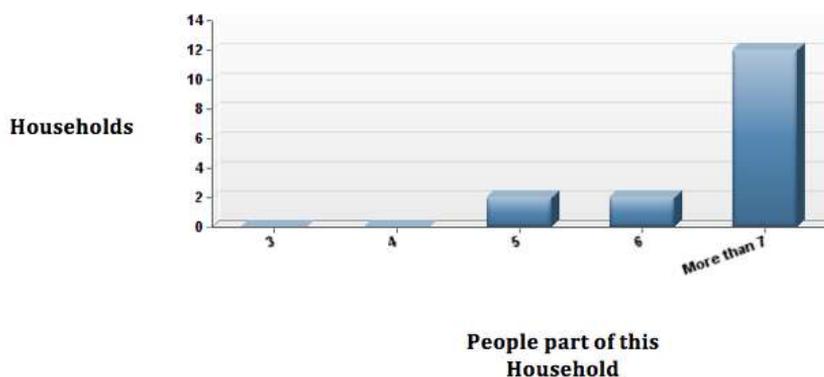
4.4.1. Interview results on beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries households

Among 32 questions requested to participants, within which there are questions of their economic situation, the composition members, amount of children and their daily life, questions about their job and children's job and some other questions about FA program and if not apply, what are the reasons of not being part of the program yet. (See the questionnaire in Appendix).

To get an idea of the current situation of household composition members, let's refer to some questions:

Q. 2. How many people make part of this household?

Chart 2 - Number of Members of Households in Pereira city



Q. 2. How many people make part of this household?

#	Answer	Response	%
1	3	0	0%
2	4	0	0%
3	5	2	13%
4	6	2	13%
5	More than 7	12	75%
	Total	16	100%

The number of household who answered that has 5 members in his/her household was 2 meaning the 13% of total respondents. The number who answered 6 members was 2 meaning also 13% of total respondents. What is important to highlight is that 12 households have 7 or more than 7 members, meaning the 75% of the total respondents.

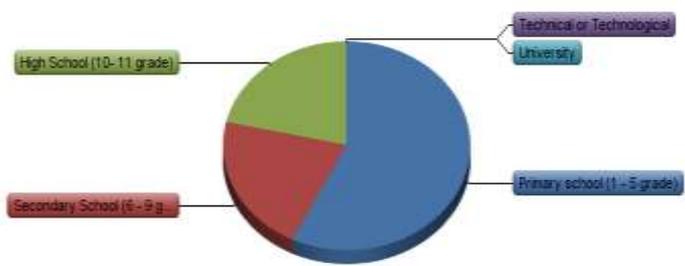
Those facts confirm that low-income families in Pereira are bigger than the average of the number of member per household that is around 4. Having said that this is an explorative qualitative study still is important to make some further questions about what would be the appropriate number

of children to be covered by the program. By looking at this, 3 children seems to be and small number.

When was asked about the level of education of the heads of households, responses were very discouraging since none of them among 16 families had one single member with technical, technological or college education.

Q. 28. What is your level of Education?

Chart 3 - Parents Level of Education



Q. 28. What is your level of Education?

#	Answer	Response	%
1	Primary school (1 - 5 grade)	8	57%
2	Secondary School (6 - 9 grade)	3	21%
3	High School (10- 11 grade)	3	21%
4	Technical or Technological	0	0%
5	University	0	0%
	Total	14	100%

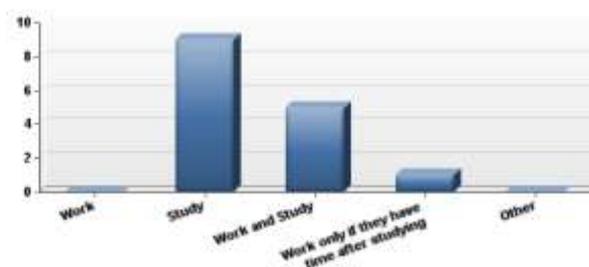
From the 16 interviews, 2 heads of household did not want to answer the question of what is the level of education. From the answers we can imply that the majority of the interviewers have only Primary Education, and no one has Tertiary or Higher Education.

Despite the low levels of parent's education is important to mention that the majority of households recognize the importance of education as the best way to succeed and progress socially and economically. It can be seen when was asked to heads of households what do they prefer for their children.

Q.12 Among the next options I will mention to you, what do you prefer for your children:

Chart 4 - Preferences of Parents for their children

Households



Beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries households

Q.12 Among the next options I will mention to you, what do you prefer for your children:

#	Answer	Response	%
1	Work	0	0%
2	Study	9	60%
3	Work and Study	5	33%
4	Work only if they have time after studying	1	7%
5	Other	0	0%
	Total	15	100%

Some of the reasons given by the households when the question about what do they prefer for their children if study, working, working and study, etc. were:

“We want them to study because we want a better future for them. We could not study”

“We want a better welfare for the children, also that they study and learn in order to be better persons”

“We want for them a better future. They can “defend” themselves and progress and also could help their parents”

“We didn't study and it is very important that they progress and become better person, that they reach their goals and be good people”

“They have to be better persons in life. That’s why they have to study and progress in their lives”

Nonetheless, some households also considered the importance of studying and working for their children, because by working children become better persons, make them more responsible and honest, and also keep them away from bad habits. As it is shown in the following expression:

“We want them to study and work because it makes them to be more responsible plus makes them realize that work help them to improve their lives”

Those 6 households, that represent 40% of the total (15 Respondents – only one didn’t answer this question) by saying that children should study and work or just work after studying, make us wonder to what extend their parents economy situation affect positively this pattern. For instance, when it was asked about how is economy inside their household

nowadays in comparison with the first 6 months of the year, none of the cases said it has improved, instead, the economic situation has gotten worse or the same. This is the result of resulting expressions:

“The situation is the same but getting worse. The family is big and the husband salary is not enough”

“It is bad, public services were disconnected. No good food for the youngest”

“The economy situation is the same, we continue in shortage”

“It is the same. All is very expensive and we are many. The money is not enough for all the expenses. Is very complicated the situation with teenagers”

On the other hand, heads of household in both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries families, have not a formalized job. It may be due to the low education level of the parents and the need of working that make them be engaged on any type of job regardless resulting it day by day. From the results, 3 heads of household consider being self-employed (they have their own business), 2 are private employee, 4 domestic employee or housekeeping and 6 belong from different situation either work per day or work for another person (can be at farm in agricultural works or construction or similar).

From the interviews it is also possible to see what the literature on this topic have said: Children are seen as economic tools for increasing the income of household. In this case in particular, we listen how children from non-beneficiaries families 1) are seen to be a help for covering the

expenses of the family, 2) how the child work is acknowledge and accepted by their parents, 3) and also how the children reduces the economic burdens of the parents by covering their own personal expenses by working.

“The benefit of work is that he is using the time. Is good when they work, is not good when they don’t work”

“They earn money and also help us with house expenses”

“The benefit is the money and keep them away of bad habits. My soon likes to work too”

“The benefit is money for his expenses and to help with something at home”

“The benefit for my daughter is to pay her studies and for son to pay his expenses”

Q.8 Are these days your children working for the house expenses?

#	Answer	Response	%
1	Yes	7	44%
2	No	9	56%
	Total	16	100%

Chart 5 - Households with children working for the house expenses

Furthermore, we found that in both groups of families of this research, is very common putting their children to work in the household chores, whether moping, making beds, sweeping, cooking, washing the dishes, taking care of their youngest siblings and similar things. There are cases worst than others where they spend from 3 hours per day till 8 or more hours. Nevertheless, heads of households do not consider this type of

work as a child labor since they contemplate this as an obligation that must be carried out at home.

At the same time, the literature has suggested CCT programs as effective measures to reduce child labor and increase education enrolments. Well, by looking this study we see how the conditional cash transfers are actually working and making children study, as we can appreciate from beneficiary households.

As we talked, in general, the economic situation of both families, beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries families is more or less the same when we asked for how is the economic situation now in comparison with 6 months ago. For both families the situation has not improved, is the same because for them all is very expensive and the income has not change positively.

Nevertheless, beneficiaries of FA always highlight the importance of the subsidy. It was found that they could afford things that the non-beneficiaries cannot, such as school uniforms, school materials, or vitamins. This is what some have said about question No. 21 and 22 about the most important thing from the program and if the program is helping to improve the social and economic environment.

“I can buy school materials, food, clothes and vitamins”

“It has been possible to buy vitamins and school materials”

“Yes at some point because the program come every two months but still is few what comes for 3 kids. Helps to improve in terms of expenses but does not improve that much the environment”

“Yes economically because has worked for studying and also to get school materials”

“Yes it is somehow a help for children education, for example to buy uniforms and food but it is not enough to buy books”

From the households interviewed, 10 said they were part of FA. All of those 10 started being part of FA in different years.

Q. 20. Since when are you part of FA?

8 years ago
6 years ago
3 years ago
Since the program started
2 years ago
3 years ago
Yes
6 years ago
1 year ago
4 years ago

However, what is alarming from this study perspective is how even just one year ago the FA subsidy starts be given, it doesn't improve as much as wanted the social conditions in some households. For example, one family receives the subsidy one year ago, but the child who has been working extracting sand from the river since he was 8 years old (and now is 13 years) is still working and studying.

Therefore is possible to infer that there are not ties enough to bring not only school enrolment to children but also reject child labor cases, and that is why children and parents consider they can keep working and studying. This type of work is considered as hazardous work, but the authorities do not look such cases.

There are more cases found like that. Another one is even worse. A child of 15 years, part of a beneficiary family (3 siblings are receiving the school subsidy but he is not), he is working but he is not receiving remuneration directly. He works helping his father to wash cars. His father is receiving more payments per additional car washed. Once more, it seems that the subsidy is not creating social capital inside the household, because still child labor is allowed and encouraged by the parents notwithstanding that the child is not happy going to work and is complaining that he maintains always wet working.

There is another case where a child is working as a cadi picking balls up. His 2 brothers are receiving the subsidy. This might suggest that the subsidy is at some point effective enough to keep his two brother out of working, but at the same time as we mentioned above, not social capital is being generated in general terms at home.

The FA program declares to be focused on vulnerable people; however, as it is known from before, an important part of vulnerable people are excluded from the program: handicaps.

There is a case where one family has two kids, but just one of 6 years old receive the school subsidy, while the handicap is not able to receive the support because is not capable to go school. This reflects the lack of policies in general towards this type of population in Pereira and Colombia.

Despite of the positive effects of the program within households, we realized the program does not make regular visits to beneficiary households personally. One or two mothers confused mass meetings made by the program doing in each city of the country and for all the participants. This usually happens every six months or once a year. On the contrary, the majority has said, *“it would be fantastic receiving people from the program to our homes, because they can appreciate our poor conditions in which we live and improve payments”*.

Additionally, there is a general requirement from the beneficiaries' side on receiving any further service from the program to complement the subsidy. For them the program is the visible representation of the State and they see on it as an answer of their needs. As it is shown on the graph, 4 out of 10 households think it should exist within the program the possibility to receive the school subsidy for children that are not getting

this aid within household, 3 of them think dealing with teenagers is a hard work due to their bad behavior and conflicts outside home. Because of that, is important the psychological service.

Q.23. From the next what you would like from the program?

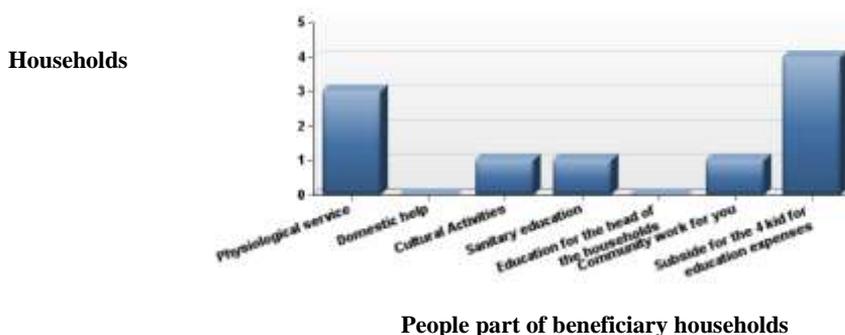


Chart 6 - Respondents view on Additional Benefits

Q.23. From the next what you would like from the program?

#	Answer	Response	%
1	Physiological service	3	30%
2	Domestic help	0	0%
3	Cultural Activities	1	10%
4	Sanitary education	1	10%
5	Education for the head of the households	0	0%
6	Community work for you	1	10%
7	Subsidy for the 4 kid for education expenses	4	40%

The number of household who answered that would like to receive subsidy for the 4 kids for education expenses was 4 meaning the 40% of total respondents. The number who answered psychological service was 3 meaning the 30% of total respondents. Cultural activities and sanitary education just had one answer per option.

4.4.2. Interview results on children

The results presented in this research of the interviews done to children consist in 14 interviews in a friendly way. The interviewer made a kindly talk face to face with some children part from the target population of this research, both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries households. Not all children were required to be interviewed since the examiner did not find all of them engaged in labor activities. While some of them were studying, siblings were working. 8 out of 14 children were part of beneficiary households that are receiving the school subsidy.

Consequently, here are including some children who still being part of the program and are not involved in hard work, the examiner realized that he/she usually helps mother for long time in the household chores. On the other hand, also are including children that do not receive the school subsidy despite of having siblings receiving it.

From 14 children, eleven are male and three are female. Very noticeable was the high participation of boys (more than girls) in productive activities within home, in which the majority – excluding those who work doing chores of the house- have said they need to work for the money in order to help with the expenses of their household or for personal outgoings. Hence, among 14 responses of why they work, 6 have replied to help their parents, 5 for their personal expenses and the others 3 because they like working.

In general terms, among 14 children under 18 years, all are studying least 2 that effectively are working. When was asked about the reasons for his school desertion, the boy has stated *“I was in third grade and I repeated three times the course. Now, I am very embarrassed when people know I am very old for third grade. I do not like to study. I went to school but I was out of focus”*. The other girl, who is now 17 years, said *“I dropped the course when I was in sixth grade. Now I am mother and live in a civil union”*.

Discussing about whether or not they are helping mother doing house works and how they do so, all of them without exception have answered affirmatively to this question, despite being from a beneficiary or non beneficiary family, everyone work in house works; usually taking care of their youngest brother, cleaning, moping, sweeping, etc. There is one case where one girl said that she has to take care of the youngest brother when mother was not at home, implying this that there is no even and adult who can supervise the children. Among others comments like these:

“Yes, moping, sweeping, and washing the dishes. All my mother needs I do”

*“Yes, to do housework, and taking care of my youngest brothers.
Especially now when my mother is pregnant”*

“Yes because she is pregnant. I take care of my younger brothers and sweeping”

“Yes, I clean the kitchen, clean the tables, organized everything”

“Yes, in general in all every day, plus taking care of my brothers”

8 Out of 14 interviews are from children that are part of beneficiary household, this is about their siblings or even some of them are receiving school subsidy from FA program. In general terms, as we saw, all the interviewed children help mothers doing house works. Four of them are receiving the subsidy in order to study and invest their free time in homework, academic activities or any recreational or productive hobby for them.

However, these four children with an age of 6, 7, 12 and 16 years, have expressed that they help their mother with household chores every day, either cleaning, moping, washing dishes, cooking or taking care of their youngest relatives. For them this work is also boring as it is posted by one girl of 6 years saying *“that kind of work is boring, because I cannot be with my friends”*. As it is said before, parents do not put limits to this kind of “help” done by children, instead they believe this is a requirement within home.

On the other hand, related to the question if they work, 9 have said yes and 5 not (those who do house work but they do not consider it as a job), the others work in different duties as is related by them in the following statements:

Q.14. What do you do in your work?

Text Response

Sand working person. I need to extract the sand from the rivers, and put it into the trucks.

Fast food, organize the people and serve the people. That make me improve my relations with people

<i>Cooking fast food, receive and serve people</i>
<i>"Riego gallinaza", farming work, feeding cows, making holes, connect wires, and my parents told me if don't study I have to work</i>
<i>Clean cars, vacuum the cars, clean car carpets</i>
<i>packing vegetables, peeling onions and other things like this</i>
<i>Picking up balls</i>
<i>I deliver bread during the Saturdays and collect coffee in vacations</i>
<i>Taking care of my brother, give them lunch, and help them with their homework</i>

Children are also considered a force-generating work, since they parents ask them to work in home or father's work for generating higher profits, even in beneficiary households that other children are receiving the school subsidy, parents ask left children who are not receiving it, to work for improving household incomes, which is the case of the boy of 15 years who helps his father washing cars just to improve his father's income, whilst he is aware his family needs the money, he also said do not like that job much because he is permanently wet and would like to do another things and be with friends.

On the other hand, the situation is worst when asking about when they started to work, the general condition is not because of an enjoyable activity, in its place, all of them recognized difficulties of the economic situation of their parents and inadequate resources for expenses; few are the cases in which if do not like study, then parents push them to work.

Resulted special that all children consider that working is not allowed since they have said their teachers cannot be acknowledged of their working situation. Even though they do not know their rights, they believe

this is illegal and that might be leading to unfair low labor condition at work since they have been told is prohibited.

Referring to children part of non-beneficiary households, undoubtedly the situation is worse. 6 out of 14 interviewed children are part from households that have not yet receiving any type of subsidy from the State. These children are: three are 13, 7, 16 and 17 years. Their poor household situation makes them to work in order to contribute to household income. One of them does not like studying therefore, his parents pressed him to work. He is 13 years and since 6 months ago started to work doing farming duties. When interviewed asked to him what kind of job do you do, he responded “*“Riego gallinaza”, farming work, feeding cows, making holes, connect wires, and my parents told me if don't study I have to work”*”, he works more than 6 hours per day in agricultural dues, which can be consider as an hazardous work.

Another tough and dangerous case consists in two siblings of 16 and 13 years that are working in a fast food shop during overnight for more than 7 hours per day. During morning they used to study, after that, they help mother in household chores and then, started to work from 6 pm to 1:00 am, they have to cook fast food, receive and organize people and serve the food, they do whatever kind of work within the shop. At the time of asking how would you describe your job, they said: “*Risky because the*

area is dangerous and there are a lot of thieves”, ”Risky and dangerous because of the fire that is always on and we must be careful not to burn”.

On their own point of view, this job makes them more responsible. They like receiving money, which per day each one earns around \$12.5 US dollars. Furthermore, they think is important learning to do something and being occupied better than stay in the corners of the area. Even though, this could be also consider as a hazardous job. Could be demonstrated that these children are not spending their free time in healthy activities or academic programs, contrarily, undermines their health and safety being at risk overnight working. As a proof, asking what they like the least from this job, they said:

“Stay up overnight until early morning. It is hard but just during that time I found the job. By law we cannot work but at that hour nobody control”

“The hour. I get tired easily and the are is dangerous”

In addition, there is another case, which a boy of 13 years helps his parents with their home business peeling onions, packing vegetables and attending the business. On the other hand and the saddest case, is related to a girl of 17 who is already mother of a child of eight months, she lives in civil union and her last school grade was sixth. She just works on her house because she needs to take care of her baby.

To conclude this section, the biggest problem of those households remains in the poor economic situation that does not allow them to have a good job

due to the low education achieved and forces parents to keep working in the informal sector. This is a concern that penetrates the areas of children and wraps into the solution to make. While it is true that not all kind of work done by children is illegal and considered dangerous (such in those cases where the less severe event is to help mother with the household chores), this condition makes children with burdens and worries that do not belong to them.

Although FA program provides an important value in the educational process of children in the sense of pushing them to study by the parents' side, this is not widespread to all family members, especially to other children that are not covered by the program. Thus, economic situation and large amount of family members, creates conditions of concern and needs reflected in their children as a solution.

4.4.3. Interview results on experts

Interviews to experts in charge of the program or working the sector, were virtually interviewed in order to explore what are the most important challenges facing the program from perspectives of insiders.

In total 16 interviews were done; 60% of the interviewed were from ICBF, and 40% were from DPS, both of them, the two most important regarding child labor and social conditional cash transfers programs aiming low income families and their kids.

When it was asked to which degree they consider issues such as education, health, work, welfare, sewerage, housing, clothing, and others are or aren't important needs for low-income families nowadays, 80% of the respondents said that health is the most important issue for low-income families, followed by around 75% said work, and then almost by a similar 55% said education and welfare respectively. The others factors or issues listed were also graded as important but not as the most important. Some of the experts expressed that there were other issues important to having in mind such as leisure, work competencies, family, and inclusive public policies.

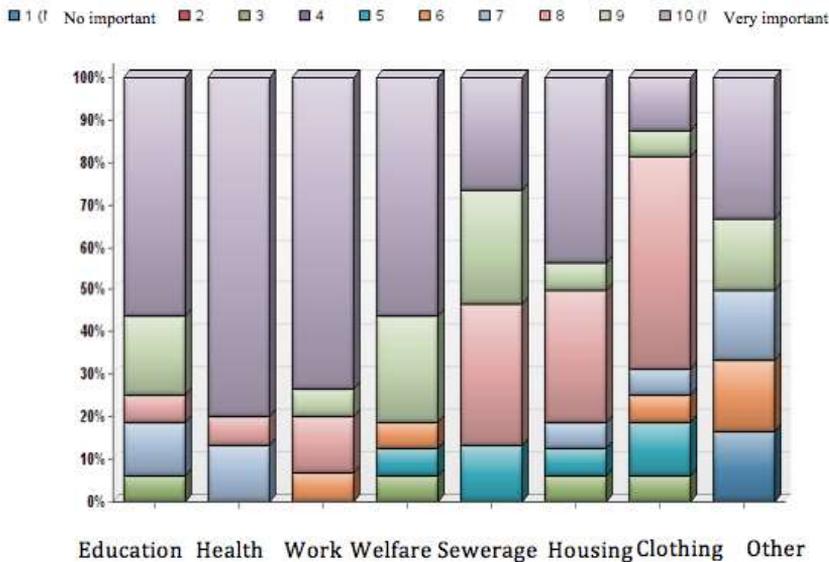


Chart 7 - Importance degree of needs for poor households

It is interesting from this research to find that for the experts the most important needs are health and work. The program now, as it was mentioned before, it is also linked with health components such as regular

check up for their children under 7 years old in order to check the nutrition and growth of kids. Monetary subsidy could be given in order to incentivize these medical check-ups and therefore health improvements. However, this health component is not strictly part of the scope of this research, we have focused on the education component and its relationship with child labor.

The experts considered almost as important as health the work issues for low-income families, supporting our initial thoughts of why the child labor became a way to increase income in low income families.

When it was asked what the most important reasons that make children work, the experts said that the most important is because children must help with the expenses of the house. It is an indirect way to say that they must increase the income of household, by just say helping the expenses of the house. This is also reflected in some interviews done to parents and children where they see their work not as a way to collect or increase income but to help family's expenses. In some cases, some children and mothers said they work to buy their personal cleaning staff.

The second most important reason that leads children to work is that working is a way to make children be part of the family's activities. For example, as it was found in interviews done to children and head of households, a child must deliver the bread that his father makes in his own

rudimentary bakery shop. The child does not receive payments and he expresses he does it because it is part of the family activities he must support.

The third reason experts consider makes the child work is under the other options shared by the experts such as the absences of fathers, or they do not have examples at home of parents educated.

In addition, it was found that most frequent areas of child labor were on the streets, and the agricultural sector. This confirms what has been found in other studies, children work on streets and farms, partly explained because of the coffee plantations in the region where Pereira is located, known as the coffee triangle.

On the other hand, it was also asked to the experts what could be the measures to be taken to reduce child labor. They said compulsory education, extension of schooling hours per day and education for the parents are the most important ones. Also, among the other options stated, familiar integration activities, birth controls, and strict rules and additional commitments from the parents and the state to reduce child labor.

It is interesting the answers from experts when it was questioned if they agree or disagree on the following statement “the state intervention through the program is essential for improving conditions of low income families”, experts from the Social Prosperity Department, which is the

institution in charged of FA totally agreed on that affirmation, instead people from ICBF disagreed or partly disagree.

On the same way, at the moment of asking how effective is FA in preventing child labor; the average of importance was 6 from a scale of 10. Reasons exposed by them related to what are the greatest difficulties for the program preventing child labor, were given around the lack on providing just subsidy and not supplementary support for the empowerment of families regarding their responsibility on children development.

On the other hand, despite the program has the condition of giving the subsidy if household comply with children school attendance condition, it exists deficits in the provision of institutions by municipalities, and from the other side, the lack of compromise by parents to take children to school. Furthermore, others consider the program's priority of covering just 3 children per household and weak commitment of the parents on pushing their children to work (from early age) as another problem to achieve. Thus, is necessary to develop tools aimed directly at combating child labor considering that the program is not eradicating this problem in a direct way but maybe as a residual character.

Moreover and no less important, as a general consensus, there is a common propose on providing education to parents from those households in order to widespread the labor opportunities and building

values within households, thus, the labors on combating child labor is not just from the State side but also from the parents efforts and its environment.

An important fact was confirmed by some ideas expressed by experts on what is the current situation of those children left by the program (because of others siblings are receiving aid within households with more than 3 children under the age of 18), is concentrated in the fact that FA does not have systematic evidence or assessment to tell us what is the number of families with more than 3 children in school condition, demonstrating an evidence of program monitoring failure.

In another scenario, other experts say it is possible that these children are also attending school as their siblings do, however, they are more likely to drop the system in front of a household crisis due to the risky position they are in order to contribute with an extra income. At this stage, parents play an important role in the decision of supporting the child in keeping studying or forcing to work.

Another expert from FA program, strongly believe that in the majority of the cases, in a beneficiary family all the children members are studying because the incentives receiving from the program are invested in all of them regardless if they are or not protected. Also, the condition of take them to school result positively in the process of building human capital

and the awareness of the importance of investing in nutrition and education.

Regarding on how the program can be improve efforts on child labor, experts said the education for the heads of household is the most significant issue to be considered accompanying by greater family support and the extension of school hours in order to avoid free time spent at work. This can be understood that experts also consider an effective State intervention not just giving a certain amount of money tied to some conditions, this implied extra determinations and coordination among public institution in order to create a better impact.

Understanding the challenges facing the program in the next coming years, experts have said is very important in the recent talks with the guerrillas if it is possible to sign the pace, the available policies for children involved in the conflict when they overcome from it.¹⁴ The State must be prepared to this condition when this occurs. On the other hand, there is a general agreement that the program must show the real impact and effectiveness of the program by promoting families from poor conditions to better conditions and permanency of children who really want advance in their education process. The focalizations of new beneficiaries as well as the

¹⁴ Colombia's government is currently ahead of peace talks with the guerrillas (FARC-Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) to put the end to the armed conflict. If this is achieved, it could result children involved in the conflict that might be find unprotected by the State.

implementation of other conditions are also challenges for the next coming years.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusions

In Colombia in 2013, 30.6% of its population was living in poverty conditions and 9,1% in extreme poverty¹⁵. In Risaralda, the department where Pereira is located, the percentage of people living under poverty conditions was 28,8% while 8,1% lived under extreme poverty¹⁶. In Pereira, the figures for 2013 were 24,0% of poverty and 5,1% of extreme poverty¹⁷.

The poverty and extreme poverty in Colombia, like in Pereira, are the biggest social challenges faced by governments at all levels. The level of inequality between the disadvantaged and advantaged people is one of the worse in the world.

However, in Colombia a series of different kind of policies have been implemented in order to overcome those problems. The most important

¹⁵ DANE (2014) “*Pobreza Monetaria y Multidimensional 2013*” Bogotá D.C

¹⁶https://www.dane.gov.co/files/investigaciones/condiciones_vida/pobreza/Risaralda_Pobreza_2013.pdf Bulletin report: Risaralda. Monetary Poverty. 2013. DANE.

¹⁷ Diario La Tarde. Aumenta el Porcentaje en Pereira.

<http://www.latarde.com/noticias/economica/131131-aumenta-el-porcentaje-de-pobreza-en-pereira>

and the most known social policy in terms of number of beneficiaries, coverage in the country, and its antiquity, is called *Familias en Acción*.

Through *Familias en Acción*, the government has worked on reducing poverty, inequality and more specifically on bringing education and nutrition to the low-income households. In public's opinion there is a consensus about the importance of the program, its results and success on education and nutrition.

However, the final goals, reducing poverty and extreme poverty are not easy to achieve, especially when the characterization of the problems around the low-income households are very complex. For example, to increase education the program has built incentives for attendance and school enrollments of kids of low-income households, but the “gaps between rich and poor tend to widen, as children get older often because those from disadvantages backgrounds increasingly need to contribute to household income. In Colombia only around half of young people from poor households make it to lower secondary school” (UNESCO, 2012; 197).

Those facts mentioned make us ask, to what extend then subsidy as it is today understood and being given motivate the school attainment and attendance of those kids from the poorest brackets in Colombia? How effective is the subsidy to encourage schooling advancements or so called

human capital building if sooner when the subsidy expires the parents will directly or indirectly make work their kids because those parents did not receive any education or training or were not committed to keep their kids out of the informal labor market? Or how the subsidy could not have conceived CCT to households when there are no commitments on combating child labor?

Based in this research, it is possible to infer that what is happening is that even families receiving the subsidy make their kids work at home or outside home after the school hours, although is important to highlight that such things happen in less frequency in beneficiary households than in families that are not receiving the subsidy, as expected. Indeed the government found in 2008 in the evaluation of the program done by the DNP, that the impact of Families in Action on reducing child labor specially in boys under 18 years old in urban areas was not significant.

Hence more questions could be raised such as what is happening with their parent's commitment to send their kids to study when the program covers them? As matter of fact, the education is free in Colombia after secondary education but still in some cases it is possible to find that parents keep sending (or allowing) their kids to work in the labor market. Is it any kind of human capital building or at least trainings, or rules that make parents demotivate them from seeing their kids as economic tools to increase their current income?

From all perspectives, the program is lacking of rules and commitments on fighting child labor, and so, on bringing real development impacts on low-income households. The program seems to be understood as a strictly monetary program where the trade off is income for education, but not income for education plus families values like kids should not work, or education might be the biggest tool that low-income households have to escape from poverty.

If low-income households could see the education of their kids as a proper right and as a long-term investment, they might enjoy better and increasing returns in the future thanks to the competencies that could be acquired by good years of studying.

Human capital constitute one of the main roads to take for the country's development, for that reason strong public policies having into account child labor as an axis of the poverty trap to tackle, would be a more effective way to achieve the final goals of reducing poverty in almost 2.6 million households in Colombia.

5.2. Recommendations

Familias en Acción is and has been a good approach to alleviate poverty and extreme poverty in Colombia. According to the literature review and the analyzes of the interviews done under this research to heads of

households, children and experts, one can conclude that the Colombian government strategy of the CCT programs as anti-poverty policy, seeks improvements on education and nutrition of kids of low-income families.

Although results on those regards –education and nutrition- have been noticed and achieved, impacts on combating child labor have seen only in rural areas as positive externalities, but child labor in general is not the main purpose for which the program was created.

From the interview results, here are listed some of the most important findings related to the program and the current situation of low-income households with more than three (3) children in Pereira city in connection or relevance to child labor conditions in those households.

- **There is a notorious family disintegration of low-income households:** A big number of single mothers with less than 35 years old compose the low-income households, taking care of more than 3 children and playing the role of the head of the households. Informal civil unions between the father and the mother of the household make the majority of households, no legal or religious commitment keep or appear in those unions. Also, in some cases children are from different fathers.

- **Nutrition and education is improving based on families and experts interviewed:** Parents receiving the school subsidy for their kids say they are investing money in food, specially vitamins and other education expenses such as uniforms, shoes or notebooks showing a right investing of the money given. However, despite sending the kids to school, the majority of kids also work in home or outside, being even more worrying the cases of those children whose families are not part of FA.
- **Low level of education of parents:** It was found as expected low levels of education of household´s parents. The majority just had primary education. But at the same time all of them express they want their kids to study. For the experts it is very important to give education to the parents.
- **Co-responsibility measures are important to be reviewed:** Experts consider better and stronger co-responsibilities to promote and demand under the program.
- **No monitoring of the program effects and low controls of family composition changes:** It was found that almost all households did not receive visits from the program officers. Just one household went to a meeting in a neighborhood institution.

- **There is not yet a system that can do that work to get such important information:** Experts said it is difficult to track how many new kids becomes part of the household.
- **Combating child labor was not conceived as an explicit objective of the program:** It is possible to see how even families belonging to FA have the 4th or 5th uncovered kid by the school subsidy working. Even the ones covered by the program with subsidy do permanent house works.

It is important to clarify that these findings can't be taken with statistical validity. These findings should be taken as findings from an exploratory research based on interviews. Even when percentages and numbers are used to describe the findings these numbers should be considered from a qualitative point of view.

To end, as policy directions to suggest, in principle loading multiple challenges in FA program may put in risk the feasibility of achieving the objectives for which it was designed. But, carefully studied and implemented, a new phase of FA considering strong parent's commitments on combating children engaged in any kind of work as an urgent step to break this connection of child labor and poverty trap.

Due to the lack of a CCT program in Colombia concerning child labor there is already a framework that could be used and improved such as *Familias en Accion*. The program has been growing, has been including new population targets, and new objectives from its creation at the end of 90's. As the program as being achieving its goals a new phase of the CCT program including combat of child labor components such the program already done in Brazil.

Despite of the fact that ICBF is doing a remarkable job with children and adolescents; Colombia does not count with a program such as FA that congregates the entire household in achieving reduction of child labor, meaning that family values such as kids should not work or education is a right of all children, should be promote and ask as conditions of already running social programs from a family development perspective.

It is pertinent to leave the discussion open for further research on questions such as Colombia requires a program such as FA but concentrates specifically in child labor? Should be necessarily and economically feasible the implementation of a CCT on just child labor? Or instead has we have been suggested, the combating of child labor should be carefully include in the goals and conditions of *Familias en Acción*?

A new division inside *Familias en Acción* that works closely with ICBF and the Ministry of Labor is a sound proposal in terms of technical viability, economic viability, and political support thanks to the coverage infrastructure and great performance with many years of experience guarantee by *Familias en Acción*.

Additionally, while a division inside *Familias en Acción* against child labor is created or evaluated in Colombia, and according to the literature reviewed on the positive impact of this CCT programs in child work, is important to evaluate the inclusion of more than 3 children per family able to received the school subsidy taking precaution of adverse outcomes such as the generation of higher fertility patterns, measure by the program itself by putting limits to the subsidy with a strong conditions child labor combating at home and outside of it.

Also is relevant a permanent and personalized support from the program to poor families when building human capital, cultural change, the normal and adequate growth of their children in social and cultural terms. This can be achieved throughout trained people who can visit households, and keep monitoring the development of the households. It is at some point quite difficult to understand how the program has not done something to prohibit child labor on beneficiaries' households of the subsidy given by *Familias en Acción*.

At the same time the new division to be created inside *Familias en Acción* should leverage their operational structure and ICBF structure to educate parents on issues such as birth control, family values formation, proper care of children and make changes in family attitudes towards education and child labor, when doing the personal visits, meetings in public institutions with beneficiaries, and by compulsory short trainings with competent personnel that belongs to the program in regional offices and from the social workers from the local administrations.

As the CEPAL has said, increasing children school attendance do not always involve a reduction in the incidence and intensity of all types of child labor (Villatoro, 2005; 89) Therefore the national government should open its eyes and connects probably the biggest tool on march right now – *Familias en Acción*- to reduce substantially and decisively child labor in Colombia.

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APPENDIX

Familias en Acción & child labor (Questions to the head of household)

My name is____(Interviewer)_____ First of all, I want to thank you for accepting doing this interview. This interview is done for academic purposes. We wont reveal your name or any contact detail after this interview. This research is being done to understand important issues and to suggest from an academic perspective policy measures or simply provide processed information to actors that can influence positively in addressing topics that we will discuss during the interview. Please feel free and confident to give us all your opinions.

Q1 Let me start asking this: Are you the head of this household?

Yes (If YES, continue with the interview)

No (If NO, please ask who is and where that person is. If the person is not there, ask what is his/her role in the household and tell him/her you will be back when the person comes back)

Q2 How many people make part of this household?

- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- More than 7

Q3 Please describe me the familiar composition living in this household: (For the interviewer, you can give to interviewed an example such as: "For example you, your spouse, 3 kids, your grandfather, etc. All must be persons living in this same house")

Q4 What is the economic situation for your house now?

Q5 In comparison with the first 6 months of the year, do you think the economy inside of your house has been improving, not, or is the same?

Q6 Are you currently working?

Yes

No (If No, ask who works for the house expenses
_____ and Jump to Q10)

Answer If Are you currently working? Yes Is Selected

Q7 What type of job you have? (For the interviewer, do NOT ready the options bellow just mark it or write down the answer given)

- Public employee or private employee
- Domestic employee or Housekeeping
- Self-employed
- Unpaid worker
- Other: _____

Q8 Have you asked your children to help working for the house expenses?
 Yes _____ No _____

Q9 Are these days your children working for the house expenses?
 Yes _____ No _____

Q10 Let me please ask you in more details children by children if apply

	Studying in the Morning	Studying in the Afternoon	Working	Studying and Working	Does Nothing	How old is he/she?
1st Children						
2nd Children						
3rd Children						
4 th Children						
5th Children						

Answer If Let me please ask you in more details children by children if apply
 - Working Is Selected

Q13 Please share me more information based on the specific Children.

Q.13.1. What kind of Job the Children does?

Q.13.2. Approximately how many hours per day the Children work?

Q.13.3. Is it a remunerated work?

Q.13.4. How much the children earn?

Q11 Among the next options I will mention to you, what do you prefer for your children:

- Work
- Study
- Work and Study
- Work only if they have time after studying
- Other: _____

Q12 Your spouse, parents, or sentimental company (if applies), agree on your opinion about what you prefer for your children? If not tell me how they have different opinion?

Q13 (For the interviewer. Just in case the person answers in Q14: Work, Work and Study, and Work only if they have time after studying, ask this question) Why is important to you that they work? (it is possible to choose more than one option)

- Must participate in family activities
- Working makes them better person
- Working makes them more honest
- Must help with household expenses
- Working takes them away from the bad habits
- Everyone in home have worked since young age
- Should help to pay the studies
- To pay a current debt
- There is no any school close to home to study
- Other: _____

Q14 (For the interviewer. If the kid or kids work in some way ask this question) Who did you seek for getting the job for your kid or kids

Q15 What type of benefits or payments your children receives by working?

Q16 What is the major concern about the safety of your children?

Q17 Who manage the money that your children gain?

Q18 Changing a little the topic, what your children do in free time?

Q19 Since when are you part of Familias en Accion?

Q20 What is the most important thing from program? Explain

Q21 Is the program helping you to improve the social and economic environment your family? Why?

Q22 What else would you like to receive from the program? (These options just for the interviewer)

- Physiological service
- Domestic help
- Cultural Activities
- Sanitary education
- Education for the head of the households
- Community work for you
- Subside for the 3 kid

Q23 How often people from the program visit you in person?

- Once every 15 days
- Once every month
- Once every 2 months
- Once every 6 months
- Once a year
- Have not received a visit yet

Q24 I will ask you the last few questions, in this house, the age range of the father (if applies) or of the head household is:

Q25 The age of the mother of the household is:

Q26 Your current civil status is:

- Single
- Married
- Civil Union
- Other

Q30 What is your level of education? (of both parents if apply)

- Primary school (1 - 5 grade)
- Secondary School (6 - 9 grade)
- High School (10- 11 grade)
- Technical or Technological
- University

Familias en Acción & Child Labor
(Questionnaire for Children)

My name is____(Interviewer)____ First of all, I want to thank you for accepting doing this interview. I spoke with your parents and they agree to let me do this interview for you. This interview is done for academic purposes. We wont reveal your name after this interview. This interview is not going to last more than 30 minutes. Please feel free and confident to give us all your opinions.

Q1 Do you study?

Yes

No

Q2 In which grade are you currently? (Or which level was the last you completed?)

Q3 Do you take class during the morning, during the afternoon, or both? (or, the last time you studied, did you take class during morning, afternoon, or both?)

Q4 How far is the school from home and how you go? (Or, if you don't study these days how you went before?)

Q5 Do you enjoy school?

Q6 Do you like studying?

Yes

No

Q7 Like whom you would like to be as an adult?

Q8 Do you work?

Yes

No

Q9 When did you start to work?

Q10 How old were you when you started to work?

Q11 Why do you work?

- To help your parents
- To pay your education
- To help your brothers and sisters
- For your personal expenses

- Because I like do it
- Other:_____

Q12 What do you do in your work?

Q13 How many hours you work per day?

- Less than 2
- 2 - 4 hours
- 4 - 6 hours
- More than 6 hours

Q14 How did you get this job?

Q15 How would you describe your job: boring, risky, happy, enjoyable, etc?

Q16 What you like the most from the Job?

Q17 What you like the least from the Job?

Q18 Do you manage the money you earn? And how do you manage the money you earn? What do you use the money for?

Q19 Who told you first about working?

- By yourself you decided
- Your parents
- Your brother or sister
- Your friend from the neighborhood
- Your friend from school
- Other:_____

Q20 Your family know who is your boss?

Yes

No

Q21 Do the teachers know about your job? Do they know you work?

Q22 If you have to choose between these options, which one you prefer?

- Just studying
- Just working
- Studying and working
- Other:_____

Q23 Have you missed classes because of the Job?

Q24 Sex
Male
Female

Q25 How old are you:

Interviews for experts

“Exploring the conditional transfer externalities on child labor: A case study in Pereira city”

Thank you in advance for your valuable time. My name is Jenny Guzman; I am a student of Public Administration at Seoul National University. I am currently doing my thesis on the influence of a Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) program on child labor in Pereira City. The objective of this online questionnaire is to explore and dig on problem sensing related to CCT program in Colombia called Families in Action (Familias en Acción) from the perspective of public servants, experts and social workers that are in contact with children and poor families.

You do not need write your name on this survey and your comments will not be published neither your answers will shared with anyone. Please, try to be as honest as possible.

ABOUT LOW INCOME FAMILIES AND CHILD LABOR

- To which degree you consider the next issues are or aren't important needs for low-income families nowadays in the country? Please mark with an X rating the degree, meaning 1 no important at all and 10 very important.

	1 (No important at all)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 (Very important)
Education										
Health care										
Employment										
Social security										
Sanitation										
Housing										
Clothing										
Other:										

- What do you think are the major reasons for children to work? (Please fill out the 3 more important being the 1st the most important and 3rd the less important among those reasons)
 - Must participate in the family activities
 - Work makes them better person and honest
 - Must help with household expenses

- Work takes them away from the vices and street
- Everyone in home have worked since young age
- Should help to pay studies
- To pay a debt
- There is not any school close to home to study
- Other

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

3. Based on your expertise, what are the most frequent areas of work by children? ? (Select the 3 more important being the 1st the most important and 3rd the less important among those 3 reason)

- Agricultural work:
- Street work:
- Farm work:
- Domestic work:
- Prostitution:
- Municipal Market (Corabastos):
- Other:

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

4. Which of the following options best express what you consider respond to avoid child labor?

- Physiological service
- School attendance enforcement
- Extension of the hours of school day
- Child care service centers
- Family integration activities
- Cultural-Sports activities
- Prison for parents (for those who allow children work)
- Education for parents or the head of the households
- Other

5. Please provide some ideas based on your expertise if you were working with children engaged with child labor, what would you do? (please describe a policy direction)

ABOUT FAMILIES IN ACCION PROGRAM

6. About Families in Action, do you know the program benefits, prerequisites and goals aimed?

- a. Very well b. Well c. Not much d. Nothing at all

7. Talking about the program, some people have said, “the state intervention through the program is essential for improving conditions of low income families”. Do you agree or disagree with that statement?

1. Agree	2. Partly agree	3. Partly disagree	4. Disagree

8. In your opinion how effective is Families in Action Program in preventing child labor? Where in a scale of 10, **1 is not effective** and **10 is very effective**

1 (not effective)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 (very effective)

9. What do you consider have been the greatest difficulties for the Families in Action program in preventing child labor? (Please describe)

10. Are you aware that Families in Action School Subsidy is granted up to three children per family?

- a. Yes b. No

11. The current number of children covered by Familias en Acción per household is 3. In your opinion and based on your expertise, which is the situation of those children no covered by the program in households with more than 3 children? Please share your ideas.

12. Do you think Families in Action will be more effective on preventing child labor if (Please rate the degree meaning 1 no effective at all and 10 make the program very effective)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Greater psychological support is giving										
Extending the hours of school day										
Increasing monitoring visits										
Encouraging family support										
Greater assistance to children										

- Social worker
- Psychologist
- Doctor
- Communitarian Leader
- Other:

Thank you very much for your help and support.

RESEARCH PICTURES GALERY

In memory and gratefulness to those who helped me to carry out this research, below are some pictures of these persons and places where this research was conducted. In order to preserve the identity of the children, their pictures are not published in this work.



국문초록

CCT 가 아동노동에 미치는 영향에 관한 연구: Pereira 시에 대한 사례연구

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많은 개발도상국에서 인적자원 개발, 빈곤감소 그리고 소득불평등 감소를 위해서 유용한 정책 수단으로 조건부현금지원 프로그램(CCT)을 도입하여 집행해왔다. 1999 년 이래로 콜롬비아는 “*Familias en Acción*” (FA) 라는 CCT 프로그램을 18 세 이하 아동을 둔 저소득층 가정을 지원하기 위해 중요한 정책으로 실시해왔다. 이 프로그램의 목표는 수혜가정의 아이들을 학교에 보내게 하고 건강검진을 받도록 하며, 출산계획 강좌에 참여하도록 함으로써 궁극적으로는 빈곤 가정 아동들의 학교 출석률을 높이고 건강수준을 향상시키기 위한 것이었다.

본 연구의 목적은 18 세 이하 아동을 세 명 이상 두고 있는 수혜가정에서 CCT 가 아동노동에 어떤 영향을 미쳤는지를 탐색해보고 그 영향을 평가해보는 것이다. 만일 한 가구에 3 명 이상의 아동이 있다면 CCT 프로그램은 부모로 하여금 그 중에 3 명을 선택하여 학교보조금을 받게 하고 있다. 따라서 프로그램의

혜택을 받지 못한 아이들은 부모가 CCT 혜택을 받기 위해 의무적으로 이행해야 하는 조건들로부터 제외되기 때문에 지원을 받는 가구 내 형제들과 다른 상황에 처하게 된다. 이 아이들은 가구 소득에 기여하기 위해서 아동노동에 참여해야만 하는 상황이 명백하게 발생할 것이라 생각해 볼 수 있다.

본 연구는 질적 연구방법에 기반하여 Pereira 시에서 저소득층 가구, 아동노동에 관여하고 있는 아이들을 인터뷰 하였다. 또한 이 분야의 전문가와 공무원들도 인터뷰하였다. 본 연구의 주요 목적은 보조금과 이 프로그램의 결과에 대해 탐색하는 것인데, 예를 들어 수혜 가구 내에서 인적 자원이 얼마나 효과적으로 향상이 되었는지, 그리고 이 프로그램을 통해서 부모들이 아동노동을 금지해야 한다는 인식이 증가했는지 아닌지에 대해서 살펴보고자 하였다. CCT 프로그램이 가족에 대한 가치와 학교 등록과 출석에 대한 부모의 책임감을 교육함으로써 인적 자원 향상에 진정으로 영향을 끼쳤는지를 아는 것은 매우 중요하다.

Familias en Acción 은 콜롬비아의 절대적 빈곤을 줄이는 좋은 접근법으로 인정받아 왔다. 선행연구를 통해서도 이러한 점은 확인이 되었지만, 본 연구가 가구주, 아동 그리고 전문가들에 대한 면접조사를 통해 확인한 바에 따르면 콜롬비아 정부의 CCT 정책이 빈곤감소 정책으로서 저소득층 가구의 아이들의 교육과 영양상태를 실질적으로 개선했다는 것을 다시 한 번 검증할 수 있었다.

비록 CCT는 원래 아동노동을 근절하기 위한 목표로 실시된 것은 아니지만, 긍정적 부수효과로서 아동노동을 근절하는데 영향을

미쳤으며 특별히 도시지역보다는 농촌지역에서 그러한 영향이 더욱 크게 나타났다.

끝으로 연구결과에 기반하여 정책대안을 제시하였다. CCT 프로그램에 너무 많은 과제를 부여하게 되면 원래 정책이 설계했던 바대로의 정책목표를 달성할 가능성이 줄어들게 된다는 위험이 있다. 그럼에도 불구하고 FA 프로그램의 개선방안을 신중하게 연구하여 집행할 필요가 있다. 예를 들어 어떤 형태이든지 노동을 하고 있는 아동에 관해 부모의 책임을 강조하는 요소를 도입하거나 아동노동에 대한 부모의 인식을 변화시킬 수 있는 사회심리적 지원을 포함시키는 등의 노력이 아동노동과 빈곤 악순환의 고리를 끊기 위해 반드시 실시되어야 한다.

라틴 아메리카 경제위원회(ECLAC)가 밝힌바 대로, 아동들의 학교 출석률을 높이는 것이 반드시 아동노동의 발생빈도와 강도를 줄이는데 영향을 주지는 않는다. 따라서 정부는 이러한 점을 인식하여, *Familias en Acción* 프로그램이 실질적으로 그리고 결정적으로 콜롬비아의 아동노동을 줄일 수 있도록 강력한 정책을 즉각 실시해야 할 것이다.

주요어: 조건부현금지원 프로그램, 아동노동, 위험노동, 인적자원, 사회통합, 교육, 빈곤

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