Young Brazilian Workers in Poor Families (English Version)

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----31 March 1984---

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P. 23, Table 8:

1. The title should read "Number of Monthly wages per year...."

2. Delete footnote a.

P. 27:

. Consequently and a second second

3. The last sentence in the first paragraph should read:

"For example, by this criterion over half of these young Brazilian workers were employed in the formal sector. (54.5 percent...)"

 $(\gamma_{i}) \in \{i,j\}$

The underlined words should replace those in the present version.

IAF: US LA-088 UW: F/A 144-S198 31 March 1984

Young Brazilian Workers in Poor Families (English Version)

A Report to the Inter-American Foundation

Archibald O. Haller, Principal Investigator University of Wisconsin Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Table of Contents

.

,	Page
List of Tables	iv
Chapter I - Introduction	1
Chapter II - Young Workers	4
Chapter III - Poor Families	47
Chapter IV - Conclusion	83
References	93
Appendix A. Case Studies, by Carmen Silvia Pagotto	A-1
Appendix B. Measurement of Variables	B-1
Appendix C. English Translation of Interview Schedule	C-1
Appendix D. Reality and the Law, by Jose Pastore	.D-1

24 - S 24 - S 25 - S

-iii-

List of Tables

Page

Table	1.	Employment Status by Age and Sex; Young People in Brazil's Urban Areas, 1976 (percent)	7
Table	2.	Employment, School and Age; Young People in Brazil's Urban Areas, 1976 (percent)	9
Table	3.	Current Activities of Brazilian Young People Who Have Never Sought Work (NonEAP); by Age and Sex, Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	15
Table	4.	Sector of Economic Activity by Age, Brazilian Young People Working or Looking for Work or Who Had Been Employed During the Previous Year; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	17
Table	5.	Occupational Class by Age, Young Brazilians Working or Looking for Work or Who Had Been Employed During the Previous Year; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	20
Table	6.	Contributions to Social Security by Age, Young Brazilians Working or Looking for Work, or Who Had Been Employed During the Previous Year; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	21
Table	7.	Participation in Formal and Informal Labor Markets by Age, Young Brazilian Employees; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	22
Table	8.	Number of Minimum Wages Received Per Year by Age, Young Brazilian Employees; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	23
Table	9.	Income in Minimum Wages From One's Principal Job by Age, Young Brazilian Employees; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	28
Table	10.	Current and Previous Occupations by Age, Young Brazilian Workers; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	31
Table	11.	Previous Work Experience by Age of Young Brazilian Workers; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	35
Table	12.	Years in Current Job by Age, Young Brazilian Workers; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	36
Table	13.	Time Reportedly Spent Looking for Work by Age, Young Unemployed Brazilian Workers; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	38
Table	14.	Attendance at School by Age, Young Brazilian Workers; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	40
Table	15.	Attendance at School by Age and Hours Worked per Week, Young Brazilian Workers; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent)	41
Table	16.	Urban-Rural Variations in Selected Variables Describing Impoverished Brazilian Families (1980) in Percentages	50

-iv-

	Table	17.	Employment of "Unemployable" Young Brazilians Among Impoverished Families by Size of Family, in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages	58
	Table	18.1	Employment of "Unemployable" Young Brazilians Among Impoverished Families by Type of Family, in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages	60
	Table	19.	Employment of "Unemployable" Young Brazilians Among Impoverished Families by Stage of the Family Life Cycle, in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages	65
	Table	20.	Employment of "Unemployable" Young Brazilians Among Impoverished Families by Sex Distribution of "Employable" Family Members, in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages	66
	Table	21.	Employment of "Unemployable" Young Brazilians Among Impoverished Families by the Quality of Labor Offered by the Family in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages	69
	Table	22.	Employment of "Unemployable" Young Brazilians Among Impoverished Families by the Degre to Which "Employable" Members of the Family Were Actually Employed in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages.	71
-	Table	23.	Employment of "Unemployable" Young Brazilians Among Impoverished Families by Underemployment of Family Members in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages	73
	Table	24.	Employment of "Unemployable" Young Brazilians Among Impoverished Families by Economic Sector of the Family Head in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages	.74
	Table	25.	Employment of "Unemployable" Young Brazilians Among Impoverished Families by Occupational Class of the Head of Family in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages	76
	Table	26.	Employment of "Unemployable" Young Brazilians Among Impoverished Families by Intra-Familial Source of Income in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages	7.8

Page

Chapter 1

Introduction

Life is pecarious in the slums and backlands of the developing countries. The survival even of prime-age adults and older children is often under threat. Food is usually in short supply, water often hard of access and sometimes polluted, and medical treatment frequently unavailable. Even in good times it is hard for families to obtain the resources they need just to endure. The search for supplies--whether through job-holding, irregular employment or scavenging--is a task that occupies most of the waking hours of most adults in most families, and of many younger people, too. When times are hard the task may be so great and food so short that the full attention of all but the youngest children is devoted to the search. And then it may be a losing battle.

A previous report (Pastore, Zylberstajn and Pagotto, 1983) examined the changes in the incidence of extreme poverty across Brazil's 1979-1980 period of economic growth. Throughout the decade Brazil had a high degree of inequality and a high incidence of extreme poverty. In absolute terms, the degree of inequality increased. Fossibly because of a widespread confusion between poverty and inequality, it was almost universally believed that the incidence of destitution also increased. But this was not true. On the contrary, the decline in the incidence of extreme poverty was massive. In 1970, 44 percent of Brazil's families were below the income level marking extreme poverty. In other words, about 45 million of Brazil's 93 million people were below the poverty line 1970. The nation's population grew to 119 million over the decade. Because of this, if the incidence of poverty had remained unchanged, the number of destitute persons would have risen to about 60 million. But instead it fell—to about 25 million. To those who hope economic growth will yield social benefits, this should surely be encouraging: 35 million fewer than would have been expected under a "no change" hypothesis, and even fewer than predicted by the widely-held pessimistic hypothesis that economic growth generates more poverty. But 25 million is itself a staggering number. Moreover, after 1980, the economic growth ended and decline set in. So the numbers of the poor must surely be increasing today.

The publication reporting these findings goes on to illuminate variations in the patterns of poverty. By 1980 it had become increasingly concentrated in rural areas and in the Northeast. It is concentrated, too, among the poorly educated, among large families, and among families headed by single women. In the cities these poorest of the poor are concentrated in the infamous shanty towns called "favelas."

The present report takes up where the previous one left off. It may be thought of as an examination of responses poverty elicits from young people. In a sense, poverty is like an affliction. One lives with it, trying to make the best of his own situation. The ways of life of impoverished young people are quite different from those of youngsters who are better off. Among those who are reasonably healthy, such differences are experienced most profoundly in schooling, work, leisure, and home life. Each of these situations of activity no doubt looms large in the thinking of every young Brazilian, whether rich or poor. But the implications of each such arena of life differ between the poor and the rest. Schooling, for example, is certainly not available to many Brazilians. But education is highly regarded by Brazilian parents and their children. Objectively, in Brazil each year of school a

-2-

person completes raises his adult income at least by seven or eight percent, probably much more (Haller and Pastore, 1983). Ordinary Brazilians do not know the numbers, of course. But they understand that education pays. Poor children may not be able to go to school. But they and their parents are aware of what they are missing. Correspondingly, youths from well-to-do families may not need jobs. And many poor youths may be unemployed. But work is as much a part of their psychological environments as it is of those who have jobs. So, too, only a few may have much leisure time. But everyone at least dreams of what it would be like to be free from responsibility. For one, home life may be rich and fulfilling, for another, harsh. But most have homes and families and even the most isolated surely has at least a fragmentary, wistful conception of home life.

In this Report, our concern is with the responses of impoverished young Brazilians and their families to the ever-present reality of their poverty. Large numbers of minors and youth have little choice but to work. Young workers from destitute families are the center of our attention in this document.

-3-

CHAPTER 2

Young Workers

INTRODUCTION

This part of the analysis was conducted to answer two basic questions: (1) Who are the children and youth who work in Brazil; (2) What sort of work do they do and how much do they earn?

To answer these questions, we used two sources of evidence, national statistical data and case study data. National data: the main data set was taken from the National Household Survey Sample of 1976 (PNAD-76), specifically the records concerning each individual included in a representative sample of the urban population from 10 to 24 years of age (inclusive) living in each of the five regions of the country--North, Northeast, Southeast, South and Central West. The statistical analysis was performed on the unweighted multistage area probability sample of 87,527 persons falling within the age range. Case studies: a second data set was used to help in interpreting the statistical data. It is a purposive sample of 30 poor families from three cities. The only criteria were that the family had to be earning less than one-quarter of a minimum wage per family member (c\$20/person) and to have at least one employed minor within the family. The latter were the focal persons of the case studies. The case study interviewers were trained sociologists. They selected interviewee families by thorough discussions with residents of shanty towns, seeking families who fit the above criteria and who were readily accessible. The case studies are reported more completely in Appendix A. Considerable information on the life situations of minors in such families was obtained from the interview provided in the case studies.

For purposes of this analysis <u>minors</u> are taken to be persons of 10 to 17 years of age. Here they are subdivided into two groups, <u>children</u> from 10 to 14 and <u>adolescents</u> from 15 to 17. We use the term "<u>youths</u>" to refer to persons between 18 and 24 years of age.

-5-

The employment status of young people was specified by dividing them into five categories. These categories combine information about the sample members' participation in the Economically Active Population (EAP) with information about the job-seeking behavior of those who were not in the EAP during the week previous to the day on which they were interviewed.

(1) EAP-Working: This refers to all young persons who were actually working during the previous week;

(2) EAP-Unemployed: This refers to those who had worked previously but were looking for work during the week in question;

(3) EAP-Entry: This refers to those individuals who were seeking employment in the week in question, but who had not previously been employed;

(4) NonEAP-Previously Employed: This refers to those who, although neither having worked nor having sought work during the previous week, had been employed during the last 12 months;

(5) NonEAP: This refers to those who were neither working nor had sought work during the previous week and also had not worked during the previous 12 months.

These five categories may be combined into two, EAP (Categories 1-3) and NonEAP (4 and 5). This dichotomy will also be utilized during the analysis. In the sections which follow we shall present data regarding demographics, education and work activity, along with information about the ways young people enter into the labor market and the pay they receive for their work.

2. DEMOGRAPHY, EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

About one-third of all Brazilian young people age 10-24 held jobs of some sort during the week previous to the interview, as is shown in Table 1 ("EAP-Working"). (See Table 1). This proportion is no doubt greater among the youth and smaller among the minors. But, even so, it is important to note that about nine percent of the 10-to-14 year-old boys in Brazil's metropolitan regions were in the EAP and were working during the previous week. Among girls the proportion is quite a bit lower, four percent, but it is not to be ignored.^{\perp} Both law and custom require that children of this age be in school. Theoretically, then, none of them should be in the labor force. That is, in the table, all should be NonEAP. As we will see below, employment disrupts children's schooling, however necessary it may be for the household economy. Moreover, according to the reorganization of education carried out in the early 1970s, it is to be expected that a high percentage of those 15 to 17 years of age would also be in school. For this age group, however, the incidence of employment is large, reaching 47 percent of the young men and 23 percent of the young women. In other words, almost half of Brazil's urban adolescent boys and about one-fourth of the girls were either working or seeking work. At least one-fifth of Brazil's families were in extreme poverty when PNAD-76 was taken, so these youngsters really needed to work in order to help their families. It is thus a serious matter that about four percent of the EAP males of 18-24 years of age were unemployed. Actually this was a high rate: in 1976 only two percent of the national EAP were unemployed. Youths from 18 to 24 years of age are expected to work, and, in fact, 77 percent of the men and 37 percent of the women were gainfully employed.

It is to be noted that, although the proportions vary by age, the difference between males and females remains constant. For all three age groups, the proportion of males who work is about double that of the females.

		·		A	ge and Sex				·		
Employment Status ^a	Ch (10	ildren 14 yrs)		Ac ol	escents -17 yrs)	<u>.</u>	ү <u>(18</u>	ouths -24 yrs)		Tot	als
•	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
EAP ^b Working	9.1	4.1	6.6	43.4	21.3	32.0	77.0	37.4	56.3	43.4	21.6
EAPUnemployed (Previously Employed)	0.2	0.1	0.2	1.5	0.6	1.1	3.1	1.3	2.2	1.7	0.7
EAPEntry (Not Previously Emplo	0.6 yed)	0.1	0.3	1.5	0.6	1.1	1.1	0.7	0.9	1.5	0.5
NonEAPPreviously Employed	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	1.2	0.9	0.5	0.6
NonEAP	89.9	95.5	92.7	52.9	76.9	65.2	18.1	59.5	39.7	53.5	76.5
Totals Percent Number	100.0 16,775	100.0 16,669	100.0 33,444	100.C 8,871	100.0 9,382	100.0 18,253	100.0 17,099	100.0 18,731	100.0 35,830	100.0 42,745	100.0 44,782

Table 1. Employment Status by Age and Sex; Young People in Brazil's Urban Areas, 1976 (percent)

Scurce: 1976 PHAD; original tabulations. ^aSee p. 5 for definitions. ^bIn the "Economically Active Population."

In other words, in Brazil, the priority assigned to males regarding paid work is as great among children as it is among youth.

Actually the sex differences in employment are probably greater than they appear to be. Most of the remunerative jobs for women are in Sao Paulo. Indeed, as employment is presently counted, 80 percent of the employed women of Brazil live there. Doubtless, then a large share of the nearly 40 percent of the young women (18-24) who were working (Table 1) were in Sao Paulo. By the same token, in other cities the percentages of young women who were working must have been considerably smaller than 40 percent. Before 18, Brazilian females tend to be involved either in domestic activities or in school. Those over 24 are also mostly in the home. From the case studies it was learned that girls of nine or ten often assumed the full responsibility of managing the home when the mother was sick or was working away from the home. It is common in Brazil to see little girls taking care of their younger brothers and sisters while the mother, perhaps a washer woman, tries to earn a little money for her family.

One of the most immediate effects of early employment is on the young person's schooling. The educational levels of the employed and the unemployed differ sharply. Among the employed children (10-14), about 18 percent had not attended school at all, and only 54 percent had completed from one to four years of schooling. (See Table 2). Less than 28 percent of these childworkers went beyond the old primary school level, which ended with the completion of the fourth year of schooling.

The educational level of employed adolescents (15-17) is higher: 40 percent had had from one to four years of schooling, and only seven percent

-8-

Employment	Age	Scl	nooling in	i Years Co	ompleted		Tota	.1s
	· ·	0	14	5-8	9-11	12+	Percent	Number
EAP-Working (During previous	Children (10-14)	17.9	54.4	27.3	0.4	0.0	100.0	2,209
week)	Adolescents (15-17)	. 7.4	39.9	41.2	11.5	0.1	100.0	5,843
	Youths (18-24)	5.6	32.0	32.0	22.3	8.2	100.0	20,119
• • •	Totals	6.9	35.4	33.5	18.4	5.8	100.0	28,171
NonEAP (Not in	Children (10-14)	5.5	56.6	37.4	0.6	0.0	100.0	31,005
force)	Adolescents (15-17)	4.0	24.6	49.3	22.0	0.2	100.0	11,890
	Youths (18-24)	7.5	28.8	30 . 4	23.8	9.4	100.0	14,190
	Totals	5.7	43.0	38.1	10.8	2.4	100.0	57,085

fable 2.	Employment,	Schooling	and Age;	Young	People	in	Brazil's
	Urban Areas	, 1976 (pe	rcent).				

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations.

had had no instruction whatsoever. The same general pattern holds for employed youths (18-24). About 32 percent had attended one to four years, and the same percentage had attended from five to eight years. The greatest conflict between studying and work apparently occurs among the adolescents, as may be seen among those who obtained more than four years of education.

As a matter of fact, when the reasons that youngsters leave school are analyzed it is clear that work and the need to repeat grades because of work-related absences are the main determinants. Besides this, such children lose the benefit of the schools' free lunches, which is a matter of considerable importance to those in this stratum.

The case studies show that whenever the family feels economic pressure, parents put their children out to seek work in the first job that comes up, usually as street peddlers or doing odd-jobs, or less often, in commerce or services, mostly as messenger boys. For example, in one favela (shanty town) in Recife we found a family whose 14-year-old son was selling peanuts on the street corner. He and his 29-year-old brother were the only ones in the family who had any job at all. The boy had left school at the age of 12 to take this job, dropping out during the first grade. Besides economic problems, the family was headed by a blind and sick stevedore and a mother who was unable to assume the leadership of the family. Unable to combine school with work, the boy abandoned his studies. His work-day begins at 10:00 a.m. and ends at 11:00 p.m. Early in 1983, he enrolled in MOBRAL,² studying in the morning. This arrangement lasted until a week before the interview (in April) when he changed to a night program so as to keep his job. Actually, a younger brother took his place at the peanut stand for a few hours in the evening while he attended classes with MOBRAL.

-10-

It is commonplace for a student to shift or interrupt his class schedule 'to fit the requirements of the job. Such changes are often the first step in abandoning school altogether. The cases in which this story is repeated are innumerable. Time consuming journeys between home, job, and school, coupled with long working hours and a meager diet make it easy to fall behind in one's studies and then to drop out of school.

The data suggest, however, that some of youngsters are able to cope fairly well with the conflict between work and school. To be sure, early employment is the greatest obstacle to one's education, but some youngsters begin their studies after taking a job, and in some cases they are able to reconcile the two. Others are able to delay employment until they have completed several years of school. Among adolescents and youth, the net result of these two processes is to raise the level of schooling to a higher point than would have been obtained if school and work were utherly incompatible.

Thus even though young people are put out to work to add to the family's income, it should not be concluded that poor parents are simply trying to exploit their children. When hunger is never far away, a family needs all the help it can get. Despite the foregoing, poor families also try to keep their children in school. For one thing, they really believe that the more schooling a child can obtain, the better are his chances in life. But there are other powerful and more immediate reasons why impoverished parents in urban Brazil want their children to stay in school as long as they can. The poorest of the poor live in <u>favelas</u>. Favelas are shantytowns, places where shacks with one or two rooms have been built by the poor themselves, usually

-11-

on unused public lands, or perhaps, as in Recife, on stilts over tidal basins. The shacks are packed closely together, and because several people may live in each one. So a favela may have quite a dense population. Water supplies are often outside the favelas, and there are usually no sewage facilities, though electricity and even television sets are not uncommon. So it is no surprise that our interviews show favelas are both physically and morally poor places in which to raise children. Lots of people are crowded into a small area for years on end. All are poor. Many are idle. Favelas thus turn out to be fairly violent places in which to rear children. While a child is at school he is out of the favela. Not only does he get a school lunch to eat, and perhaps even some medical attention, but for the time he is in school he is away from the bad company, the robbery, the violence, the depravity, parents believe to be a part of favela life. Some favelado parents go to great lengths to get a child out of the favela, overloading him with both work and school. As seen by our respondents, favelas are certainly not happy places in which to rear children. (For a less pessinistic view of favela life see Pearlman, 1976).

Sooner or later employment takes over the highest priority in the young person's life. When this happens, it is almost certain that he will either abandon school altogether or, at most, attend intermittently. One of the case studies in Sao Paulo concerned a 16-year-old housemaid who was forced to quit school because her employer would not let her off at night to study. The next year she returned to school, A year later she took a job with another employer. This one let her attend night school. Such interruptions of schooling are quite common among youngsters who work in the informal sector because working hours are usually not fixed, the young worker often being on call practically all the time.

-12-

This is also the case among those who have recently migrated from the countryside. Back on the <u>fazenda</u>, ³ quite a few children study when the farm work-load is light. But when they are needed, they must drop their schooling and even their rest periods. Often they return to their studies when they migrate to the cities.⁴

But life is often hard in the cities. We encountered cases in which boys of 15 years of age worked in supermarkets as "bag boys"--sacking the customers' groceries--from eight in the morning until eight at night, who then tried to take classes from 7:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. How do they manage such a schedule? In some cases we noticed that younger brothers substituted for them between five and eight at night so that the older ones could go home, eat, and go off to school. This is one way that youngsters manage to work and go to school as well.

In general, there can be no doubt that among children and adolescents, employment depresses schooling. As Table 2 (to which we now return) shows, 17.9 percent of the children (10-14) who were working "last week" had not entered school, while all but 5.5 percent of those who had neither worked nor sought work (NonEAP) had attended school. Again, among adolescents (15-17) who were employed "last week", only 11.6 percent (11.5 + 0.1) had attended school for nine or more years, while among those who had never been in the labor market 22.2 percent (22.0 + 0.2) had attended school for at least nine years.

Yet among youths (18-24) the differences are not nearly so pronounced. Of youths who worked "last week", 30.5 percent (22.3 + 8.2) had at least entered the third level (high school), while 33.2 percent (23.8 + 9.4) of the youths who had never sought work had entered the third level.

So as the years pass, it appears that many young people and their families are able to balance work and schooling. No doubt the opportunities

-13-

offered to older youth by the national adult educational system, MOBRAL, contribute to a higher level of education than would otherwise be possible. But it also suggests the operation of the processes mentioned above, especially that interrupting one's schooling to take a job, then reentering later on when work and school can be combined. This topic is of special interest in this research because it reflects the dynamics of the family. Young people are put out to work at critical moments, later returning to school when the opportunity permits. Such dynamics are more evident in the depth interview performed for this project. Take, for example, a certain family in Recife. The family is headed by a widow. All of her children are in school except one who is in the army. One, a young man of 23 years of age, is now attending the fifth series of the first level (equivalent to the fifth grade in the United States). Earlier, he had quit school in the midst of the fifth series. At 15 he took his first job. He began as a mason's helper, but found it impossible to work and study at the same time. About a year ago he took a new job in a bakery. This allowed him to take an intensive adult refresher course covering the first four years of school. At the time of the interview, he was enrolled in a regular program, and was planning to finish the full eight years comprising the first level--about the equivalent of grade school in the United States.

Up to now we have examined the characteristics of minors and youth who work. That is the central objective of this research. But, what of those who don't work? Do they go to school?

Table 3 indicates that this is truer for minors than for youths. In fact, of the children between 10 and 14 years of age, who have never sought work, 94 percent were attending school. But even five percent who work at household chores are a matter of some concern.

-14-

Activity		Children (10-14 yrs	.)	Age	and Sex Adolescent (15-17 yrs	5		Youths (18-24 yr:	3)		Totals		
	Males	Females	Totals	Ma_es	Females	Totals	Males	Females	Totals	Males	- Females	Tctals	
Household Affairs	0.5	9.0	4.9	0.7	24.3	15.4	0.3	68.7	55.6	0.5	31.9	19.8	•
Attending School	98.5	90.5	94.3	97.0	74.9	83.2	90.9	30.1	41.7	97.3	67.3	78.8	
Ill, other	1.0	0.5	0.7	2.3	0.8	1.4	8.7	1.2	2.7	2.1	0.7	1.3	-15-
Totals Percent Number	100.0 14,024	100.0 15,409	100.0 29,433	100.0 4,239	100.0 7,104	L00.0 1.,289	100.0 2,624	100.0 11,048	100.0 13,672	100.0	100.0 29,979	100.0 50,866	

Table 3. Current Activities of Brazilian Young People Who Have Never Sought Work (NonEAP); a by Age and Sex, Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent).

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations. ^aSee p. 5 for a more explicit definition.

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But, as we have said, attendance in school diminishes with age, just as the performance of domestic activities increases with age. It amounts to 15 percent among those of 15 to 17 years of age and 56 percent among the youths of 18 to 24 years of age (Table 3). Practically all of these are girls or young women, of course. Indeed a quarter (24.3 percent) of the unemployed girls and two-thirds (68.7 percent) of the young women were involved in household chores. But do these numbers merely reflect the way family duties are distributed? Or do they reflect a form of hidden unemployment? And why are they not in school? Have they been left to tend the home while the other members of the family work or study?

There is one more phenomenon to be commented on in Table 3. It is common knowledge that the activities of older people are slowed by illness. But why would the activities of 8.7 percent of the males between 18 and 24 years of age who had never looked for a job be reported as if they were ill or infirm? The other age-sex groups show no such percentages. Is illness really so heavy a burden among these young men? Are young women healthier, or are their illnesses masked in these data by reports that they are working "at home"? Are the responsibilities faced by young men so awesome that many simply give up trying? Unfortunately the data are not up to providing answers. But this is a matter that policy researchers should look into.

3. THE WORK OF MINORS AND YOUTHS

The sectors of activities in which young people are employed vary quite a bit by age and, as a consequence, by level of occupational preparation. As Table 4 shows, about 30 percent of the children (10-14 years of age) work the service sector. Their tasks must be simple--running errands, shining shoes, watching parked cars, cleaning, etc.--although the data do not speak to this point. Twenty-five percent help in truck farms and other agricultural

-16-

Table 4.	Sector of Economic Activity by Age, Brazilian,
	Young People Working or Looking for Work or Who
	Had Been Employed During the Previous Year; Urban
	Areas Only, 1976 (percent). ^a

		Age							
Economic Sector	Children (10-14 yrs)	Adolescents (15-17 yrs)	Youths (18-24 yrs)	Totals Percent					
Agriculture	25.3	13.0	7.0	9.6					
Manufacturing	16.9	25.3	23.8	23.8					
Construction	3.9	7.9	9.1	8.5					
Commerce	18.0	19.0	16.0	16.8					
Personal Services	29.5	21.5	14.2	17.0					
Other Services	5.6	10.2	24.6	19.8					
Other Activities	0.8	3.1	5.3	4.5					
Totals Percent Number	100.0 2,314	100.0 6,155	100.0 21,292	100.0 29,761					

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations. ^aThis table includes EAP-Working, EAP-Unemployed, and NonEAP-Previously Employed. See p. 5 for more explicit definitions.

activities in the areas surrounding the city--many of them as <u>boias-frias</u> (see Note 3). Eighteen percent work in commerce, presumably as clerks, delivery boys, messengers, and the like. Seventeen percent work in manufacturing firms, no doubt in equally simple jobs.

The agricultural employment rate of urban children (over 25 percent) is especially noteworthy. A previous research report (Pastore <u>et al.</u>, 1983) called attention to a group of extremely poor families living on the outskirts of the cities who worked as day laborers (<u>boias-frias</u>) on the surrounding fazendas. It seems quite likely that such children come from these families.

Adolescents (15-17 years of age) tend to be a bit better educated and to have at least a little work experience. So it is not surprising that they tend to be found in more responsible lines of work. About 25 percent of them work in manufacturing, no doubt as assistants to more highly skilled workers such as mechanics, electricians, etc. More than 21 percent work in the service sector. Nineteen percent were in commerce. About 13 percent were in the agricultural activities mentioned above. A comparison with the figures for children suggests that as young farm workers grow older, they tend to move out of farming.

This impression is reinforced by the data on youths (18-24 years of age), among whom agricultural work falls to seven percent. More than half of the youths work in the tertiary sector--about 39 percent in services and 16 percent in commerce. Approximately one-fourth work in manufacturing.

This transference into the tertiary sector, however, should not be interpreted as moving into skilled occupations. Although youths have the highest educational level of the three age groups studied here, the incidence of unskilled work is still much greater among youths than among adults in Brazil. The case studies we conducted showed many instances in which young

-18-

Brazilians performed simple and intermittent tasks, the majority without any sort of job security. These observations are backed by statistical evidence. For example, 74 percent of the children of 10 to 14 years of age declared that they worked as <u>empregados</u> (servants and/or employees). However, less than 20 percent of them have a work-card⁵ signed by their employer and only 14 percent are covered by social, health and retirement laws. Less than 22 percent receive the "13th month" wage.⁶ (These data are presented in various places in Tables 5, 6, 7 and 8). The job situation of the great majority of these young workers is extremely precarious. Although a child may consider himself employed, often he is merely assisting an adult selling peanuts, popcorn, or lollipops at the entrance to a favela or at a bus stop.

Actually, not one of the employed children (10-14) in our case studies had a signed work card, and among all of the employed young people in the case-study families, only one-third had such cards. The young workers in these families we interviewed in 1983--like those appearing in the statistics of the 1976 PNAD survey-were often employed in businesses or as informal apprentices, without legal contracts. Since their families depended upon them, their insecure work situations led to problems within their families. For example, in Sao Paulo we encountered a family, headed by a sick woman who was a dependent of a married daughter. The daughter worked only to support her mother. The mother had other, younger children, all but one of whom worked without any security whatsoever--some as shoeshine boys or as street venders' helpers, etc. A 17-year-old son had just taken a job that gave him a signed work card--this after having done odd jobs for several years and even having been arrested for robbery.

-19-

		Age		
Occupational Class	Children (10-14 yrs)	Adolescents (15-17 yrs)	Youths (18-24 yrs)	Totals Percent
Employees	73.9	88.0	89.0	87.6
Self-employed	8.1	4.9	7.4	6.9
Partner (usually sharecropper)	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.6
Employer	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.4
Unpaid Family Worker	17.6	6.4	2.4	4.4
Unpaid Institutional Worker	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Totals		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	<u></u>	······
Percent Number	100.0 2,314	100.0 6,154	100.0 21,289	100.0 29,757

Table 5.' Occupational Class by Age, Young Brazilians Working or Looking for Work or Who Had Been Employed During the Previous Year; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent).^a

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations.

^aThis table includes EAP-Working, EAP-Unemployed, and NonEAP-Previously Enployed. See p. 5 for a more explicit definition.

Contributions to Social Security	Children (10~14 yrs)	Adolescents (15-17 yrs)	Youths (18-24 yrs)	Totals Percent
Contributing	13.6	41.4	68.6	58.7
Not Contributing	86.3	58.6	31.4	41.3
Totals				
Percent Number	100.0 2,313	100.0 6,151	100.0 21,282	100.0 29,746

Table 6. Contributions to Social Security by Age, Young Brazilians Working or Looking for Work, or Who Had Been Employed During the Previous Year; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent).^a

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations.

^aThis table includes EAP-Working, EAP-Unemployed, NonEAP-Previously Employed. See p. 5 for a more explicit definition.

		Age		
Labor Market ^b	Children (10-14 yrs)	Adolescents (15-17 yrs)	Youths (18-24 yrs)	Totals Percent
Formal	······································			
(has signed work card)	18.7	47.4	72.5	63.8
Informal				
(does not have signed work card)	81.3	52.6	27.5	36.2
Totals				
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	1,624	9,123	17,919	24,666
			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	<u>,3</u>
			:	

Table 7.	Participation in Formal and Informal Labor Markets by Age, Yo	ung
	Brazilian Employees; ^a Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent).	

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations. ^aFrom the first row of Table 5.

^bA signed work card (<u>carteira</u>) indicates that the employee is entitled by law to a set of specific benefits. See Note 5.

		Age				
Number of Monthly Minimum Wages per Year	Children (10-14 yrs)	Adolescents (15-17 yrs)	Youths (18-24 yrs)	Tot Percent	Totals Percent Number	
12 or less	78.7	50.9	30.2	37.7	9,808	
13	21.2	48.9	68.5	61.3	15,958	
14	0.1	0.2	0.7	0.6	147	
15 or more	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.4	107	
Totals Percent Number	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	26,020	

Table 8. Number of Minimum Wages^a Received Per Year by Age, Young Brazilian Employees;^b Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent).

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations.

^aThe minimum wage established once a year in accord with the value of the cruzeiro in each region. Because of pronounced regional differences and because of inflation, the exact cruzeiro value differs greatly from year to year and place to place. See Note 6. ^bFrom the first row of Table 5.

The work situation of adolescents and youths is substantially better than that of the other two age levels. Among adolescent workers (15-17) the proportion who are employees rises to 88 percent (Table 5). However, more important than that, those who have a signed work card amount to 47 percent (Table 7), those who are covered by social security to 41 percent (Table 6), and those receiving the 13th month wage to 49 percent (Table 8). Among the youths (18-24) the proportion of employed remains the same--yet the formalization of their job relations, as indicated by their having signed work cards, goes up to 73 percent (Table 7), their social security coverage to 69 percent (Table 6), and the percentage receiving the 13th month wage rises to 69 percent (Table 8).

Among young workers, there is a pronounced relationship between age and participation in the formal sector, as compared to the informal. Specifically, while over four-fifths of the employees who were children (10-14) worked at jobs in the informal sector, the fraction is almost exactly the reverse among youths (18-24). Nearly three-quarters of the youths were in the formal sector (Table 7). But even among the latter quite a sizable percentage remained outside the system of health and social security benefits (Table 6). Of course, participation in the formal sector is not only related to age but also to general education and skill. Field research identified a few cases in which a course in one of the national job-training schools helped a young worker compete in the labor market on terms quite a bit better than those of his parents. For example, in Salvador, while doing the 1983 case studies, one of us spoke with a family that found itself in a situation that was quite promising, despite living in a poor neighborhood. Several of the

-24-

youngsters had been trained in technical secondary schools. One had completed a course in draftsmanship and was waiting to be called to take a drafting job in a local construction firm.

Table 5 demands two additional comments. The first refers to self-employment and the second to employment without pay.

The highest rate of self-employment (eight percent) is found among children (10-14). Among the adolescents (15-17) this falls to five percent. Among the youths (18-24) it rises to seven percent. This fluctuation is mostly due to the heterogeneity of the category "self-employed". For children 10 to 14 years of age it mostly includes tasks that require little skill--selling small objects on the street, carrying fruits or vegetables from one stall to another or from the market to the buyer's home. For youths it includes work requiring more sophistication, such as that of a salesman in a store or an independent vendor.

Almost 18 percent of the child-workers (10-14) serve without pay. This rate drops off sharply to seven and two percent in the other two age groups (Table 5). Clearly, young workers are usually poorly paid. The younger the worker, the poorer the pay. The implications are quite complex. By the standards of more developed nations, many Brazilian children are exploited. But the child and his family might not think of it this way at all. To them, the survival of the family and each of its members is the overriding concern. If a child must work now without pay so as to prepare himself for a paid job when he is older, the price may seem worth it. Perhaps the child is working in a family business, benefiting the group and himself as well. Or maybe the family has turned the child over to more fortunate people to work as an unpaid

-25-

servant. In such cases there would be fewer mouths to feed at home and the child would get food and a bed. In effect, the first years of work are a time when one learns how to follow directions, how to take care of property and equipment, how to serve customers, etc. Though child-workers are poorly paid if at all, they are learning skills that will probably yield greater rewards for themselves and their families as time passes. Here we see some of the consequences of a strategy which is sometimes used by heads of families, specifically those who have a job working for someone else and who also operate a small business, such as a fruit stand or a little bar. In such cases, the wife and children often do much of the actual work in the store. Or perhaps a man is a door-keeper in an office or apartment building and one his children takes care of the family's stall at a vegetable market during the day. In other cases a woman who heads a family and who also earns money, perhaps as a laundress or maybe as a prostitute, may put her children out to learn a trade, say, in a family shop where handicrafts are made. Often neither the child or the mother will receive any money for the child's work. But meager as it is, these still may be a pay-off for them, perhaps in food, experience, or protection for the child. Finally, it is common practice for heads of families who are tradesmen, such as painters or masons, to be helped by their inexperienced children, who thus learn the trade.

4. PAY

The question of pay is central to the study of young workers. Obviously, their families usually expect them to contribute to the domestic budget; and the young worker may wholehearted agree. True, the interruption of school is often seen as a cost, work as a benefit. But is it really? To what degree do young workers, in fact, contribute to the family budget? Above all, how much do they earn?

-26-

As Table 5 shows, most young workers were indeed paid. The amounts, though small by standards of the developed countries, were often large enough to be quite helpful to poor Brazilian families. For example, it would appear that over half of these young Brazilian workers earned more than the minimum wage (54.5 percent: Tables 8 and 5--[15,958 + 147 + 107] \div 29,757 = 54.5 percent).

Yet in reality the rate of nonremuneration is far greater than Table 5 suggests. In fact, the data of Table 9 indicate that 33 percent of the children (10-14) who are employees work without earning anything. This percentage decreases to about 16 percent and 13 percent for adolescents and youths, but even these are substantial proportions. But let us be more specific. The question is how many are truly at work in what are generally seen as real jobs but who do so without earning money. An estimate of the percentage of unpaid workers in each age-group can be calculated by combining data from several tables. From Table 1, we can calculate the percent of those who were unpaid because they were looking for work. This eliminates those who were in the labor force but were unpaid because they did not have jobs. This percentage is fairly constant across age-groups: 7.2 percent of the children (10-14), 6.5 percent of the adolescents (15-17), and 5.2 percent of the youths (18-24). These people were evidently unpaid because they were out of work at the time. If we subtract these percentages from the age-specific total percentages of those who were in the labor force but drew no pay, we can arrive at the percentages who were reportedly on the job but who were not receiving any monetary reward at all for their efforts. In doing so, a small amount of error is introduced due to rounding and to missing data.

•	······································	Age		
Monthly Income	Children (10-14 yrs)	Adolescents (15-17 yrs)	Youths (18-24 yrs)	Totals Percent
None	33.0	16.2	13.2	15.3
One MW or Less	60.3	56.7	27.3	35.9
More than One MW Up to Three	6.5	26.3	47.7	40.1
More than Three MWs Up to Five	0.2	0.5	8.2	6.0
Five or More MWs	0.0	0.3	3.6	2.7
Totals	100 0	100 0	100.0	100 0
Number	2,302	6,138	21,245	29,685

Table 9. Income in Minimum Wages^a From One's Principal Job by Age, Young Brazilian Employees;^b Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent).

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations. ^aSee Note 6.

^bFrom the first row of Table 5.

Nevertheless the results must be very close to the true figures: 43.2 percent of children (10-14), 16.2 percent of the adolescents (15-17), and 10.4 percent of the youths (18-24). So unpaid labor is a fact of life among many young Brazilian workers all ages and the younger the worker the less likely he or she is to be paid.

Yet this does not tell the whole story. Earnings are also low among those who are paid. Among the employed children, only seven percent earn more than one minimum wage. About 60 percent earn up to one minimum wage (Table 9). Though these earnings are meager, they are not pointless. When families send their children out to work, their earnings must be important, just as the work of those who are unpaid is. Family survival often depends upon their efforts. In our case studies we ran across families who lived off the earnings of a child who shined shoes, or who washed cars, or who carried loads (say, on a two-wheeled cart) from one part of the city to another.

The earnings of adolescents and youths are much higher. ¹About 27 percent of the adolescents from 15 to 17 years of age and 60 percent of the youths from 18 to 24 years of age earn more than one minimum wage (Table 9).

But of course there is also the unpaid work of the child who takes care of the other children. This may make it easier for mothers and other adults to work away from home. Such cases were often found in our field work. Several instances were noted in which a girl would take care of the younger children for several surrounding families so that the mothers could go off to work. Families lacking a nine- or ten-year-old girl to take care of the younger ones would often arrange for a neighbor girl to do so, providing her with food in exchange for her help. Assistance given by one family to another

-29-

is important for the survival of the family. Such exchanges may be quite independent of ties of blood and marriage. It is our impression that almost all poor families are enmeshed in similar networks of mutual support.

5. MOBILITY IN WORK

The age differences in work and earnings which we have analyzed up to this point are partly a consequence of a wider pattern of social mobility. This pattern is well known in more highly developed societies (e.g. Blau and Duncan, 1967; Featherman and Hauser, 1978; Sewell, Haller, and Portes, 1969; and Sewell, Haller, and Ohlendorf, 1970), but was only recently shown to exist in Brazil as well (Pastore, 1982). Present data do not permit a definitive statement about upward mobility among young workers. But given the fact that Pastore has already shown the existence of considerable upward mobility in the nation, the present data set help to understand how mobility and status attainment operate among young Brazilian workers.

Table 10 presents information on current and previous jobs. Two types of comparisons can be made--between children, adolescents, and youths, and between the current and previous job categories of each age group.

Not surprisingly, the data suggest that these much more occupational mobility between age groups than between the previous and present jobs within age groups. In part this probably indicates small degrees of short-term mobility accumulate into large degrees of mobility with the passage of time. But some of the <u>apparent</u> upward mobility is probably due to the fact that the better educated enter the labor force later and take over the better jobs. In any case, in practically all categories of jobs within all three age groups there are only the most negligible of differences between the distributions of

-30-
	<u>.</u>	Age							
Occupation	Children (10-14)		Adcles	Adclescents		Youths (18-24)		Totals Percent	
	Current	Previous	Current	Previous	Current	Previous	Current	Previous	
Technicians, Scientists and Administrators	3.3	4.1	13.3	12.8	30.9	29.4	25.1	24.3	
Agriculture	26.0	20.4	13.1	12.7	6.8	10.2	9.6	11.4	
Manufacturing and Construction	19.3	20.2	28.6	27.2	26.3	22.6	26.2	23.4	
Commerce	17.4	14.5	16.0	15.9	10.8	12.2	12.4	13.1	
Personal Services	21.2	26.7	13.1	14.7	6.8	7.9	9.4	10.6	
Other Services	1.5	2.0	1.6	1.5	7.4	5.9	5.8	4.7	
Other or Not Reported	11.3	12.1	14.3	15.2	10.9	11.7	11.7	12.5	
Totals Percent Number	100.0 2,314	100.0 1,709	100.0 6,155	100.0 5,414	100.0 21,242	100.0 18,951	100.0 29,711	100.0 26,074	

 $^{-31}_{-31}$

Table 10. Current^a and Previous^b O cupations by Age, Young Brazilian Workers; Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent).

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations. ^aIncludes EAP-Working, EAP-Unemployed, and NonEAP-Previously Employed. See p. 5 for more explicit definitions. ^bEmployees only, from the first row of Table 5.

- 40-- 13

current and previous jobs. The only exception is found among children, and even that is minor. Among the latter there are two noticeable instances of net mobility -- a gain in agricultural employment of about six percent and a loss in services of about the same magnitude. Actually, young Brazilian workers, like rural Brazilians of all ages (Haller and Saraiva, 1972), change jobs quite often, and (as well shall see in a moment) the younger the worker, the more frequent the changes. Since these sample members are urban people, most of the jobs in farming will be at locations farther from home than most of the small-scale service jobs held by children. We surmise that the farm jobs are mostly temporary--the boias frias we referred to earlier (see Note 3). A net gain for farming and net loss for services, then, probably occurs because among those ten to 14, the older children would be more likely than the younger ones to take temporary jobs a long way from home. This finding may tell more about family solidarity than about work. True, in the struggle for survival families put their children out to work, so some hight think that they and the employers could be charged with exploiting children. But even when they send them off to the job they try to keep the younger ones within the more protective environs close to home. So it look as though when parents put young children out to work they see it as an unhappy solution to an ever worse situation.

In comparing the current occupations of the three age groups, we find three clear trends. The first is a sharp increase in the level of job responsibility from childhood to youth. The second is a decrease in farm employment. The third is the drop in work in the tertiary sector (commerce and services) with age. Data for the first one is found in the row of Table

-32-

10 called "Technicians, Scientists, and Administrators". While this is doubtless to some extent a misnomer, it is probably true that the category contains a higher percentage of jobs in which technical and/or personnel expertise is required than do any of the other categories. In any case, almost no child-workers are classed in this category, while 13 percent of the adolescents and nearly one-third of the youths are so classed. No doubt part of this apparent mobility is really due to the later job-entry of the better educated youths. But part of it may be due to upward intra-generational mobility. Regarding the second, about one-fourth (26 percent) of the children, but only 13 and 10 percent, respectively, of the adolescents and youths were employed in agriculture. Most of this is probably true mobility, a movement out of temporary, low-skill farm jobs, and into more demanding, but more secure urban work. Regarding the third, there is a 10 percent drop, 40 to 30 percent, in employment in the tertiary sector (services and commerce) between the child-workers and the adolescents, and a four percent drop (30 to 26) from the adolescents to the youths. This, too, is probably due both to movement out of simple service or selling jobs into more demanding work and to the entry of older, better educated job-seekers directly into the better jobs.

Another observation concerns changes in the percentages in manufacturing (including handicraft industries). Among child-workers it is 19 percent, among adolescents 29, and among youths 23. This, too, is surely a consequence of the same basic processes: more adolescents than children are prepared to carry out the tasks we lable "manufacturing", yet more youths than adolescents are equipped to carry out those of the even more demanding jobs here called "Technical, Scientific and Administrative".

-33-

The overall pattern of age-related changes in the occupational structure of young urban workers consists of large shifts <u>away</u> from employment in farming and in the commerce/personal service sector and <u>into</u> more responsible, better paying jobs in the sectors labled "technical, scientific and administrative" and "manufacturing and construction".

Table 11 presents data regarding work experience prior to the current job. As the table shows, 55 percent of all young workers had had at least one previous job. Of course, the older the person the less likely it was that his current job was his first. Yet 28 percent of the child-workers (10-14) had had at least one job earlier, while for 38 percent of the youths the current job was the first one. These data confirm earlier observations to the effect that 1) child-workers do shift jobs and 2) many youthful workers had entered the labor force at a later age than the child-workers did.

The number of years in the present job also increases with age. As Table 12 shows, nearly two-thirds (64.0 percent) of the children (10-14) had been employed in their present jobs less than one year. The fraction drops to about half (52.1 percent) among adolescents (15-17) and to two-fifths (39.1 percent) among youths (18-24). On the other hand, eight percent (6.2 + 1.8) of the children, but 15 percent (12.0 + 3.0) of the adolescents and about 31 percent (21.4 + 9.4) had been on present job for two years or more. Another way of viewing this shows that a third of the children, half of the adolescents, and three-fifths of the youths had worked at the same job for at least a year. This indicates, we think, a rather remarkable degree of job stability considering that they are all quite young.

Seenin still another way, Table 12 shows that about two percent of the children had been working at their present jobs for more than five years. Obviously these children had been at work before they were ten, for the oldest

-34-

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Previous Work Experience	Children (10-14 yrs)	Adolescents (15-17 yrs)	Youths (18-24 yrs)	Totals Percent
None (this job only)	71.8	58.0	38.3	44.6
Had at Least One Previous Job	28.2	42.0	61.7	55.4
Totals Percent Number	100.0 1,709	100.0 5,413	100.0 18,944	100.0 26,066

Table 11	. Previo	ous Work	Experier	ice by	Age of	Young	Brazilian	Workers; ^a	1
•	Urban	Areas On	ly, 1976	(perc	ent).				

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations. ^aIncludes EAP-Working, EAP-Unemployed, and NonEAP-Previously Employed. See p. 5 or more explicit definitions.

• •				
Years in Current Job	Children (10-14 yrs)	Adolescents (15-17 yrs)	Youths (18-24 yrs)	Totals Percent
Less Than One	64.0	52.1	39.1	43.4
One to Less Than Two	28.0	32.9	30.1	30.5
Two to Less Than Five	6.2	12.0	21.4	18.5
Five or More	1.8	3.0	9.4	7.6
Totals				
Percent Number	100.0 1,699	100.0 5,396	100.0 18,883	100.0 25,978

Table 12. Years in Current Job by Age, Young Brazilian Workers;^a Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent).

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations. \mathbf{x} aIncludes EAP-Working, EAP-Unemployed, and NonEAP-Previously Employed. See p.5 for more explicit definitions.

in this age group were only 14. If we assume that the average age of this group was 12, then another 6.2 percent of the children living in urban areas began to work before turning ten (taking into account those who have been working for two to five years). In summary, in urban Brazil eight percent or so of the child-workers began regular employment before turning ten. And among the poor this may be a conservative figure, for in our case interviews in 1983, 16 percent of the young workers had done so. This is illustrated by one of the interviews taken in Sao Paulo. The woman who headed the family had migrated there some years before. The family labor force consisted of five of her six children, ranging downward in age from 17 to eight. The woman herself was quite ill and said she was quitting her regular occupation as a prostitute. All five of her employed offspring had begun to work before the age of ten.

There is still one more facet of work mobility which we should examine--the difficulty young workers face when trying to get a job. The data of Table 13 indicates that the difficulty increases a bit with age, revealing an oddly perverse characteristic of the labor market which shows itself a bit more ready to receive minors than youths. In fact, among the children (10-14) who were looking for work at the time when interviewed in 1976 about 20 percent had been job-hungting for about a month, 27 percent from one to two months, and 40 percent for at least three months. Among the adolescents (15-17) the latter percentage increases to about 43, and among the youths (18-24) it reaches 44.

6. INTENSITY OF WORK

One of the main aims of this research is to learn to what degree the

-37-

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Time Reportedly Spent Looking For Work	Children (10-14 yrs)	Adolescents Yo (15-17 yrs) (18-	ouths -24 yrs)	Totals Percent			
One Week	3.2	3.8	4.4	4.1			
Two Weeks	3.2	6.8	6.4	6.1			
Three Weeks	7.0	9.3	7.7	8.0			
One Month	20.3	12.3	14.6	14.6			
Two Months	26.6	24.9	22.8	23.7			
Three Months or Nore	39.9	42.7	44.1	43.4			
Totals Percent Number	100.0 158	100.0 365	100.0 1,022	100.0 1,545			

Time Reportedly Spent Looking For Work by Age, Young Unemployed Brazilian Workers;^a Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent) Table 13.

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations. ^aEAP-Unemployed and EAP-Entry only. See p. 5 for more explicit definitions.

schooling of young Brazilians is affected by their work. To examine this question requires that we go beyond the evidence already provided to study in some detail the intensity of their participation in the labor market.

Let us review a bit. First, in 1976, one-third of all young urban Brazilians were employed—43 percent of the boys and 22 percent of the girls. A few more were looking for work. Seven percent of the children were working, as were 32 percent of the adolescents and 56 percent of the youths. In each age group about two-thirds of the workers were boys, the rest girls. About half of the children and adolescents who worked also attended school, as did about one-half of the youths who attended school.

For those who were in the labor force at that time, data in Table 14 present the general picture of school attendance. They show that 35.1 percent of Brazil's young urban workers were also attending school. Over half (52.2 percent) of the children and 46.6 percent of adolescents were not only in the labor force but were also going to school. A surprisingly large percentage, 29.9, of the youths (18-24) in the labor force were also in school. No doubt some were attending secondary schools or universities.

Data in Table 15 are more explicit. They show that the workload increases with age and is also higher among those who no longer go to school. In general, however, the workload is extremely high, not only for youths but also for adolescents and children. Let us examine this picture in more detail.

Actually, the legal work-week in Brazil is 48 hours. Yet if we follow a standard common in more developed countries, and assume that a 40-hour week would constitute full-time work, Table 15 shows that among child-workers (10-14) who go to school, 68.4 percent (26.4 + 30.6 + 11.4) were employed

-39-

	·				
School Attendance	Children Adolescents Youths (10-14 yrs) (15-17 yrs) (18-24 yrs)		Youths (18-24 yrs)	Totals Percent	
Attends School	52.2	46.6	29.9	35.1	<u>.</u>
Does Not Attend School	47.8	53.4	70.1	64.9	
Totals Percent Number	100.0 2,314	100.0 6,155	100.0 21,290	100.0 29,759	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

Table 14. Attendance at School by Age, Young Brazilian Workers;^a Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent).

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations.

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^aIncludes EAP-Working, EAP-unemployed, and NonEAP-Previously Employed. See p. 5 for more explicit definitions.

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Hours Worked per Week	Children (10-14)		Ado.e.	Ado escents		Youths (18-24)		tals rcent
	Attends	Does Not Attend	Attends ·	Does Not Attend	Attends	Does Not Attend	Attends	Does Not Attend
Less than 15	1.2	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.8	0.3	0.8	0.3
15 but less than 30	16.1	6.1	5.3	2.5	6.2	3.2	7.1	3.2
30 but less than 40	14.3	8.9	7.1	3.4	6.7	3.7	7.7	3.9
40 but less than 48	26.4	31.9	39.1	31.4	45.9	34.6	41.8	33.9
48 but less than 56	30.6	38.4	36.7	44.6	32.0	40.4	33.1	41.0
56 or more	11.4	14.5	11.0	17.9	8.4	17.7	9.4	17.6
Totals Percent Number	100.0 1,207	100.0 1,107	100.0 2,867	100.0 3,288	100.0 6,356	100.0 14,934	100.0 10,430	100.0 19,329

Table 15. Attendance at School by Age and Hours Worked per Week, Young Brazilian Workers;^a Urban Areas Only, 1976 (percent).

Source: 1976 PNAD; original tabulations. ^aIncludes EAP-Working, EAP-Unemployed, and NonEAP-Previously Employed. See p. 5 for more explicit definitions.

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full-time. Actually, 42 percent (30.6 + 11.4) worked 48 hours or more per week, and 11.4 percent worked 56 or more hours weekly. This means that from very early on, child-workers become accustomed to a work-day of 12 to 14 hours or even much more, counting four hours for school and at least eight hours for work, not to mention up to two hours or more for commuting. For those who are not going to school, the incidence of full-time jobs is even greater, rising to nearly 85 percent (31.9 + 38.4 + 14.5)..

For adolescent workers (15-17) who are in school, the job imposes a very heavy work day on an even greater number of individuals. Among these, about 87 percent (39.1 + 36.7 + 11.0) study and also work 40 hours a week or more. Among those who are not going to school this rises to 94 percent. These percentages are almost the same among working youths: for those who are going to school, 87 percent, for those who are not going to school, 93 percent.

In general, we have seen that among young workers of all ages, the job imposes long work days. This must severely jeopardize the education of those who go to school and must make access to schooling more difficult for those who plan to enter or to return. For those who are in school, failure and cutting classes must be common, indeed. Work or work plus schooling place an unbelievably heavy burdern on vast numbers of young urban Brazilians. And we would assume that the work load must fall more or less equally heavily on those in rural areas.

7. SUMMARY

The data from the 1976 PNAD, a national household sample survey, has revealed new aspects about the participation of young Brazilians in the urban labor market. We have learned much about who they are and what they do. Besides this, it was possible to shed some light on other aspects of their work life, such as pay, mobility, hours of work, schooling and work, etc.

Participation of minors in the labor market is relatively large, especially those who are males. In the metropolitan regions, one of every ten children between the ages of ten and 14 works, as does one of every three adolescents between 15 and 17 years of age, and eight in every ten youths from 18 to 24 years of age. The proportion of young Brazilians occupied in domestic activities is also large.

The distribution of young workers among the various activities and occupations suggests that there is a general movement towards more stable and better paying employment or jobs as the youngsters grow older. The poorest jobs go to the youngest. Child-workers earn less, they are employed in less skilled occupations, they have less formal work relations, greater turnover, less protection, etc. (Fewer of them work excessively long hours, of course. But long work weeks are also common among them.) There are families that manage to "hold back" their children, educating them for a longer period of time and then putting them out to work later on, perhaps as adolescents (15-17) or as youths (18-24). For these youngsters, work conditions tend to be better. It is clear that families often cannot wait for better opportunities to come along; theirs' is not a question of choice, but of survival. And there are many cases of minors who enter the labor market when they are less than ten.

Young Brazilian workers are subjected to long work days, the majority in each of the three age age groups working more than 40 hours per week. This is true even for those who are also in school. Of all young workers below the age of 15, only seven percent have signed work cards and the security thus

-43-

provided, and 62 percent of them work 48 hours per week or more. The work of, adolescents and youth is less sporatic, requires better qualifications, and yields better pay. The field case studies we conducted in 1983, illustrate that many of those who entered the market when a bit older took over jobs as auto mechanics, electricians, seamstress helpers, office-boys, and various jobs in manufacturing, etc. About one-third (31 percent) had signed work cards and were included in the social security system.

Despite their great efforts, the pay of young workers is extremely low, cases of no remuneration being frequent. This occurs not only among those who are members of the family but with other individuals who live in the same household.

The data also indicate that unemployment of young workers is relatively high. Unemployment--both in terms in the proportion of unemployed and in the length of unemployment--increases with age. At this point it is important to stress the fact that the data analyzed refer to the year 1976, a year in which the Brazilian economy was still expanding. In times of recession, such as the present one should expect unemployment to worsen.

FOOTNOTES

¹These proportions surely rise in rural areas. The traditional 'farm labor contract is between an employer and a male employee. It covers the work effort of all persons in the man's nuclear family who are physically able to work--that of his wife and all their children who are old enough to use a hoe.

²MOBRAL is a national adult literacy program sponsored by the Federal Government.

³A <u>fazenda</u> is a Brazilian farm. <u>Fazendas</u> vary in size but they are usually large compared to North American and Northern European towns. They are multi-family units, having a family of owners or managers as supervisors (<u>patroes</u>) and perhaps a half-dozen to a dozen-and-a-half families of workers living in small houses scattered about the property, usually widely separated from each other. In recent years many rural workers' families have lived off the <u>fazendas</u> in dormitory towns--which are sometimes not very different from urban <u>favelas</u> or shanty towns. In these cases the workers (called "<u>boias-frias</u>" or "<u>volantes</u>") offer themselves as day laborers. They work intermittantly, for example at harvest time or other busy seasons. At other times they are unemployed. Large numbers of farm-worker families, both resident and boias-frias, migrate to the cities each year.

⁴If a family wants to get ahead, the older children go off to work to support schooling for the younger ones. This is a family matter, not merely a decision of the parents. The older children themselves often prefer to put their efforts into educating the younger ones, hoping their little brothers and sisters will have better chances than they.

⁵A signed labor card (<u>carteira</u>) is an effective indicator of formal vs. informal labor market participation. Those who have signed cards have job

-45-

security and access to a series of legally specified benefits. None are available to those who lack such cards (see Pastore and Haller, 1982, pp. 115-118).

⁶In Brazil, wages are normally recorded by all parties (employees, employers, and government) in terms of the number of "minimum wages" a person earns per year. Wage payments to workers correspond to a given number of minimum wages. Because of sharp regional differences and of a fast but variable rate of inflation, the value of the minimum wage (NW) varies by region as well as over time. At present it is reset twice per year. In United States dollars the value of a MW has been varying around \$70 to \$80 in recent years. But its value oscillates quite a bit. In May of 1976, the Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro MW was \$72.80. In the same month of 1980 it was \$83.32. In April 1983 it was down to \$54.28, rising in May to \$73.17. Because of differences in prices, presumably one MW would buy the same goods in, say, Recife, as it would in Sao Paulo and Rio. In practice, some workers receive one MW per month, some two, some as much as 20 or more! Then there is the matter of the "13th month" or even 14th month payments. Large numbers of workers receive "13th month" wages, in amounts equal to the number of NWs they would receive in any one of the 12 real months. These "13th or 14th" payments are bonuses.

-46-

CHAPTER 3

Poor Families

The purpose of this part of the Report is to determine the characteristics of poor families who draw at least part of their support from their youngsters of 10-24 years of age. To do so, we employ a set of procedures worked out in a previous research project (Pastore, Zylberstajn and Pagotto, 1983). "Poor Families" are defined as those whose income was less than one-quarter of the required minimum wage per capita. Poverty is deep 'indeed at this level, warranting the use of the words "impoverished" or "destitute" as synonyms. In dollar terms it would be \$20 per month or less per person within the family, as indicated earlier. The variables used to characterize the families are: size, type, stage in the family life cycle, proportion of women among those theoretically employable, quality of labor offered by the family, index of employment, index of underemployment, economic sector and occupational class of the job of the family head, and status of the family's breadwinners. The source of data is the official 0.75 percent sample of the demographic Census of 1980. The procedures and operational definitions are given in Appendix B. Data from the case studies (Appendix A), conducted by the research team, are occasionally used to illustrate and elaborate the national statistical data.

It is important to call attention to the concept, "employability". The poor families who are the focus of this analysis are those who make use of theoretically unemployable young persons ten to 24 years of age to contribute to the family labor force. Young people are considered to be "employable" (or better: "eligible to participate in the family's labor force") if they are

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(a) over 18 but no longer in school, or (b) 15 to 17 and have completed primary school (the first four years of school) and no longer in school. All other young people from ten to 24 are considered to be "unemployable". The general idea is that all children (ten to 14) should be in school and not working, and that all adolescents and youths (15-24) who are still in school should devote themselves exclusively to their studies, as should all adolescents (15-17) who have not yet finished primary school. All the foregoing are theoretically "unemployable"; all others are "theoretically employable". Note that this is a conservative definition. All <u>children</u>, but <u>not all adolescents and</u> youths are considered to be unemployable.

The basic analytical strategy is to compare those poor families who draw upon the work efforts of their theoretically unemployable youngsters (10-24) with poor families who do not use the labor of their young unemployable members. The results of these analyses are compared where appropriate with the results of a set of case studies also conducted as a part of this project (see Appendix A). Finally, residence in rural and urban areas is controlled in the comparisons. This is because the employment structures of the two are quite different.

1. THE RURAL-URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF VARIABLES DESCRIBING POOR FAMILIES

In the Section 2, following this, we shall show the relationship between selected family variables and the families' dependence upon the earnings of unemployable young members of the family. In that Section we shall employ rural-urban residence--really, metropolitan-nonmetropolitan residence--as a control variable. In point of fact of the use of unemployables in relation to several of these variables is indeed affected by

-48-

rural-urban residence--and of course all the aspects of life that the latter variable summarizes. Because of the importance of it in the distribution of the main descriptors, the rural-urban breakdown of each of them is presented in Table 16. In the lines to follow we highlight only the main points to be noted in the table. In the following sections all percentages are based only on the total for whom data for each variable under discussion are present.

The first observation, to be seen in each segment of the table, is that the bulk of the impoverished families reside outside the metropolitan areas, about 64 percent. More specific observations follow concerning the rural-urban distribution of the descriptor variables among impoverished families.

1. Size of family bears little relation to the rural-urban distribution of impoverished families except that two-person families are more characteristic of urban (13.2 percent) than of rural families (6.4 percent).

2. Type of family is rather markedly related to rural-urban residence. Complete nuclear families are much more characteristic of the rural impoverished (75.4 percent) than the urban (57.4 percent). Female-headed families are noticeably prevalent among the urban impoverished (28.8 percent). Male-headed broken families are rather rare, totalling only 1.3 percent of all impoverished families.

3. Family life cycle stage bears little relation to rural-urban residence among the impoverished.

4. Impoverished families with equal numbers of employable males and females are most common, but such families are quite a bit more plentiful among the rural families, 68.0 percent of them as compared with 49.6 percent

-49-

Urban- Rural Residence						Tot	als	
			1	. Size			······································	
	2	3-4	5-6	7-9	<u>10+</u>	Percent	Number	
Urban <u>Rural</u> Totals	$ \begin{array}{r} 13.2 \\ \underline{6.4} \\ \overline{8.9} \end{array} $	26.1 27.9 27.2	$ \begin{array}{r} 29.4 \\ \underline{31.6} \\ \overline{30.8} \end{array} $	24.6 25.8 25.4	6.7 <u>8.3</u> 7.7	$ \begin{array}{r} 100.0 \\ \underline{100.0} \\ 100.0 \end{array} $	1,615,284 2,802,576 4,417,860	
			2	2. Type		<u> </u>		
· .	Complete Nuclear	Expanded Nuclear	Broken, Male- Headed	Broken Female Headed	, Couple	<u>s</u> Percent	Number	
Urban <u>Rural</u> Total	57.6 75.4 68.9	9.1 <u>10.3</u> 9.8	$\frac{1.1}{1.4}$	28.8 <u>8.9</u> 16.2	3.4 <u>4.0</u> <u>3.8</u>	$\frac{100.0}{100.0}$	1,615,284 2,802,576 4,417,860	
3. Stage in the Family Life Cycle ^b								
	Very Young	Young	Mic Ag	ldle ged	<u>01d</u>	Perce	nt <u>Number</u>	
Urban <u>Rural</u> Total	22.5 25.3 24.3	44.1 <u>45.5</u> 45.0	31 27 28	L.7 7.4 8.9	1.7 <u>1.8</u> 1.7	100. <u>100.</u> 100.	$\begin{array}{ccc} 0 & 693,045\\ 0 & 1,292,997\\ 0 & 1,986,042 \end{array}$	
	4.	. Sex Dia	stributio	on of "E	mployable	" ^C Members	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	Men Only	Mostly Men	Balance	Mostly d <u>Women</u>	Women Only	Percent	Number	
Urban <u>Rural</u> Total	7.3 <u>5.8</u> 6.4	3.8 <u>6.9</u> 5.8	49.6 68.0 61.3	5.4 7.2 6.5	$ \begin{array}{r} 33.9 \\ \underline{12.1} \\ 20.1 \end{array} $	$\frac{100.0}{100.0}$	1,615,284 2,802,576 4,417,860	
			5. Qua	lity of	Labor ^d			
	Very Poor	Poor	Ave	erage	Good	Percent	Number	
Urban <u>Rural</u> Total	46.6 66.1 59.0	37.9 29.9 32.8	14. 	.9 .0 .0	0.5 0.0 0.2	$ \begin{array}{r} 100.0 \\ \underline{100.0} \\ \overline{100.0} \end{array} $	1,611,459 2,798,748 4,410,207	

Table 16. Urban-Rural Variations in Selected Variables Describing Impoverished^a Brazilian Families (1980) in Percentages

(continued)

Table	16.	Urban-H	Rural	Variati	ons	in	Selecte	ed	Variab.	les
	Desci	ribing 3	Impove	erished ^a	Bra	zil	ian Far	nil	ies	
(1980), in Percentages.										
			(continu	ed)					

6. Employment Rates of "Employables" ^C								
:	Inactive	Partially Employed	Adequately Employed	Fully Employed	Percent	Number		
Urban <u>Rural</u> Total	33.1 <u>11.2</u> 19.2	37.9 <u>8.4</u> 7.8	56.7 <u>71.3</u> 66.1	3.4 9.0 7.0	$\frac{100.0}{100.0}$	1,612,083 2,799,062 4,411,145		

7. Underemployment^e of Members

	None Under Employed	One Under Employed	More than One Under Employed	Percent	Number
Urban	14.0	68.2	17.9	$ \begin{array}{r} 100.0 \\ \underline{100.0} \\ 100.0 \end{array} $	1,012,754
<u>Rural</u>	<u>10.1</u>	<u>71.5</u>	<u>18.4</u>		2,440,944
Total	11.2	70.6	<u>18.2</u>		3,453,698

8. Economic Sector of Heads

	Primary	Secondary	Civil Construction	<u>Teritary</u>	Percent	Number
Urban	32.8	10.9	14.7	41.6	100.0	1,046,717
<u>Rural</u>	93.2	2.4	1.1	3.3	100.0	2,463,639
Total	75.2	4.9	5.2	14.7	100.0	3,510,356

9. Occupational Class of Head

	Employee	Self- Employed	Share- cropper	Employer	Unpaid Worker	Percent	Number	
Urban	65.4	30.8	2.7	0.5	0.5	100.0	1,039,694	
Rural Total	$\frac{31.5}{41.6}$	$\frac{54.4}{47.4}$	$\frac{12.0}{9.3}$	$\frac{1.1}{0.9}$	$\frac{0.9}{0.8}$	$\frac{100.0}{100.0}$	2,458,292 3,497,986	

(continued)

Table	16.	Urban-	Rural	Variati	ons i	in Sele	ected	Variables
	Desci	ribing	Impov	erished ^a	Braz	zilian	Famil	ies
		(1980)	in Po	ercentage	es (d	continu	ıeđ)	

10. Source of Income ("Breadwinners")

	Only From "Unemploy- ables"	Mostly From "Unemploy- ables"	Mostly From "Employables"	Only From "Employables"	Percent	Number
Urban	30.2	3.3	6.3	60.1	100.0	1,612,083
Rural	14.4	3.1	6.1	76.4	100.0	2,799,062
Total	20.2	3.2	6.2	70.4	100.0	4,411,145

Young "Unemployables" Deployed Into the Labor Force 11.

	None	<u>One or More</u>	Percent	Number
Urban	90.5	9.5	100.0	1,615,289
Rural	80.0	20.0	100.0	2,802,571
Total	83.9	16.0	100.0	4,417,860

^aSource: 0.75 percent sample of households, Brazilian Demographic Census of 1980. Authors' tabulations. ^bAppendix B: C.3 ^cText, p. 5.

dAppendix B: C.4 eAppendix B: A.2 of the urban families. But the most interesting statistic is the concentration of female-only employables (33.9 percent) among urban families.

5. By present definitions, the quality of labor offered by impoverished families is quite poor. Basically, this means that the educational level of such families is very low---usually one or two years or less. The family labor of poorest quality is much more concentrated among rural families (66.1 percent) than among urban (46.6 percent).

6. The employment rates of impoverished rural and urban families are in Section 6 of the table. Complete unemployment is not rare (19.2 percent of all impoverished families). But it is much more heavily concentrated among urban (33.1 percent) than among rural families (11.2 percent). Correspondingly, adequate employment rates--meaning that most of the employables have jobs--are much more characteristic of the rural impoverished families (71.3 percent) than of the urban (56.7 percent). It is to be noted that most of the employable members of impoverished families are indeed employed: their poverty exists in spite of their adequate employuent rates.

7. Underemployment, in this analysis, refers to employable people who work less than the normal number of hours per week. In this sense underemployment is not especially concentrated in either rural or urban areas. But almost nine-tenths of all impoverished families (88.8 percent) in fact were experiencing underemployment.

8. It comes as no surprise that most of the rural impoverished are in agriculture (the "primary" sector--93.2 percent) or that not many of the urban impoverished are to be found in manufacturing (the "secondary" sector--10.9 percent), or civil construction (14.7 percent). The surprising findings are

-53-

that a third of the <u>urban</u> poor (32.8 percent) are also in agriculture, and that two-fifths (41.6 percent) of the urban poor are concentrated in the service sector. Together, farming and services account for 74.4 percent of the impoverished urban families. Thus the vast majority, 75.2 percent, of Brazil's impoverished families are in agriculture. Another 14.7 percent were in the service sector. Altogether, only 10.1 percent were in manufacturing or civil construction.

9. Occupational class of the head of the family is classified here into five categories: employees, self-employed persons, sharecroppers, employers and unpaid workers. Two of the categories are nearly devoid of cases, employers and unpaid workers, each with less than one percent of the total. In the remaining three, rural-urban variations are quite pronounced. Naturally, sharecroppers are most characteristically rural (12.0 percent of the heads of all rural families) though a few are urban (2.7 of those in urban areas). Indeed, a few "urban" farmers should be expected among the impoverished. Sharecropping is receding in Brazil, giving way among farm workers to wage labor, often merely seasonal, so the total numbers are small. And, the world over, poverty is the usual lot of sharecroppers. Today's farm operations are not restricted to the countryside. It is not uncommon to see planted plots filling otherwise vacant lots in Brazil's cities and to see the hat of the cultivation in in the midst of the rows. The city offers a ready market for fruits and vegetables, and a sharecropping arrangement might be seen as advantageous both to the owner and to the cultivator. But not even ten percent of Brazil's impoverished families are headed by sharecroppers. The great bulk are employees or self-employed. Among these urbanites, 65.4

-54-

percent are employees and 30.8 percent are self-employed. Among the rural families, 31.5 are employees and 54.4 percent are self-employed. Clearly, these are all small operators. The urban self-employed no doubt include large numbers of street corner hucksters, shoe-shiners, and similar jobs. The rural self-employed no doubt consist largely of small farm owner-operators, the so-called "minifundiarios". Urban employees are those with modest jobs in commerce, in personal and other services, and in manufacturing. Rural employees will include some of the foregoing, and many more who have menial farm jobs.

10. This section presents data concerning family dependence upon proceeds from the work of unemployable members of the family. Actually most draw their earnings only from employables--adults and older youths who have completed primary school and are no longer studying. Yet two-fifths of the urban (39.8 percent) and a sixth of the rural families (17.5 percent) draw upon earnings gained by unemployables. More important, 30.2 percent of these urban impoverished families and 14.4 percent of the rural depend <u>only</u> on the earnings of unemployables.

11. The last of the sections of Table 16 is perhaps the most crucial, the rural-urban distribution of impoverished families deploying unemployable youngsters into the labor force. Of the urban families, 9.5 percent do so; of the rural, 20.0 percent. The percentages may well be high in comparison to those of more well-to-do populations. But they may be lower than expected among Brazil's poor families. Whether this observation is true depends upon the size and age of family members. We shall look into this question in the next Section.

-55-

The main rural-urban differences in the distribution of Summary. variables describing impoverished Brazilian families are thus the following. Female-headed broken families tend to be characteristic of urban families. Likewise among urban families, a high proportion include only or mostly women among their employable members. Among all impoverished families, rural and urban, the quality of labor available for deployment into the work force is quite poor, but it is poorest among those in the rural areas. Unemployment rates are high for both, but highest among the urban--just about one-third of those who, by age and schooling, are here seen as employable. Similarly, underemployment is the rule among the employables of both, slightly higher (about 90 percent) among rural families. The urban impoverished are concentrated in the service sector and in farming, the rural impoverished in farming alone. By occupational class most of both are either employees or self-employed workers, the urban mostly employees, the rural mostly self-employed.

Yet when all is said and done, the percentages of both urban and rural families that deploy unemployables into the labor force is small--9.5 percent of the urban families and 20.0 percent of the rural families, though this "finding" may be an artifact of the family size and age composition.

Not surprisingly, the overall picture of Brazil's destitute families one of inadequate family resources, family fragmentation, precarious and poorly paying employment coupled with both underemployment and unemployment, and near-heroic efforts to obtain enough to keep the family going. A sizeable proportion of this effort falls upon family members who are considered to be unemployable, including children and youths.

-56-

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF POOR FAMILIES DEPLOYING UNEMPLOYABLE YOUNGSTERS INTO THE LABOR FORCE AMONG IMPOVERISHED URBAN AND RURAL FAMILIES.

This section presents the detailed comparisons of impoverished families who do and do not deploy their unemployable youngsters into the labor market. Rural-urban residence is controlled in these tables. In addition, data from the project's personal interviews are used as illustrations.

Size of Family. For Brazil as a whole, 33 percent of the poor families are large, with seven or more persons in each. As may be seen in Table 17, the percentage of large families that put unemployable youngsters out into the labor force is much larger than for smaller families. No doubt this is partly due to the fact that large families are likely to have more unemployables available to be used this way. On the other hand, the percentage using unemployable young people is much lower in small families of up to four members—ten percent in the rural areas and eleven in the urban. These numbers indicate that in poor families the mere presence of young people is a sufficient reason to put them to work. This is not a question of choice; it is a strategy for survival. The field-work case studies help to understand these processes. They provide a direct check on the measures taken by families in extreme poverty in urban areas and on how the barriers they perceived were breached.

The employment of unemployable children, adolescents and youths as a survival strategy follows the structure or composition of the family. The case studies show that boys are put out to earn money as soon as possible, at first in services in which they gain experience and a certain amount of skill. After this first period of training they try themselves out in other types of jobs, preferably where they can make more money.

-57-

Table 17.	Employment	of	"Unemployable" ^a	Young	Brazili	Lans ^b Anong
Impoverished	d Families ^C	by	Size of Family,	in Ur	ban and	Rural Areas
	(198	0), in Percentag	es.		

·	Size	of Family			
		-			
2	3-4	5-6	7-0	10-	Totalo
<u>-</u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	1 3	<u></u>	IULAIS
	Urba	n Families			· .
1.0	3.5	7.8	16.1	32.7	9.5
99.0	96.5	92.2	83.9	67.3	90.5
100.0 213,622	100.0 421,455	100.0 474,479	100.0 397,950	100.0 107,738	100.0 1,615,284
	Rura	l Families			
2.2	→ 6.9	14.2	33.8	56.8	20.0
97.8	93.1	85.8	66.2	\$ 43.2	80.0
100.0 178,458	100.0 781,933	100.0 886,641	100.0 722,205	100.0 341,077	100.0 2,802,576
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	<u>A1</u>	Families			
1.5	5.6	12.0	27.5	49.2	16.1
. 98.5	94.4	88.0	72.5	50.8	83.9
100.0 392,120	100.0 1,203,388	100.0 1,361,120	100.0 1,120,155	100.0 341,077	100.0 4,417,860
	2 1.0 99.0 100.0 213,622 2.2 97.8 100.0 178,458 1.5 98.5 100.0 392,120	Size $ \frac{2}{2} \qquad \frac{3-4}{Urba} $ 1.0 3.5 99.0 96.5 100.0 213,622 100.0 213,622 6.9 97.8 93.1 100.0 178,458 781,933 <u>All</u> 1.5 5.6 98.5 94.4 100.0 100.0 1,203,388	Size of Family2 $3-4$ $5-6$ Urban Families1.0 3.5 7.8 99.0 96.5 92.2 100.0 100.0 100.0 213,622 $421,455$ $474,479$ Rural Families2.2 6.9 14.2 97.8 93.1 85.8 100.0 100.0 100.0 178,458 100.0 100.0 1.5 5.6 12.0 98.5 94.4 88.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 $392,120$ 100.0 100.0	Size of Family2 $3-4$ $5-6$ $7-9$ Urban Families1.0 3.5 7.8 16.1 99.096.592.2 83.9 100.0100.0100.0 100.0 213,622421,455474,479 $397,950$ Rural Families2.26.914.233.897.893.1 85.8 97.893.1 85.8 66.2 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 178,458781,933 $886,641$ $722,205$ All Families1.55.6 12.0 27.5 98.594.4 88.0 72.5 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 $392,120$ $1,203,388$ $1,361,120$ $1,120,155$	Size of Family 2 $3-4$ $5-6$ $7-9$ $10+$ Urban Families 100 3.5 7.8 16.1 32.7 99.0 96.5 92.2 83.9 67.3 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 $213,622$ 6.9 14.2 33.8 56.8 97.8 93.1 85.8 66.2 43.2 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 $341,077$ All Families 1.5 5.6 12.0 27.5 49.2 98.5 94.4 88.0 72.5 50.8 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 $341,077$

1980. Authors' tabulations.
^aSee Text, p.
^bAges 10-14
^cLess than one-quarter of the minimum wage per capita within the family.

<u>Type of Family</u>. The families on whom 1980 Census data area available have been classified as to family type. <u>Complete nuclear families</u> are those composed of father, mother, and children. <u>Extended nuclear families</u> are composed of complete nuclear families plus other relatives. <u>Broken families</u> are of two types--male-headed and female-headed. A fifth type is composed only of childless couples.

Table 18 presents these data. As it turns out there is little relationship between family type and the employment of unemployable young people. But the rural-urban variable leads to insights not fully explored in the earlier discussion of Table 16. It will be recalled that almost all the rural poor families are intact. Three-quarters are nuclear families, and about a tenth are extended nuclear families. Slightly less than ten percent are female-headed broken families. Thus the poor Brazilian rural families usually have a simple, almost ideal-typical, structure-parents and children, sometimes with one or two additional relatives. Infrequently, but often enough to be noticeable, the husband is missing. The urban families are a bit complicated because more than a quarter of them are female-headed. The data are mute regarding causes and consequences of this, but we may speculate about both a bit in the hope that these thoughts may help us to understand what happens to the young people.

Regarding causes, let us ask how the phenomenon we call "broken" families could have come into being and especially how it could happen that nearly a third of the poor families would have no male head. There are at least two possibilities. One senarios concerns the loss of a young rural husband. Perhaps he died. More likely he went to a metropolis,

-59-

Table 18. Employment of "Unemployable"^a Young Brazilians^b Among Impoverished Families^c by Type of Family, In Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages.

Family Use of Unemployables						
• •		Тy	pe of Family		•	
-	Nuclear Complete	Nuclear Extended	Bro Male-Headed	<u>ken</u> Female Hea	ded Couple	Total
		Ur	ban Families			
Employed Unemployables	10.2	8.7	8.5	9.3	0.7	9.5
Did Not Employ		01 3	07 5	00.7	00.3	00 5
Unemployables	89.8	91.3	91.5	90.7	99.3	90.5
Totals: Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	930,951	146,254	18,028	465,406	54,645	1,615,284
		Ru	ral Families	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
Employed Unemployables	20.7	22.9	24.9	18.3	1.3	20.0
Did Not Employ Unemployables	19.3	77.1	75.1	81.7	98.7	80.0
Total: Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	2,113,387	288,487	38,655	248,701	113,346	2,802,576
		Ă	11 Families			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Employed Unemployables	17.5	18.2	19.7	12.4	1.1	16.1
Did Not Employ Unemployables	82.5	81.8	80.3	87.6	98.9	83.9
Total: Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	3,044,338	434,741	56,683	714,107	167,991	4,417,860

Source: 0.75 percent sample of households, Brazilian Demographic Census of 1980. Authors' tabulations.

^aSee text, p. 5.

b_{Ages} 10-24.

cless than one-quarter of a minimum wage per capita within the family.

probably in the South, to get work. Possibly he tried for a while to support his rural family, eventually losing contact with them. Or he might simply have walked off in the first place, abandoning his family. In such cases one of the solutions the young mother may follow is to take her family to a city. There she might support them by taking in washing, or by working as a maid or by taking some other job. If she is lucky she might attract a new and responsible husband. Or if worse comes to worse, she might think she can attract enough men to help her buy the minimum necessities. If this sort of migration happens often, it could help account for the low percentage of female-headed rural families together with the high percentage in the urban areas. So in this senario the young rural mother, now single, goes off to town.

Another scenario may be more frequent: the family was never broken at all. The young unmarried woman got pregnant and it became awkward, or even impossible, for her to continue living in her parents's lodging. So whether she was from the country or the city, she sought a chance to set up her own place. Almost surely without the money to do anything else, this means finding housing in an urban favela (shanty town) or maybe an older slum. Obviously, a baby or two presents an enormous problem to an uneducated, unskilled young mother who has neither father nor brothers to help provide for her. And the young men she meets are not likely to be interested in marrying her. Marriage would bring overwhelming economic responsibilities to young men as uneducated, unskilled and impoverished as she. They know it and so does she. But she needs men anyway, because they are freer to earn money than she is. So, if she can, she sets up housekeeping for herself and her children and

-61-

encourages a man friend, a "<u>companheiro</u>" or "<u>marido</u>", or maybe a succession of them, to join her. Our case studies help to understand this senario. In the crowded slums and favelas dwellings usually "belong" to women or durable couples, much less frequently to young men--or so our admittedly limited observations suggest. The young men have less fixed abodes. Actually they have less need for regular housing than women do, especially in the warmer parts of the country. Mainly, they require a place to sleep, to take their meals, and to keep their meager belongings. Sometimes they stay at home with their mothers, at other times with one or another of their young women friends. In the depth interviews one held with poor families, we were impressed by the number of men in their twenties who were considered to be living with their mothers. But there was evidence that many were also living elsewhere. Many of the children in poor families would thus be products of liaisons that were less binding than marriage.

Doubtless instances of this senario occur often, in one form or another. Our guess is that the form we have just described is quite common among the young women. As they grow older these women often develop more durable attachments to one of their men friends, thus turning their relationship into something more like a marriage. So in its early years such a family could be classified as "broken," because it lacks a male head. In its later years it would be called "nuclear complete," because along the way a "marido" came into the picture. Other unmarried female head of families simply come to depend more and more on their older sons as providers. Of course, poor young mothers may themselves earn a living for their families, although their opportunities are quite restricted by the general scarcity of

-62-

good jobs, by the limitations of their own skills, and by the burden of their children. Some take in washing. Others take jobs as household helpers, leaving their younger children with an older girl, their own or another woman's. Some, among them women interviewed by our team, become prostitutes. Indeed our guess is that prostitution, at least for short periods, is one of the usual solutions.

In any case, these senarios occur frequently. They are compatible with the impressions of our team and with the statistical data showing a much higher incidence of female-headed "broken" families in the urban than in the rural areas. It is apparently much harder for the rural poor to maintain casual relationships. This is not to say that rural marriages are always legitimized by the State and by the Church. "Amizades," common law marriages, are not uncommon. Yet in the countryside it is harder for the poor to maintain casual relationships. Too many of the people who count in the lives of young men and women would disapprove, and punishment is much more certain and perhaps more severe. The girl's father or brothers, who are often suspicious anyway, would quickly learn about such affairs and, would be likely to punish one or both of the couple. In the city, however, the strict norms of the countryside are simply unworkable. The perspectives our interviewers obtained on such cases are fragmentary and all too brief. Yet they are consistent with the above senarios. One young mother told us she became pregnant back at her parents' home in the country. For some unexplained reason, she could not or did not marry the father. So her parents turned her out to face her dilemmas alone--how to find the money she needed for herself and the child she carried, whether and how to find and keep a job, whether and how to find a man for support. When interviewed she was trying to make a go of it in the favela.

In general, then, the most useful information in Table 18 concerns the rural-urban difference in family-type rather than family-type differences in the deployment of unemployables. Its value lies in what it suggests about the ways the so-called female-headed "broken" families are formed. It is thus our considered opinion that many--perhaps most--of these families have been fatherless since they came into being. It does not take much effort to imagine the dilemmas regarding work, child care, and survival that such families confront each day.

We return now to the general question of Table 18, regarding family type and the use of unemployable youths. The fact is that all types of families use nearly the same proportions of unemployable youngsters, rural families more than urban, the only apparent exception are childless couples, and it really is not an exception. By definition they do not have children. So the tiny proportions (0.7 percent of those who were urban and 1.3 percent of those who were rural) who put unemployable youngsters out to work must have included a young wife or husband who worked while attending school.

<u>Stage of the Family Life Cycle</u>. Table 19 shows the relationship of the use of unemployables to this variable. From the table it is obvious that such deployment is much more widely practiced among middle-aged and older families than among those that are younger. The difference is a bit more pronounced among rural than among urban families. Nonetheless, the main finding here is not very informative, given what we already know: the older the children, the more likely they are to be put out to work. Yet even this reinforces a central point. Needy families put the young out to work at an early age. Even some of the young and very young families have done so.

<u>Sex Distribution of Employables</u>. Data regarding this variable are presented in Table 20. The percentages vary quite a bit. But the explanation

-64-

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		<u>Stage in th</u>	ne Family Life	Cycle		
Family Use of Unemployables	Very Young	Young	Middle Aged	i 01d	Totals	
	-	Url	ban Families		· · · ·	
Employed Unemployables	0.7	2.2	14.5	19.8	6.1	·
Did Not Employ Unemployables	99.3	97.8	85.5	80.2	93.9	
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 156,077	100.0 305,667	100.0 219,795	100.0 11,506	100 .0 693,045	
		Ru	ral Families			
Employed Unemployables	1.8	4.9	33.9	21.0	12.4	
Did Not Employ Unemployables	98.2	95.1	66.1	79.0	87.6	
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 326,975	100.0 588,423	100.0 354,793	100.0 22,806	100.0 1,292,997	
		<u>A</u>	ll Families			······································
Employed Unemployables	1.4	4.0	26.5	20.6	10.2	÷ .
Did Not Enploy Unemployables	98.6	96.0	73.5	79.4	89.8	
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 483,052	100.0 894,090	100.0 574,588	100.0 34,312	100.0 1,986,042	

Source: 0.75 percent sample of the Brazilian Demographic Census of 1980. Authors' tabulations.

^aSee text, p. 5.

^bAges 10-24.

^cLess than one-quarter of the minimum wage per capita within the family. d Appendix B: C.3

Table 20. Employment of "Unemployable"^a Young Brazilians^b Among Impoverished Families^c by Sex Distribution of "Employable" Family Members, in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages.

		Sex	Distribution			
Family Use of Unemployables	Men Only	Mostly Men	Balanced	Mostly Wom	en Women Onl	ly Totals
<u> </u>		Urb	an Families			
Employed Unemployables	3.2	15.7	9.1	16.5	9.5	9.5
Did Not Employ Unemployables	96.8	84.3	90.9	83.5	90.5	90.5
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 117,667	100.0 61,963	100.0 800,853	100.0 86,948	100.0 547,855	100.0 1,615,284
		Rur	al Families			<u> </u>
Employed Unemployables	10.9	40.6	17.8	32.3	17.4	20.0
Did Not Employ Unemployables	89.1	59.4	82.6	67.7	82.6	80.0
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 163,008	100.0 193,237	100.0 1,905,558	100.0 201,266	100.0 339,507	100.0 2,802,576
	÷	<u>A1</u>	1 Families	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Employed Unemployables	7.7	34.6	15.3	27.8	12.5	16.1
Did Not Employ Unemployables	92.3	65.4	84.7	72.2	87.5	83.9
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 280,673	100.0 255,200	100.0 2,706,411	100.0 288,214	100.0 887,362	100.0 4,417,860

1980. Authors' tabulations. ^aSee text, p. 5. ^bAges 10-24.

cLess than one-quarter of a minimum wage per capita within the family.
is not entirely clear. But an examination of the detail may help us understand why. The sex-balance classes using the highest percentages of unemployables are those composed mostly of men and mostly of women. The class composed only of men employs the fewest of all. We do note that women are less likely than men to be employed. Somebody has to earn money for the family. Families whose working age members are mostly women would thus be more likely than other types to put their unemployable youngsters out to work. And since men are the usual providers, it is not surprising that male-only families rarely see the need to deploy youngsters into the labor force, if indeed they have any. But it is puzzling that such high percentages of families whose employables are mostly men would put youngsters out to work. Let us pursue this question.

In sociological analysis, puzzles usually mean one of two things. One has either uncovered a surprising new phenomenon that when explained will add genuinely new insights, or the methods one has used encourage a misunderstanding of the phenomemon. True, anomolous findings are almost always technical artifacts. Rarely do they lead to new insights about the . phenomena themselves. In the present case one could ask "Why should 'mostly-male' families be much more likely than sex-balanced or largely female families to put youngsters out to work?" This assumes that the data can be interpreted at face value. If so the answer could lead to informative new insights. A more skeptical question could be, "Were the data on 'mostly-male' (and possibly also 'mostly female') families classified and collated in a way that inadvertently leads to a misinterpretation?" Our guess is that the latter is the proper question, and that the answer is that a disproportionate

-67-

number of the "youngsters" in "mostly-male" families are in fact young men whose combination of work and school is nade easier than is usual among poor families because there are so many other male providers in the home. In other words families composed mostly of males include many young men who are working and going to school.

We conclude that this particular set of percentages arises from common-place aspects of Brazilian life, and as such provides little in the way of new insights. The differences in percentages are due to two facts: males are more likely than females to take jobs outside the home, and older males are more likely than younger ones to do so.

Quality of the Family Labor Force. These data appear in Table 21. Again we note that overall the quality of labor offered by destitute Brazilian families tends to be very low. In less awkward words, the poor are poorly educated. Even those called "average" in this Report are poorly educated by the standards of the developed countries, and rural people have even less schooling than urban. Not withstanding, families whose labor quality is classed here as "Poor" or "Very Poor" are much more likely to put their unempoyables out to work than are those whose members are a little better educated. The implication is poignant, if not surprising: the more desperate the family, the more likely it is to use even its unemployable members in the effort to survive.

This point deserves emphasis. It is often believed in Brazil that, except for a few, education is not very useful; that most people do not need to be able to read, write, and calculate in order to work on the farm, in the factory, or in the home; that when education is needed, the national apprenticeship organizations can provide it. In another research project

-68-

lable	21. Er	aplo	yment	of "	Unemp	loyable	"a 1	Young	Braz	ilians ^b	Among
Imp	overis	ned	Famili	.es ^c	by th	e Quali	ty d	of Lab	ord	Offered	by
the	Family	'in	Urban	and	Rura	1 Areas	(19	80),	in P	ercentag	es.

1	C	uality of Fam	ily Labor		
Family Use of Jnemployables	Very Poor	Poor	Average	Good	Totals
		Urban Fami	<u>ilies</u>		<u> </u>
Employed					
Jnemployables	9.6	11.4	4.4	2.8	9,5
Did Not Employ					
Ünemployables	90.4	88.6	95.6	97.2	90.5
Fotals:					
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NUMBEL	751,152	011,205	240,077	0,007	1,011,435
		Rural Fam:	ilies		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Employed					
Unemployables	23.2	14.9	4.6	0.0	20.0
Did Not Employ			· .		
Unemployables	76.8	85.1	95.4	100.0	80.0
Totals:		•			
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	1,848,971	836,153	112,552	1,070	2,798,748
		All Fami:	lies		
Fmploved		÷.	-		
Unemployables	19.3	13.5	4.4	2.5	16.2
Did Not Employ					
Unemployables	80.7	86.5	95.6	97.5	83.8
· · · · ·					
Totals:	100.0	100 0	100.0	100.0	100.0
rercent	2 600 103	1.447.416	353.231	9,457	4,410,207

bAges 10-24. ^CLess than one-quarter of a minimum wage per capita within the family. ^dAppendix B: C.4. (Haller and Pastore, 1983) we have shown that this belief is nonsense. Under the most severe controls, the relationship between schooling and income is large and statistically speaking indestructible. Education counts.

Level of Employment Among Employables. Table 22 presents these data. It will be recalled that "Adequately Employed" means that all but one of the employable members of the family were in fact employed; one, presumably a woman, was left to take care of domestic tasks. "Fully Employed" means that all employables had jobs. The striking generalization dictated by this table is that the more fully were the employables employed, the greater was the percentage of the unemployables who were employed. This relationship is not monotonic, however. Families whose employables were completely unemployed had the lowest unemployables' deployment rates of all, 6.2 and 9.5 percent. Families whose employables were "adequately" employed were next at 10.0 and 18.9 percent. Third were those that were partially employed, 13.3 and 24.4 percent. Highest of all were the "fully employed," with 24.4 and 37.2 percent.

There is a senario that may explain the overall pattern of variation, mostly accounting for the high deployment of unemployables among families whose "employables" are fully occupied. Let us take stage of the family life cycle into account. Net of other factors, families whose members are older have less need to keep someone at home to watch children, and the off-spring themselves are old enough to cope with the long hours accrued by combining schooling with work. Families whose "unemployables" are older and are thus more likely to work and go to school as well may raise the labor force deployment percentages of those whose "employables" all have jobs.

The age of the parents and the children may help explain the low deployment rates of the "inactives." Unemployed parents whose children are

-70-

Table 22. Employment of "Unemployable"^a Young Brazilians^b Among Impoverished Families^c by the Degree to Which "Employable" Members of the Family Were Actually Employed^d in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages.

	Family Employment of "Employables"								
Family Use of Unemployables	Inactive	Partly Employed	Adequately Employed	Fully Employed	Totals				
		Urban Fam	<u>ilies</u>						
Employed Unemployables	6.2	13.3	10.0	24.4	9.5				
Did Not Employ Unemployables	93.8	86.7	90.0	75.6	90.5				
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 533,636	100.0 108,605	100.0 914,481	100.0 55,361	100.0 1,612,083				
······································	<u> </u>	Rural Fam	ilies		<u> </u>				
Employed Unemloyables	9.5	24.4	18.9	37.2	20.0				
Did Not Employ Unemployables	90.5	75.6	81.1	18.3	80.0				
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 314,194	100.0 234,627	100.0 1,997,040	100.0 253,201	100.0 2,799,062				
		<u>All Fami</u>	lies						
Employed Unemployables	7.4	20.9	16.1	34.9	16.2				
Did Not Employ Unemployables	92.7	79.1	83.9	65.1	83.8				
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 847,830	100.0 343,232	100.0 2,911,521	100.0 308,562	100.0 4,4 <u>11</u> ,145				

1980. Authors' tabulations.

^aSee text, p. 5.

^bAges 10-24.

^cLess than one-quarter of a minimum wage per capita within the family. ^dAppendix B: A.1. too young to work would have no children available to put out to work. Such families would show a low rate in the use of unemployables simply because there weren't any. Underlying this explanation, is the observation we have made many times before. To impoverished Brazilian families, survival itself is of the highest priority because it is problematic. So they deploy into the labor force anyone who can be considered to be ready to work. The more such people they have available, the more are put out to work.

<u>Underemployment</u>. In this Report, underemployment implies that one or more employables worked less than 40 hours per week. Data presented in Tables 23 and 16 may be used to calculate the percentage of all families who were underemployed. Eighty-nine percent are so defined. So underemployment is normal among impoverished families. Yet there is little relationship between underemployment and the deployment of unemployable youngsters, and what there is seems odd: such deployment is slightly more common among urban and rural families that suffer no underemployment (13.2 and 26.4 percent) or have more than one underemployed employable (13.4 and 24.6 percent) than it is among those with one such person underemployed (9.7 and 19.4 percent).

Economic Sector of Family Heads. In the jargon of the day, primary means farming or mining (farming for all practical purposes), secondary means manufacturing, and tertiary means sales and services. Civil construction is clear enough. Data showing the distribution of the tendency to deploy unemployables youngsters into the labor force by sector is shown in Table 24. The main finding is that in both urban and rural areas, families whose heads are in agriculture are more likely to use unemployables than are others. The respective percentages are 14.3 and 21.8. Those few rural families whose heads are in manufacturing (2.3 percent) are also a bit more likely (at 13.0

-72-

Table 23. Employment of "Unemployable"^a Young Brazilians^b Among Impoverished Families^c by Underemployment of Family Members^b in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages.

Underemployment of Family Members								
Family Use of Unemployables	ily Use of None Under- One Under- More than One mployables employed employed Underemployed Totals							
		Urban Fami	lies	<u></u>	- <u></u>			
Employed Unemployables	13.2	9.7	13.4	10.8				
Did Not Employ Unemployables	86.8	90.3	86.6	89.2				
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 141,348	100.0 690,438	100.0 180,968	100.0 1,012,754	· ·			
		Rural Fami	lies		,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,			
Employed Unemployables	26.4	19.4	24.6	21.1				
Did Not Employ Unemployables	73.6	80.6	75.4	78.9				
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 245,377	100.0 1,746,380	100.0 449,187	100.0 2,440,944	* .			
		<u>All Famil</u>	ies					
Employed Unemployables	21.6	16.7	21.4	18.1	· .			
Did Not Employ Unemployables	78.4	83.3	78.6	81.9				
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 386,725	100.0 2,436,818	100.0 630,155	100.0 3,453,698	· • .			

Source: 0.75 percent sample of households, Brazilian Demographic Census of 1980. Authors' tabulations.

^aSee text, p. 5. ^bAges 10-24.

^cLess than one-quarter of a minimum wage per capita within the family. dAppendix B: A.2.

Table 24. Employment of "Unemployable"^a Young Brazilians^b Among Impoverished Families^c by Economic Sector of the Family Head in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages.

-		Sector of the	Economy		
Family Use of Unemployables	Primary	Secondary	Civil Constructi	on Tertiary	Totals
		Urban Fam	<u>ilies</u>		
Employed Unemployables	14.3	8.5	10.0	8.8	10.7
Did Not Employ Unemployables	85.7	9.5	90.0	9.2	89.3
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 343,477	100.0 113,895	100.0 154,168	100.0 435,177	100.0 1,046,717
	<u>-</u>	Rural Fam	ilies	······································	
Employed Unemployables	21.8	13.0	9.4	9.3	21.1
Did Not Employ Unemployables	78.2	87.0	90.6	90.7	78.9
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 2,296,146	100.0 58,889	100.0 28,179	100.0 80,425	100.0 2,463,639
		· <u>All Fami</u>	lies	<u> </u>	
Employed Unemployables	20.8	10.0	9.9	8.9	18.0
Did Not Employ Unemployables	79.2	90.0	90.1	91,1	82.0
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 2,639,623	100.0 172,784	100.0 182,347	100.0 515,602	100.0 3,510,356

Source: 0.75 percent sample of households, Brazilian Demographic Census of 1980. Authors' tabulations. ^aSee text, p. 5.

bAges 10-24.

^CLess than one-quarter of a minimum wage per capita within the family.

percent) than the other non-agricultural groups to send their unemployable youngsters out to work. But the relationship between this variable and deployment of unemployables young people is weak.

Occupational Class of Family Head. These data are presented in Table 25. These patterns differ a bit among impoverished urban and rural families. Moreover the percentages in the classes differ greatly, both from class to class and between urban and rural families within classes. So it is especially important to understand just what each class name implies. Employees are those who work for someone else and draw a wage for their efforts. Of the urbanites, 65.4 percent are employees of the rural families, 31.5 percent. The self-employed are those who work for themselves. A few of these are well-to-do, but most are small-time hucksters--vendors, street-corner salesmen, shoeshiners, etc. Some are small-scale farmers. 0f all the self-employed, 30.8 percent are heads of urban families and 54.4 percent heads of rural families. Sharecroppers are resident farmers who work a larger "partner's" land in return for a portion of the crop, usually a half or a third. Parceria, as it is called in Brazil, is a declining form of production. Only 2.7 percent of the urban families and 12.0 percent of the rural families are in parceria. Employers are scarcer than parceiros. Less than one percent (0.6) of the urban families and 1.1 percent of the rural are employers. Household heads who are unpaid workers are even rarer. Presumably most of these would be unmarried mothers who are employed as domestic servants. Only one-half of one percent of the urban families and nine-tenths of a percent of rural families are so classified. The main findings among the urbanites are that employees and the self-employed are substantially less likely to deploy unemployables into the labor market than are those in the

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	Fami]	.ies ^C	by	Occi	upati	lonal	Class	of	the	Head	l of	Family	in.	Urban	and	
				R	ural	Area	ıs (198	30).	in	Perc	enta	ges.				

		<u>0ccu</u>	pational Clas	<u>s</u>		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Family Use of Unemployables	Employee	Self- Employed	Share- cropper	Employer	Unpaid Worker	Totals
	······································	Ur	ban Families			<u> </u>
Employed Unemployables	10.0	11.5	18.8	17.6	26.1	10.8
Did Not Enploy Unemployables	90.0	88.5	81.2	82.4	73.9	89.2
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 680,288	100.0 320,505	100.0 28,198	100.0 5,807	100.0 4,896	100.0 1,039,694
<u> </u>	- <u>-</u>	Ru	ral Families		· · · ·	<u> </u>
Employed Unemployables	14.9	23.9	25.1	24.2	9.4	20.3
Did Not Employ Unemployables	85.1	76.1	74.9	75.8	90.6	79.7
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 775,482	100.0 1,337,964	100.0 295,812	100.0 26,363	100.0 22,671	100.0 2,458,292
* <u>*****</u> ******************************		• <u>A</u>	11 Families	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	,,,,,,,	······································
Employed Unemployables	12.6	21.5	24.5	23.0	12.4	18.0
Did Not Employ Unemployables	87.4	78.5	75.5	77.0	87.6	82.0
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 1,455,770	100.0 1,658,469	100.0 324,010	100.0 32,170	100.0 27,567	100.0 3,497,986

Source: 0.75 percent sample of households, Brazilian Demographic Census of 1980. Authors' tabulations. ^aSee text, p. 5. ^bAges 10-24.

^cLess than one-quarter of a minimum wage per capita within the family.

-76-

other classes. Since together these two classes comprise 96.3 percent of the urban impoverished, the conclusion is plain: occupational class makes a difference only for those impoverished families headed by persons in rare classes: sharecroppers, employers, and unpaid workers. In the rural sector, the picture is a bit different. The use of unemployable youngsters is lower than average among rural families headed by employees, 14.9 percent. It is higher among the self-employed (23.9 percent) and among the sharecroppers (25.1). The other classes are too sparsely populated to warrant discussion.

The main overall conclusion is that an especially high proportion of the families that deploy unemployable young people are self-employed rural families and sharecroppers.

<u>Family Dependent Upon Income From "Unemployable" Member</u>. Data for this analysis are presented in Table 26. Before looking at the table, some definitions are in order. 1) As in all the foregoing tables, the categories named along the left-hand column refer to "unemployable" youngsters, children and youths, age 10-24, who were under 14, who by our definitions, should have been devoting full time to their studies. The categories specified under the heading, Source of Income, include as "unemployables" all these <u>together with</u> all other unemployable persons--the sick, the aged, etc. Thus some of the income provided by "unemployables" may come from pensions, rents, etc. By no means all of the unemployables are youngsters.

With this as a background, let us turn to Table 26, looking first at the distribution of sources of income ("unemployables"--whether young or otherwise--versus "employables") regardless of the families' labor force deployment of unemployable youngsters.¹ In this respect, the main finding is that most poor families (over 70 percent: 60 percent of the urban families

-77-

Table 26. Employment of "Unemployable"^a Young Brazilians^b Among Impoverished Families^C by Intra-Familial Source of Income in Urban and Rural Areas (1980), in Percentages.

		Sour	ce of Income			
Family Use of Unemployables	Only From "Unemploy- ables	Mostly From "Unemploy- ables	Mostly From "Unemploy- ables	Only From "Unemploy- ables	Totals	
		Urba	an Families			
Employed Unemployables	6.4	57.9	77.1	1.2	9.5	
Did Not Employ Unemployables	93.6	42.1	22.9	98.8	90.5	
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 486,145	100.0 54,178	100.0 102,143	100.0 969,617	100.0 1,612,083	
	····· ··· ··· ··· ··· ···	Rur	al Families		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Employed Unemployables	12.2	70.2	81.1	14.5	20.0	
Did Not Employ Unemployables	87.8	29.8	18.9	85.5	80.0	
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 403,095	100.0 87,347	100.0 170,371	100.0 2,138,249	100.0 2,799,062	
<u></u>	······································	Al	l Families		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Employed Unemployables	9.0	65.5	79.6	10.4	16.2	
Did Not Employ Unemployables	91.0	34.5	20.4	89.6	83.8	
Totals: Percent Number	100.0 889,240	100.0 141,525	100.0 272,514	100.0 3,107,866	100.0 4,411,145	

^aSee text, p. ^bAges 10-24.

cLess than one-quarter of a minimum wage per capita within the family.

and 76 percent of the rural families) get most of their income from employables. Nonetheless, one-fifth of them derive their income <u>only</u> from unemployables. This latter phenomenon is especially pronounced among urban families, where over 30 percent are thus supported. As we have seen, this does not imply that such families are necessarily living off the earnings of children--though some of them no doubt are doing so.

We turn now to the relationship between source of income and the labor force deployment of unemployable youngsters. The heaviest proportional use of unemployable young people is among those families that are intermediate regarding the source of income, ten percent or so of all families. In these categories anywhere from 57.9 to 81.1 percent report the use of unemployable youngsters. Relatively few of the families that obtain all of their income from "unemployables" put such youngsters out to work--6.4 percent of the urban families and 12.2 percent of the rural families. This suggests that such families receive their income mostly from older people who are on pensions or are supported by other relatives.²

3. SUMMARY

Analyses of impoverished Brazilian families thus shows, first, that there are substantial rural-urban differences in the incidence of impoverished families, and, second, that there are only a few demographic factors--among those studied here--that make much difference in the use of unemployable youngsters by such impoverished families. Let us first review the findings regarding rural-urban differences.

<u>Rural-urban differences</u>. In fact, most of Brazil's impoverished families are rural. Not surprisingly, the rural inpoverished tend to be concentrated in agriculture. These rural impoverished also offer the poorest

-79-

quality of family labor, although the quality of labor of most of the impoverished families, urban too, is already quite low. Also, the rural poor tend to be concentrated among employees and among the self-employed. This no doubt means that impoverishment among rural families is most characteristic of families whose heads are day laborers (<u>boias frias</u>) and owners of small farms. It is noteworthy that the impoverished are poor despite the fact that their employable members tend to have jobs.

Urban impoverished families are more likely than rural to be headed by women and to be composed mostly of women. The poor are also concentrated in services and in agriculture. Domestic servants are often poorly paid and they are often women. Perhaps surprisingly, there are quite a few urban residents employed in farming, often on the truck farms surrounding the large cities or as <u>boias frias</u> (day laborers) on the large farms not too distant from the cities. Again, among urbanites, impoverishment is concentated among employees and the self-employed.

The Labor Force Deployment of Unemployable Youngsters. As we have noted, most of the demographic factors looked at here have little effect on the distribution of youngsters who should be in school. In fact, not many families (about 9.5 percent of the urban families and 20.0 percent of the rural) drew upon the employment of such youngsters in 1980. Nevertheless two factors stand out, and among both urban and rural families. For one, the older the impoverished family, the more likely it was to deploy unemployable youngsters into the labor force. No doubt, older families have older offspring, and older offspring are more likely than younger ones to combine work with school. The implication is that impoverished families are reluctant to put their younger children out to work. The second finding is also of

-80-

interest. Among urban families, those that use unemployable youngsters tend to be sharecroppers, employers, and unpaid workers. This reflects first that indeed there are sharecroppers living in urban areas; second that many employers are really small-time operators who are barely able to make it; and third that heads of families who work without pay (female domestics?) are--not surprisingly--forced to put their youngsters out to work.

In general, impoverished Brazilian families seem reluctant to take economic advantage of their youngsters who should, by Brazilian norms--devote themselves exclusively to their school work. When they do, it would appear that their decision is based upon dire necessity.

-81-

FOOTNOTES

¹The percentages presented in this paragraph are calculated from the column totals and subtotals. They are not presented in Table 26.

²There is a curious anomoly in this data. Among rural families 14.5 percent of those who obtain their income only from "employables" indicate that they put unemployable young people out to work. Similarly 1.2 percent of the corresponding urban families do the same. Our guess is that most of these apparently inexplicable cases are in fact families whose "unemployables" were looking for work but who had no income.

Chapter 4

Summary and Conclusions

This Report has used disaggregated data on individuals within families from Brazil's 1976 National Household Sample Survey (PNAD: Pesquisa Nacional de Amostragen Domiciliar) and from the nation's Demographic Census of 1980 to draw generalizations about the work behavior and education of children of ages 10-14, adolescents of ages 15-17 and youths of ages 18-24, and of the labor force deployment of such youngsters by the poverty stricken families to which many belong. The 1976 data are on the youths themselves but only on those who live in urban areas. The 1980 data apply to both rural and urban families. Data from 30 interviews taken with impoverished urban families with school-age children. The latter data are used to help interpret the implications of the statistical data.

As a whole, the Report is intended as a supplement to dur earlier document (Pastore, Zylberstajn, and Pagotto, 1983), and should be read in conjunction with it. Let us review the main findings of the Report. It has been known for years that vast numbers of Brazilians are in extreme poverty. Some authors seem to believe that this is something new. But as we pointed out in the previous volume, the average income of the Brazilian people has been calculated to have been at so low a level over the 19th century that as to make it certain that the poverty of today has deep roots. It cannot reasonably be attributed merely to factors that arose during recent decades or even early in this century. Nevertheless skeptism regarding the effects of economic development on the poverty of Brazil's millions is itself widespread. To be more specific, during the 1970s the economy grew at a very fast rate. Simultaneously, by absolute measures, the degree of inequality of income increased. (Actually, relative inequality measures, such as the Gini coefficient, remained about the same over the decade. But the mathematical relationship between the three factors--relative income inequality, average income, and absolute income inequality--is such that when if the average grows while relative measures remain constant, absolute inequality must increase.)

The surprising new finding of the previous research was that the incidence of extreme poverty dropped sharply over Brazil's "growth decade." In fact, so sharply did it fall that while the total population rose from 93 million to 119 million, we estimate that the absolute number of persons in extreme poverty fell from around 45 million to around 25 million. This is all the more impressive in view of the fact that, had the poverty rate of 1970 carried over to 1980, the absolute number of the extreme poor would have been around 60 million. So the results contradicted the almost universally held myth that Brazil's economic development served to further impoverish the already destitute.

Nevertheless, even in 1980 and by the same criterion, Brazil's destitute still numbered around 25 million---a figure that is greater than the total population of most of the world's nations. Moreover, the criterion, or "cutting point," used to distinguish statistically between "impoverished" and "non-impoverished" is arbitrary. Vast numbers of families above that line were hardly any better off than many of those who were below it.

Perhaps even more important, there was little reason to expect that the boom of the 1970s would last. And it did not. By 1982, Brazil found itself in a severe depression, one which appears to be even deeper in 1984. Data on

-84-

the incidence of destitution are not available for the present period. But it seems certain that the poverty rate must be much higher today than it was in 1980. If so, perhaps five or ten million people, or even more, may have fallen into those severe straits we have called "absolute poverty."

Deep, widespread poverty forms the context for this Report. Its special focus is the work, schooling and, by implication, leisure of urban children, adolescents and youths, including the labor force deployment of such youngsters by Brazil's destitute families.

In a vague way, it has long been known that large numbers of Brazilian children and other young people are in the labor force. One doe not need precise statistics to determine this. It can be seen everywhere. In the cities and towns one sees very young people employed in the stores, on the streets, etc. In the countryside the basic labor contract, which is still followed by many, specifies that all the available members of a man's family will work on the landlord's property. This includes anyone old enough to use a hoe. Furthermore, it is widely known that Brazil's educational system lacks the capacity to provide much schooling for its population. And the number of years of schooling is low by European and North American standards. Indeed, in 1973 the modal number of years of education of employed men and women in the rural Northeast was zero, and even for the more developed South the mean level of schooling was less than five and one-half years (Haller, 1983, unpublished data presented to the Department of Sociology, Johns Hopkins University, 11 October 1983). In recent years the demand for education has increased. This has put severe strains on the nation's fragile school system. But it has had a substantial effect nonetheless, as is suggested by the schooling completion rates presented in Table 2 (page 9).

-85-

The results of the present research show a picture of massive employment of school-age youngsters in the urban areas. Many children begin regular employment before the age of ten. The employment rates of young males are about twice those of comparable females at each of the three age groups studied herein (children 10-14, adolescents 15-17, and youths 18-24), although this is deceptive because many girls work without pay in their own or others' homes mostly tending younger children while the mothers work away from home. Labor force participation rates for young males are: children 9.1 percent, adolescents 43.4 percent, and youths 77.0 percent. Of the employed children, nearly one in five was an unpaid employee of his own family, whereas three-quarters of them were paid employees in nonfamilial activities. Nearly nine of every ten employed adolescents and youths were also employed outside the family. Not surprisingly the jobs of youngsters were mostly quite insecure, as indicated by their low rates of possession of signed work cards (carteiras) and by their social security contributions; and the younger the worker, the less secure was his job. Similarly, such workers were not often paid well, even by Brazil's current standards. Most of the employed children and adolescents reported receiving no more than one minimum wage per month, though a few also earned the "13th month" bonus. while large numbers--especially of children--received nothing at all. This is not to say that all young workers were just doing odd jobs. Actually, over a third of the working children, half the adolescents and three-fifths of the youths had had their current jobs for a year or more.

The length of the work week of employed youngsters is also noteworthy. In all age groups, two-thirds or more worked 40 hours per week or longer; and between one in ten and one in five, depending on age, worked 56 or more hours per week.

-86-

The last datum is especially interesting in connection with schooling. The above percentage's hold whether or not the youngster was attending school. Put in another way, large numbers of school age youngsters worked 40 hours or even much more per week; more than this, large numbers worked such hours while going to school.

It does not take much imagination to visualize what such young people must have gone through in order to attend school. Yet about half of the child and adolescent workers attended school, as did over a third of the youths.

Clearly, for very large numbers of Brazilian youngsters the daily routine is one of long hours of work, often combined with school. For many, leisure time to play or rest is simply out of the question. Considering the time requred to travel between home, school and work, it must be hard for them to find time to eat and sleep.

The above information was taken directly on youth. To complement this picture, the Report also analyzes data on a probability sample of Brazil's 4.4 million destitute families. These analyses focus on the family's deployment of "unemployable" children, adolescents, and youths into the labor force. For youngsters, "unemployability" simply means that given their age and previous schooling, they should have been studying full time instead of working. Obviously this definition is normative. By it, children to age 14 would be in school and would not be working. Adolescents who had not completed at least primary school also should be full time students. And among all age groups, i.e. through 18-24, those who were in school should be free from employment so as to devote full time to their studies.

We have found that one in every ten impoverished urban families and two in every ten such rural families put unemployable youngsters out to work.

-87-

Considering that an unknown but large number of families are either too young or too old even to have such youngsters at home, this must be a common survival strategy among destitute families who have ten to 24 year olds living with them. But we do not have an exact count of such families.

The main findings on rural and urban aspects are these. First, in both rural and urban families, it is those involved in agriculture who are most likely to be impoverished. This is especially true among families headed by agricultural day laborers ("boias frias") and among small farm owners. Second, impoverished rural families are especially poorly educated, thus being ill prepared for any but the least skilled farm jobs. Third, the poverty of these families persists in spite of the fact that all their employable members tend to have jobs. Fourth, besides being concentrated in farming, urban poor families mostly are also concentrated in services-large numbers no doubt being domestic servants. This brings us to the fifth point, the high poverty rates are characteristic of families headed by or composed mostly of women. Sixth, the older the impoverished family the more likely it was to have deployed unemployable youngsters into the labor force. We infer that this is partly because such families were more likely to have children aged ten or over and partly because they were reluctant to use the younger ones. Seventh, among both rural and urban families those headed by sharecroppers and employees were most likely to put unemployable youngsters out to work.

Conclusions. This Report has documented a picture of unremitting hardship among large numbers of Brazilian children ages 10-14, adolescents 15-17, and youths 18-24 during times of relative prosperity, 1976 and 1980. The numbers of youngsters who work, the hours many of them work, the competition between their work and their schooling would no doubt stagger the

-88-

imagination of those reared in the protected environments of the more developed countries.

Careful observers of Brazilian life have long been impressed by the industriousness of the Brazilian people, from top to bottom of the society. Clearly this holds among the destitute and even among children. In recent years the world press has carried news items on violent crimes within Brazilian society and upon the underworld life of children as well as adults. In light of the present data, the astonishing facts do not lie in violence or criminal behavior. Instead they are to be found in the steady, dependable and economically rational responses of Brazilian parents and their youngsters to the harsh conditions in which many of them find themselves. Poor families put their children out to work whether for pay or without pay--perhaps to release an adult for work or perhaps in support of a family enterprise however. They also try to keep their off-spring in school, mostly because they know that schooling pays, also partly to keep them away from the evils of slum life and partly because they can get a free meal in school. The interviews as well as the statistical data suggest that the youngsters, too, believe that schooling is important and they often endure substantial hardship to get it.

The statistical data from which these observations were taken were collected during relatively good times. Almost surely the plight of poor and their children must be even more difficult today than it was when these data were collected.

Our main aim in this Report is to call attention to the employment and schooling situation of Brazilian young people, especially those in destitute families. Because the picture drawn here is so stark and solutions seemingly so remote, our recommendations are few and rather general.

-89-

First, however idealistic they may be, the child labor laws in Brazil appear to be out of tune with the realities of life among the nation's young people, so much so that it would be difficult to use them as instruments to improve the conditions of life. As implied in Appendix D, a reexamination of the child labor legislation might provide suggestions for laws which striking a better balance between what would be ideal and what is feasible, would be more likely to reduce the economic hardship to which young people are exposed.

Second, means should be sought by which to make primary and secondary schooling more widely available to Brazilian school-age youngsters. This would apparently increase their productivity as workers when they are older. In addition it would almost surely make them better able to compete for the increasingly sophisticated requirements of the jobs that are being generated by today's technology. This would be more obvious in the developed countries. But the skill requirements for new jobs in Brazil--in all sectors--manufacturing, commerce, services, construction, and even agriculture.

Third, the labor force deployment of school-age youngsters is largely a consequence of the poverty of their families. One of the greatest concentrations of poverty is in farming, whether in the countryside or in and near the cities. It follows that mechanisms to increase the earnings of the families of farm workers (including those owning small farms) will tend to reduce the pressure to put their school-age youngsters out to work.

Fourth, in urban areas female-headed families and families where women outnumber men are focal points of poverty and thus are more likely than others to put school-aged youngsters out to work. Programs providing work that urban women can do in the home would no doubt relieve some of the pressure encouraging child labor. Probably such new opportunities would be most effective if directed toward women with the least education.

-90-

Fifth, especially in the last two points, it must be recognized that as the pressure to deploy youngsters into the labor force decreases, the pressure on the school system will probably increase. A leitmotif implied in the present data strongly suggests that Brazilians have well considered faith in the economic benefits of education. So if a family can release a child from work, the chances are that he will return to school. This inference clearly reinforces the second point above.

In a few words this Report has documented the pervasiveness of the use of labor force deployment of school-aged youngsters in Brazil. It has shown that this is largely a consequence of the survival needs of families. It has inadvertently shown a substantial demand for increases in educational opportunity. Programs providing remunerative jobs for adults in impoverished families will tend to reduce the need to put youngsters out to work, and should be promoted vigorously. They will also increase the demand for education, thus subjecting an already inadequate and overworked educational system to even more pressure--unless the educational system is expanded and improved. We have also noted the fact that the Brazilian child labor laws appear to be less than relevant to the facts of child employment in Brazil.

Taken altogether, these considerations suggest a three-item attack on child labor in Brazil. One item would be to provide jobs for the families most likely to be in poverty--female-headed families, families most of whose adults are women, and families in economically fragile farm jobs such as day labor and subsistence farming. Another item is to increase the quality and availability of educational opportunity. The third is to review and revise the child labor laws to make them more realistic and thus likely to be more

-91-

humane and to be more often respected in practice. If this is to be done, extreme care should be taken, based upon full knowledge of Brazilian circumstances, to insure that the interests of young people would in fact be served by any such new legislation.

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Appendix A

-A1-

Case Studies

by

Carmen Silvia Pagotto

I. Introduction

In order to answer the questions related to the occupational trajectory of the minors and youths and to the consequences of precocious entry into the labor market on their education, 30 in-depth case studies were done with poor families who live in the cities of Recife, Salvador and Sao Paulo.

In this research corpus a poor family is defined as one whose per capita income was about 1/4 of the regional minimum wage (Pastore, Zylberstajn and Pagotto, 1983). The 30 families chosen have off-spring in several age groups, but mainly between 10 and 24 years of age.

In addition to the above stipulated income and the presence of minor children and youths, the other criteria which were adopted in the selection of the families were the following: composition of the family structure (encompassing nuclear families, broken families, families headed by women); situation of employment of the heads of household (head employed vs. unemployed vs. head with work overload) and an ecological distribution (common dwelling vs. BNH popular housing vs. slums).¹

The information was generally provided by the head of household himself or herself or by the wife, aided by the older off-spring. The questionnaires used to obtain the familial, individual and household data are presented in both the original Portuguese version and the English translation at the end of this appendix.

II. Characterization of the Population

The sample consisted of 30 heads of household, 25 wives and 205 off-spring. Of these 205 off-spring, 61 percent were males and 39 percent females.² The sexual distribution of the off-spring is presented in the following table (Table 1) according to place of residence.

Table 1

Off-spring, According to Sex and City

City	Men	Women	Total (%)	Number
Recife	63.9	36.1	100.0	72
Salvador	62.5	37.5	100.0	72
Sao Paulo	55.7	44.3	100.0	61
TOTAL	61.0	39.0	100.0	205

Although there was concern to sample families with school-age and working age children, it was not possible to get around the problem of large families with many small children. About 30 percent of the off-spring sampled were less than 10 years of age, 29.3 percent between 10 and 14 years of age, 20 percent between 15 and 17, 17 percent between 18 and 24 and 3.9 percent over 24 years of age.

Table 2

Off-spring According to Age Group

Less than 25 and								
10 years old	10-12	13-16	15-17	18-14	over	Tota		
29.8	14.2	15.1	20.0	17.1	3.9	100.0		

About 66 percent of the heads of households are of rural origin and in Sao Paulo all the heads of households are in this situation, as is shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Origin of Heads of Household

City	Rural	Urban	Total
Recife	33.3	66.7	100.0
Salvador	60.0	40.0	100.0
Sao Paulo	100.0	0.0	100.0
TOTAL.	65.5	34.5	100.0

With regard to the children, the greatest part (81%) is originally from the city, except in Sao Paulo where about 44 percent were born there and the remaining 56 percent came from the countryside.

During the months the interviews were conducted, April and May of 1983, about 63 percent of the heads of household were working, some as employees, others doing odd jobs (Table 4) and 23 percent were retired due to on time of employment or disability even though they did some jobs every now and then.

Table 4

Activity of Heads of Household

Works	Seeks	Domestic	Sick/	Retired/	Total
·	Work	Duties	Invalid		
63.3	6.7	3.3	3.3	23.3	100.0

The level of activity is less among the off-spring. Only 20 percent were working during this period of time and of these 8.8 percent were also studying. Table 5 shows what the minors and youths were doing according to their place of residence.

Table 5

Activity of the Off-spring

City	Works	Works &	Studies	Seeks	Domestic	Sick/	Other	Total
•		Studies		Work	Duties	Invalid	<u> </u>	
Recife	4.2	6.9	56.9	6.9	2.8	2.8	19.4	100.0
Salvador	8.5	8.5	57.8	1.4	1.4	0.0	22.5	100.0
Sao Paulo	23.0	11.5	29.5	0.0	1.6	0.0	34.4	100.0
TOTAL	11.3	8.8	49.0	2.9	2.0	1.0	25.0	100.0
a	. 7							

"Off-spring 7 years of age or younger.

The level of activity is greater in Sao Paulo than in the other cities. It is also in this same city that the smallest frequency of minors and youths dedicating themselves solely to school is found. Table 5 shows the degree of sacrifice for those who migrate, and also the greater opportunities for jobs that the city offers, if it is not biased by the size of the sample.

II.2 Education Level of the Heads of Household and the Children

Educational status rises from generation to generation. While 45 percent of the heads of household have had no schooling, only 16 percent of their off-spring are in this situation, a rather high percentage when dealing with an urban population.

-4-

Table 6

Education Level of Heads of Household and Their Off-spring According

to Years of Schooling

	-				_	• • •		
	Zero	1-3	4	5-7	8	9-11	12+	Total
Heads	44.8	31.0	13.8	6.9	3.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
Off-spring	16.1	39.1	13.8	25.3	1.7	4.0	0.0	100.0

This increase in the level of schooling of the off-spring is achieved with great cost, the first being a greater number of years in school. Table 7 provides information concerning schooling achievement in relation to number of years attending school. Thus, about 15 percent were in school for 1 to 3 years without being able to learn to read and write. The reason for this futile effort is much more profound than a simple problem of learning "with no cause", according to the respondents. The reasons are insufficient food, prolonged malnutrition or fatigue caused by working at the same time one is going to school.

Of the off-spring who completed the Primary cycle (Grades 1-4) only slightly more than half (55%) did so in 4 years--the rest needed more time to complete this cycle (usually from 5 to 7 years).

The level of education most frequent among the population studied herein is that which corresponds to the Ginasio Incompleto (Grades 5 to 9 in the old system and the second half of the 1[°] grau in the new system) and for this group only 57 percent were at the stage in the cycle of their education within the expected period of time (from 5 to 7 years). About 43 percent needed this amount of time to complete the first 4 years of school, as can be seen in Table 7.

-5-

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Education Level of Off-spring According to Years of Schooling

Grade in

School/Years

in School	Zero	1-3	- 4	<u> </u>	8	9-11	12+	Total
Zero	87.5	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
1-3	14.6	82.9	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
4	0.0	40.9	54.6	0.0	0.0	4.6	0.0	100.0
5-7	0.0	23.4	19.2	57.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
8	0.0	20.0	0.0	50.0	10.0	20.0	0.0	100.0
9-11	0.0	0.0	8.3	50.0	16.7	25.0	0.0	100.0
12+	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
TOTAL	13.5	39.2	14.9	26.4	2.0	4.1	0.0	100.0

Another way to guarantee a certain level of schooling is to combine school with work and this strategy can be partially observed when verifying the level of education of the off-spring. The analysis can be only partial because Table 8 covers off-spring who work and do not work independently of their going to school or not. However we know that 22 percent of the off-spring who provided information concerning work and studies are in the labor market and 42 percent are in school.

Table 8 shows that among those who work, 33 percent did not finish the Primary cycle (Grade 1-4) and 13 percent are illiterate. On the other hand, these two percentages are greater among those who do not work, reaching 41 percent and 17 percent respectively, the same thing being true for the upper levels of education.

U

	Education	n Levei o	r orr-spri	ng Accor	ing to A	detvity		
Education			•					
Level/								
Activity	Zero	1-3	4	5-7	8	9-11	12+	Total
Works	12.8	33.9	15.4	28.2	2.6	7.7	0.0	100.0
Does not work	17.0	40.7	13.3	24.4	1.5	3.0	0.0	100.0
TOTAL	16.1	39.1	13.8	25.3	1.7	4.0	0.0	100.0

Such data suggest that the preoccupation to better their education level comes from those who are already in the labor market and sense the demand of the labor market makes for better quality of work and the positive rewards that if offers.

The question which arises now is: Who are these minors and youths who combine work with school? To what degree are they able to do so?

Table 9

Off-spring Who Work According to Age and to School Attendance

		PRESENT JOB		,	FIRST JOB				
Age		Does Not			Does not				
	Attends	Attend	·	Attends	Attend	• •			
<u></u>	School	School	Total	School	School	Total			
Up to 9 yrs	12.5	0.0	5.3	23.8	9.5	16.7			
10-14	37.5	4.6	18.4	47.6	42.9	45.2			
15-17	31.3	40.9	36.8	19.0	33.3	26.2			
18-24	18.8	45.5	34.2	9.5	14.3	11.9			
25 or more	0.0	9.1	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0			
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			

Table 8

School attendance, among this socioeconomic group of the population, accompanies the life cycle of the individual up to a certain point. As one gets older, the difficulties encountered in working and studying also increase and schooling suffers. Table 9 shows, for the Present Job, that the minors are still able to combine the two activities. As one gets older, however, the long work day and also work in the formal sectors of the economy impose a certain amount of sacrifice on this population and leaving school becomes inevitable.

A similar result can be seen in Table 9 which compares school attendance during the present job and during the first job of the individual. School attendance drops after the individual is 14 years of age. The life experience of these poor families has shown them that the longer the minor children stay in school, the better it is for them and for the family, since after a certain age they can no longer keep on attending school. When the adolescents are 16 or 17 they encounter more obstacles and feel they are too old to study. Then they dedicate themselves only to work and to helping support the studies of the younger off-spring.

Actually, the most frequent motive for quiting school is the need to work (Table 10). About 26 percent of the off-spring who interrupted their studies did so because of work. Nineteen percent of these quit school to work because they were not able to combine the two activities.

The problem of learning, which is in second place in the scale of importance (22%), is a motive which is not very open to discussion. A boy or girl can take care of his/her father's shop even though he/she has quit school because he/she was not learning anything. This situation is very common among poor families: the boy or girl who is illiterate, taking care of the buying

-8-
and selling of products for the father, who in turn is employed and who does not know the reason for the difficulties of the child in learning to read and write, as does not the mother. On the other hand, Table 7 showed that about 15 percent of the off-spring who studied 1 to 3 years are illiterate. They are apparently healthy children and youths with restricted vocabularies like their parents' and the reason they remain illiterate is probably more related to poor nutrition than to a low IQ.

Table 10

Reason for Quiting School

Does not	Inadequate					
like	Economic		Learning	No		
school	Situation	Work	Difficulties	School	Other	Total
13.0	7.4	26.0	22.2	11.1	20.4	100.0
					. 20	

Why did they quit school so early? The main reason was work and in fact, 63 percent of the off-spring who had already worked or who were working for the first time began before they were 15. Of these 18 percent had a very precocious entry into the labor market--before they were 10 years of age (Table 11).³

Table 11

Age on Entering Labor Market

•	Up to	Up to						
Sex	9 yrs.	10-12	<u>13–14</u>	15-17	18-20	21-24	over	Total
Male	21.6	13.5	32.4	21.6	10.8	0.0	0.0	100.0
Female	7.1	28.6	14.3	35.7	7.1	7.1	0.0	100.0
Total	17.7	17.7	27.5	25.5	9,8	2.0	0.0	100.0

The possibility for the child to remain in school is very low when he is part of an extremely needy family living on the periphery of commercial centers in shacks withou even minimal infrastructure, and occupying up to 17 hours each day with work, studying and commuting time.

When we recall that in 1980, when the economic situation of the country presented more favorable circumstances, there were already 20 percent of the poor families who were surviving on income derived solely from the labor of "unemployables" (mainly minors and youths), we can only speculate as to what proportion this has increased nowadays.⁴ In other words, it is probable that the youths or even the minors will have to opt for work instead of school because at least 20 percent of the poor families depend on them.

Table 12 once again shows the tendency to quit school when the minors and youths begin to work. From the population sampled, almost half (49%) only study. On analyzing only the column of the students, one observes a decrease in frequency already at 14 years of age.

In summary, dedication solely to school is allowed only to minors under 14 years of age. Between 13 and 17 years of age, it is still possible to combine work and school, but after 15 this combination is restricted to few minors.

Table 12

Age	Works	Works and Studies	Studies
Up to 9	0.0	11.1	29.0
10-12	0.0	5.6	26.0
13-14	3.2	27.8	21.0
15-17	24.4	33.3	15.0
18-20	30.8	5.6	3.0
20-24	22.7	16.7	6.0
Over 24	37.5	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	11.3	8-8	49.0

Off-spring According to Age and Situation of Activity

-10-

III. Level of Activity and Remuneration of Heads of Household and Off-spring

Of all the heads of household interviewed,' 63 percent were working, 56 percent had their first work experience in a rural area and 44 percent had their first work experience in an urban area. However, among their off-spring (20% were in activity), only 23 percent had begun to work in the country.

Many of the heads of household have rural origins and almost half (49%) are illiterate. The greater part of them went immediately to the tertiary sector and civil construction, as Table 13 shows, and have remained there during the course of their lives. The difficulties of recent years already appear in this table, for the absorption of 84% of the heads of household by the tertiary sector explains the evasion from the civil construction sector.

For the off-spring who can offer a quality of labor a little superior to that of their parents, the two sectors that absorb them most are the tertiary (67%) and the industrial sectors (21%) (Table 13).

-11-

	Current Job	Previous Job	Earlier Job	Earlier Job	First Job
	(c)	(C-1)	(C-2)	(C-3)	<u></u>
Heads					
Primary	0.0	7.7	9.1	0.0	57.1
Secondary	10.5	34.6	27.3	22.2	3.6
Tertiary	84.2	30.8	45.5	44.4	35.7
Civil Const.	5.3	26.9	18.2	33.3	3.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Offspring		•			
Primary /	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	23.3
Secondary	20.5	22.2	0.0	12.5	23.3
Tertiary	66.7	66.7	75.0	75.0	51.2
Civil Const.	12.8	11.1	25.0	12.5	2.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 13

Sector of Activity

The following table shows that more and more frequently a larger number of people are leaving their regular protected jobs for intermittent ones. On the date of the interviews there were 42 percent of the heads of household who were self-employed, when in previous times there were about 15 percent of the heads of household self-employed. The same is true for their off-spring. About 33 percent of them work as street vendors, masons' aides, etc., with no signed work card nor formal ties and 10 percent receive no remuneration because they are helping parents or relatives or neighbors.

Table	14
-------	----

	Current Job	Previous Job	Earlier Job	Earlier Job	First Job
	(C)	(C-1)	(C-2)	(C-3)	
Heads	57.9	84.6	81.8	88.9	35.7
Employee	42.1	15.4	13.6	11.1	21.4
Self-employed	0.0	0.0	4.6	0.0	7.1
Sharecropper	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	35.7
Unpaid Worker	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
TOTAL				· ·	
Off-spring					
Employee	56.4	83.3	62.5	75.0	54.6
Self-employed	33.3	16.7	37.5	25.0	25.0
Sharecropper	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unpaid Worker	10.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.5
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Position in Occupation

The turn-over among the off-spring is much greater than that among their parents. Of the heads of household who are working (63%), about 44 percent have been doing so for more than 5 years. This job permanancy was always possible in previous jobs, as Table 15 reveals. In the intermediary jobs, the length of employment did not reach a year. The high proportion of the heads of household working for more than five years in their first job is explained by their rural origin. The greater part of the heads of household (56%) are migran'ts and thus they worked for a long time in agriculture with their parents and after when they had their own family.

Among their off-spring the permanency (stay) in each job is relatively short. About 32 percent of them have been working about one month and 29 percent for one to six months. Only 8.8 percent have been working at the same job for more than one year. In all the jobs researched the length of employment most frequently stated was between one to six months.

Table 15

Length of Employment

· .		Over 1		o mos.			
Job	Up to	wk. up	l to	to	1 to	2 to	0ver
Succession	1 week	to 1 mo.	6 mos.	1 yr.	2 yrs.	5 yrs.	5 yrs.
Heads	:						
Current Job	11.1	0.0	22.2	0.0	5.6	16.7	44.4
Previous Job	4.0	4.0	36.0	8.0	28.0	0.0	20.0
Earlier Job	0.0	0.0	47.4	31.6	5.3	5.3	10.5
Earlier Job	0.0	5.6	38.9	11.1	33.3	11.1	0.0
First Job	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	10.0	5.0	80.0
Off-spring							
Current Job	2.9	32.4	29.4	26.5	2.9	2.9	2.9
Previous Job	0.0	10.5	47.4	21.1	15.8	5.3	0.0
Earlier Job	0.0	0.0	87.5	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0 °
Earlier Job	0.0	0.0	37.5	62.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
First Job	2.7	5.4	27.0	24.3	13.5	8.1	18.9

The education level of the population of off-spring sampled is quite low, as was shown in Table 6. About 16 percent have had no schooling at all and 39 percent have not completed the Primary circle (Grade 4). The <u>quality</u> of schooling of the off-spring who make up the family labor force is not much different, as can be seen in Table 16. Fourteen percent have had no schooling and 38 percent have not completed the primary cycle.

Table 16

Education Level of Total Number of Off-spring and of the Labor Force

Education	Labor		Total	
Level	Present Job	First Job	Ch	ildren
Zero	13.5	13.5		16.1
l to 3	37.8	48.7		39.1
4	13.5	13.5	200	13.8
5 to 7	24.3	18.9		25.3
8	2.7	2.7		1.7
9 to 11	8.1	2.7		4.0
12+	0.0	0.0	•	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		100.0

On the other hand it is possible to verify that there has been a small improvement in the education level of the labor force when one compares the first job with the present job, especially in the highest levels of education.

Table 17 provides information about the number of hours spent weekly with work. No less than 38.5 percent of the minors and youths work more than 48

hours per week and about 21 percent work from 40 to 48 hours. Since 46 percent of these minors and youths who work also study, they end up using the greater part of the day in these two activities and thus have very few hours for rest and complementary study.

Table 17

	Current	Previous	Earlier	Earlier	First
	Job	Job	Job	Job	Job
Up to 24 hrs.	12.8	5.6	12.5	0.0	4.8
24-40 hrs.	28.2	16.7	12.5	12.5	21.4
40-48 hrs.	20.5	27.8	37.5	25.0	16.7
48-56 hrs.	18.0	33.3	0.0	12.5	19.1
More than 56 hrs.	20.5	16.7	37.5	50.0	38,1
TOTAL	.100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Hours Worked by the Off-spring

One of the preoccupations of the poor family found in this study is that at least one of its members be employed with formal contract so that medical and hospital assistance is guaranteed, if possible for the whole family. Of the families interviewed, only 41 percent had a signed work card and had insurance/social security contributions deducted from their pay. On comparing the various jobs held one notes an improvement in this area since only 16 percent had signed work cards on their first jobs.

Table 18

Signed Work Card and Contribution to Social Benefit Plan

Signed Work Card

and Benefit	Current	Previous	Earlier	Earlier	First
Contributions	Job	Job	Job	Job	Job
Yes	41.0	50.0	25.0	37.5	15.9
No	59.0	50.0	75.0	62.5	84.1

We have already seen that minors and youths work a lot. Could it be that the return on this work is so favorable? Table 19 presents the income in terms of the minimum wage for these working minors.

Table 19

Monthly Income from Work - Off-spring

	Less than	L/4 to 1/2	1/2 to 1	1 to 2	Nore than 2	
	1/4 Minimum	Minimum	Minimum	Minimum	Minimum	
	Wage	Wage	Wage	Wage	Wage	
Current Job	23.5	2.9	35.3	38.2	0.0	
Previous Job	18.8	12.5	37.5	18.8	12.5	
Earlier Job	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	42.9	
Earlier Job	12.5	0.0	25.0	12.5	50.0	
First Job	34.3	2.9	25.7	14.3	22.9	

About 63 percent begin working earning less than one minimum wage and through time this situation is not altered, since 62 percent of the present labor force earn less than one minimum wage.

-17-

When comparing with the income from the first job of the heads of household, one notes that 89 percent began earning less than 1/4 minimum wage, and 63 percent had no income from work because they were non-remunerated family workers. The most frequent salary range is between one and two minimum wages, the situation of about 39 percent of the heads of family (Table 20).

A job plus a secondary source of income is very important for this group of families. This is seen when one notes that the proportion of heads of household who receive a total of one to two.minimum wages goes from 39 percent to 52 percent when the secondary source is also included.

Table 20

	Less	than 1/4	1/4 to 1/2	1/2 to 1	1 to 2	2 to 3	More than	3
Presen	t	Minimum	Minimum	Minimum	Minimum	Minimum	Minimum	
Job		Wage	Wage	Wage	Wage	Wage	Wagè	Total
Work		0.0	11.1	22.2	38.9	16.7	11.1	100.0
TOTAL	·	0.0	8.0	20.0	52.0	8.0	12.0	100.0

Income from Work and Total Income of Heads of Household

 Given the income restrictions, the greater part of the families live in 'favelas' (slums).

2. Obviously the sex different in the percentages of young people is too great to be due to chance: 61 percent of the off-spring of these families are sons, 39 percent daughters. Actually, for present purposes it does not make any difference. We do not know why it occurred. But we have considered two main possiblities, each with a number of alternatives. The major ones are 1) that the difference is an artifact of our research procedures, and 2) that in fact poor urban families have fewer girls than boys. The first in effect suggests that a more rigorous sampling procedure would have produced a more balanced sex distribution, the second that an as yet unknown sociological factor reduces the number of girls in the family. After examining a number of hypotheses of both kinds, it is our opinion that the phenomenon is purely procedural. A large proportion of the interviews were conducted in favelas. Favelas generally have small stores in front of them, tended by young boys. The interviewer ordinarily used such boys as informants in order to select families for interviews. Obviously these boys would know the members of some of the families in their favelas, but only a small minority. We think that at that age they would be more familiar with families with several boys of their own age than with families with other age-sex compositions. So they would have suggested the names of such families to the interviewer.

3. Girls, however, enter a little later - 36 percent between 15 and 17 years of age.

4. See Pastore et al, Nudanca social e pobreza no Brasil 1970/1980.

-19-

NOTES

Appendix B

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

A. Variables Measuring the Level of Family Activity

1. Family Employment Ratio Index (I_{FFR})

The I_{FFR} is constructed as follows:

FER = Number of "Employable Members who are employed Number of "Employables" - 1

where "employable" means of an age to work but not in school, as defined in Section D of this Appendix.

The I_{FER} is a ratio of the number of "employable" family members who are actually working to the total number of "employable" family labor force members, minus one. One is subtracted from the total number of employables to allow one family member to be designated to perform domestic tasks, such as child care, housekeeping, shopping, preparing food, etc. An "acceptable" situation is one in which all but one of the "employables" is employed.

The I_{FFR} values are defined as follows:

Score Meaning

IFER = 0 Inactive Family (no employable members employed] includes
families having no "employables".

- I_{FER} =1 Adequately employed (one unemployed "employable".)

I_{FER} >1 Fully employed (no unemployment among "employables".)

2. Index of Underemployment (IUE)

It is not enough to know how many family members are working. It is also necessary to know how much they work, that is, how much time each family member dedicates to gainful employment. The IUE is the index which measures the intensity of work when underemployment is observed in the family's "employable" members.

-B1-

In order to construct the IUE, norms had to be established for amount of time dedicated to work. For urban workers, the normal level was established as being from 40 to 48 hours of work per week. "Employable" family members who did not work or who worked less than the normal amount of time were considered to be "underemployed."

The IUE, then, was simply the number of employable members of the family who worked less than 40 hours per week (1980 Census).

The IUE has the following range of scores:

Score	Meaning
IUE = 0	No employable members of the family are
	underemployed. (Ideal situation.)
IUE = 1	One employable member is underemployed. (Acceptable
	situations.)
IUE \geq 2	More than one employable member is underemployed.
<u>.</u>	(The family is considered to be underemployed.)

Variables that Measure the Economic Situation of the Family

1. The Index of Average Income (IAI)

The IAI is the per capita family income, expressed in terms of the regional minimum wage.

Total Family Income

Number of Family Members with Declared Income

If IAI = 1, this would indicate that the family "per capita" income is equal to one minimum wage within the family's region of residence.

- 2. Proportion of Income Earned by Employable Hembers of the Family
 - (PI Ex)

IAI =

Β.

In principle, only the incomes of the employables would be expected (when added together) to make up the family's income. However, there are many

-2-

families which utilize the labor of "unemployable" family members in order to increase their domestic budgets. The PI Ex, therefore, is simply the proportion of the family's income earned solely by its employable members. Thus, if PI Ex = 1, the family's income is earned exclusively by its employable members] PI Ex = 0, then the family's income is derived solely from the labor of unemployable family members] and if 0 < PI Ex < 1, the family obtains its income through the work of its unemployable and its employable members.

C. Variables that Characterize the Family

1. Family Size

Family size is simply the count of all family members.

2. Family Type

Presence of Spouses	Male Head	Male Head	Female Head
Presence of Other	of Household	of Household	of Household
Categories	With Spouse	Without Spouse	Without Spouse
Only Children	Intact	Broken	Broken
	Nuclear Family	Nuclear Family	Nuclear Fàmily
	CN	MB	FB
Children and Others	Extended	Extended	Extended
	Complete Family	Broken Family	Broken Family
	EC	MEB	FEB
Only Others*	Extended Family Without Children	Group	Group
	EXC	MC	FG
Neither Children	Couple	Individual	Individual
	MF	M	F

*"Other members" are persons who maintain some family relationship with the head of household. <u>Agregados</u> (persons taken in and treated as family members) were included, but boarders and guests were excluded.

-3-

Families comprised of only one individual (N, F) or of groups (NG, FG) were excluded from this study because, in the former there is no family grouping, and in the latter there either are no family ties or the ties are very weak. These cases would weaken the tests of the basic hypotheses of this research since they are not truly families. The remaining families were merged in five basic types: a) Intact Nuclear Family; b) Extended Family (which includes both Complete and Without Children); c) Broken Family with Male Head (which includes both Nuclear and Extended); d) Broken Family with Female Head (also Nuclear and Extended), and e) Couple.

3. Life Cycle Index (LCI)

The LCI is the variable which identifies the family's stage in the life cycle (the relative age of the family). It is obtained through the following equations:

LCI = <u>Average Age of Heads of Household</u> x <u>Age of Oldest Head</u> Average Age of Children x <u>Oldest Child's Age</u>

The first term in the above equation expresses the ratio between the average age of the parents and the average age of the children. Since this ratio could result in the same value for families in quite different stages of the life cycle, this term is then multiplied by the second term which expresses the ratio between the age of the oldest parent and the age of the oldest child. This results in higher scores for younger families, and lower scores for the older families. In addition, this approach tends to create a certain dispersion in the values of the LCI which helps to prevent coincident values for different age groups.

The older the family, the closer the LCI is to one: the younger the family, the farther its score is from one. The value range for the LCI is as follows:

-4-

Score	Meaning
LCI < 6	Older Families
6 ≤ LCI < 16	Middle-Aged Families
16 ≤ LCI < 100	Young Families
LCI <u>></u> 100	Very Young Families

There are two restrictions observed in the calculation of the LCI: 1) Only families which the age difference between the oldest parent and the youngest child was between 15 and 50 years were considered. Thus, families whose head of household was very young (perhaps a brother) or very old (perhaps a grandfather) were excluded. To speak of these types of families in terms of the family life cycle would make little sense. 2) Only children living at home, as declared by the mother, were considered. Thus, families whose children were no longer living at home for any reason (in school, married and living elsewhere, etc.) were eliminated. The inclusion of these numbers would bias the life cycle of the unit of analysis. Children living outside the home are probably forming other family units and, therefore, other units of analysis.

4. Index of the Quality of Labor (IQL)

The IQL is intended to measure the quality of labor offered by the family. Two basic variables were considered in its construction: the age and the education of family members.

For a given individual, the quality of abor one offers increases with the level of one's education and increases as one approaches the height of productive life.¹ The height of productive life is taken to be an age plateau before and often after which the quality of labor of an individual is not at its peak. It is the age at which an individual reaches the maximum quality of work, due to an accumulation of knowledge (which, in essence

-5-

includes experience). The height of productive life also depends on the level of education attained, since it is greater as higher levels of education are attained. In effect this index assumes, probably realistically, that those who have the best education are also the people whose work can be effective farther into middle and old age.

The following expression reflects this double independence:

 $IQL = \frac{a E}{|H - I|}$, where: E = EducationI = AgeH = Height of Productive Lifea = parameter

To avoid discontinuity at the points where H = I, it was decided to set the minimum value for |H - I| at 0.8H.

The IQL of individuals A and B, will have the following characteristics (with the education of A being greater than that of B):



The following values were arbitrarily established for the terms of IQL:

Education (in years)	a	a ^E	н	H - I _{win}
0	<u></u>	10	30	6
1 - 3	10	10 - 30	30	6
4	20	80	30	6
5 - 7	30	150 - 210	35	7
8	40	320	35	7
9 - 10	50	450 - 500	40	. 8
11	70	770	40	8
12 - 14	100	1200 - 1400	45	· 9
14 - 17	150	2250 - 2550	50	10

Coefficients of IQL

The IQL scores of family members can be added to each other resulting in the Index of the Quality of Family Labor:

IQL =

n Σ

<u>i=1</u>

n L 1=1 a_i ^Ei

H_i-I_i

, where i = number of "employable" family members and number of "unemployable" members who work.

Ser.

The families were categorized according to the value of their IQL as

follows:

Value	Qualification						
IQL < 2	Families with Very Low IQL						
$2 \leq IQL < 10$	Families with Low IQL						
10 ≤ IQL < 60	Families with Average IQL						
IQL ≤ 60	Families with High IQL						

5. Proportion of "Employable" Women in the Labor Force (PW Ex)

The percentage of women among the employable members of each family was calculated. Values for this variable range from O (no women employable in the family) to 1 (all employable persons in the family are women).

6. Attributes of the Head of Household

The following attributes of the head of household were considered:

- a) Age
- b) Education
- c) Occupational Position (Civil Servant, Private Employee, Self-Employed, Sharecropper, Employer, and Seeking Work for the First Time)
- d) Occupational Sector (Primary, Secondary, Tertiary and Civil Construction)
- D. "Employable" and "Unemployable" Members of the Family

This variance was specified according to criteria combining age and education. The variable is "normative" in that is assumes families would choose to send their school age off-spring, and even their academically motivated youths and adults, to school full time if they could afford to do so.

	Attending	Not Attending School				
Age	School	4th Grade	4th Grade			
	·	Completed	Incomplete			
14 or less (children)	Unemployable	Unemployable	Unemployable			
15 to 18 (youths)	Unemployable	Employable	Unemployable			
19 to 70 (adults)	Unemployable	Employable	Employable			

Criteria for Labor Force Status

Those considered "Employable" are: a) those over fourteen who have completed the fourth grade and are no longer attending school; and b) those over 18 who are not attending school, whether or not they completed the fourth grade. All persons who are attending school, all retirees, the sick, invalids, prisoners, and those over 70 are considered to be unemployable.

<u>_</u>,_

Source of Data: The 0.75% Sample of the 1980 Demographic Census of Brazil

This sample is stored on two magnetic tapes and contains approximately 890,000 registers of resident individuals and 197,000 registers of private households. All original information was maintained. The publication which contains a detailed description of the sampling procedures used by the FIBGE is the "Censo Demografico de 1980 - Amostra das Tabulacoes Avancadas - Manual do Usuario" (FIBGE, 1982, Rio de Janeiro).

FOOTNOTES

 The FIBGE used the following concepts in the Demographic Census of 1970:

<u>Private Household</u>: that which serves as living quarters for 1, 2, or 3 families, even if located in an industrial or commercial establishment, etc. Boarding houses, tenements, apartment buildings, ranches, etc., are comprised of private households.

<u>Collective Household</u>: that which is occupied by groups or families in which the relationship between the residents is restricted to subordination or administrative order and to the compliance of group-living norms. Hotels, boarding houses, convents, barracks, and schools are examples of collective households.

<u>Family</u>: a) a set of persons bound by family ties or domestic interdependence, who live in the same household; b) a person who lives alone in a private household; and c) a set of at least five persons who live in a private household, although they are not related or have no domestic interdependence.

Appendix C

English Translation of Interview Schedule for Case Studies

Section 1 - Characteristics of the Family

Family	Municipio:	State:	State:Type Dwelling:			Job Situation:			
	Name of Members	<u>, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,</u>		·	<u> </u>			N	
Charact	teristics	Head	Spouse	Child	Child	Child	Child	Child	
01. SE2 1. 2.	X Male Female				· .				
02. AGI 1. 2. NKJ	E In complete yrs. Birth date /NR								
03. P1: 1. 2. NK	ace of birth Municipio State /NR								
04. Loo 1. 2. NKA	cation of household Rural Urban /NR		•	· .	•	244 244 24			
05. Sit 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	tuation of Activity Works Seeks work Domestic duties Student Retirement Dayments						-		
6. 7. 8. NK	Lives off investment income Sick/invalid Other /NR								
								·	

-01-

Name of Members Characteristics Head Spouse Child Child Chi.	ld Child	Child
Characteristics Head Spouse Child Child Chi.	ld Child	Child
Q6 Education		
oo. Education	•	
1. Illiterate		
2. Literate		
3. Primary (grades 1-4)		
4. Ginasio		
(grades 5-9) 5. Colegio		
(grades 10-12) 6. 1º Grau		
(grades 1~8) 7. 2 ⁰ Grau		• •
(grades 9-11) 8. Adult Intensive		
1 ⁰ Grau 9. Adult Intensive		
2 ^o Grau	-	
IV. College entrance		
11. University		
NK/NR		
07. Last grade completed		
0 - 1000		
$\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2}$		
$\bar{3} - \bar{3}$		
4 - 4		
5 – 5		
6 - 6		
7 - 7		
8 - 8		
NK/ NK		
08. Years of schooling		
NK/NR		
	· .	
09. For those in Adult		
Intensive		
1 ⁰ Grau, what previous schooling		
1. Normal primary		
2. MOBRAL NK/NR	· .	

,

					-3-						
Fami	ly:	Municipio:		State:	: Type Dwelling:				Job Situation:		
	•	Name of Member	ŝ								
Char	acteri	stics		Head	Spouse	Child	Child	Child	Child	Child	
10.	For the Inter 2° Grat schoo - Regul - MOBRA - Ginas - a° G	ose in Adult Isive 1, what previous Dling Lar primary AL Sio Cau	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		<u>.</u>		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		•	
	- Adult 10 1. Ye 2. Ne NK/NR	t Intensive Grau es		·							
11.	Gets u) at									
12.	Goes to	bed at				•					
13.	Goes to schoo	o work and/or ol at			. · · ·						
14.	Comes l schoo work	nome from * ol and/or at)			
15.	Time de work	edicated to					. *				
16.	Time de schoo	edicated to				· · · ·					
17.	Divisio task: membo week	on of household s among family ers during the (working days)					·				
18.	Descrij Satu time unti	otion of a day (from the one awakes Lgoing to bed	• • •								
19.	Descrij Sunda quési	otion of a ay (same as tion above)				-					
		•				· .					

Fami	ly: Nunicipio:	State:	Тур	e Dwellin	g:	_ Job Sit	uation:	<u> </u>
<u></u> _	Name of Members				· · · · ·			
Char	acteristics	Head	Spouse	Child	Child	Child	Chi1d	Child
20.	Food made at home and eaten yesterday. If very little, give the day before TYPE QUANTITY	-						
· · ·							·	
	Who eats it? 1. Yes 2. No NK/NR						• • • • •	
21.	For those who do not eat a home, what kind of food most frequently eaten?	at is				-		
	Where: NK/NR							
22.	Is there anyone who complete of too little food?	ains						

-4-

			•	~5-					
Fani	11y:	_,Municipio:	State:	Τζ	ype Dwell	ing:	Job Sit	uation:_	
		Name of Members					<u></u>		
Chai	cacteris	tics	Head	Spouse	Child	Child	Child	Child	Cł
23.	If yes, like 1. Th 2. Ot NK/NR	what would he/she to eat? e same foods, but in greater quantities her foods						· .	
24.	If othe ones.	r foods, say which					. · · ·		
	NK/NR								
25.	Has the in th type? NK/NR	re been any illness e last 30 days? What Who?					14. 14. 14.		
26.	Was it 1. Ye 2. No NK/NR	related to food? s							
27.	What ty NK/NR	pe of food?							·
28.	Who has probl probl NK/NR	frequent health ems? What kind of em?					•	•	
29.	Weight	last time weighed.							
	NK/NR								
30.	Date la NK/NR	st weighed.						·	
31.	Present NK/NR	weight.		,			•		-
32.	Height NK/NR	(cm)							

Family: Municipio:		State:	State: Type Dwelling:			Job Situation:			
01		Name of Members		0			01.41.2		
	racteris	tics	неас	Spouse	CUITa	Child	Child	Cnild	Child
33.	For tho the f NK/NR	se seeking work for irst time, why?							
34.	Amount NK/NR	of time seeking work.							
35.	What ki you see NK/NR	nd of work are king?							
36.	What wo 1. Fu 2. Pa NK/NR	rk schedule? 11 time rt time							
37.	If you conti 1. Ye 2. No NK/NR	study, do you plan to nue? s				•	24. A		
38.	Why did	you stop studying?							
39.	Through like	what grade would you to study?	1						·
40.	Do you your	think you will achiev goal?	7e		•		· .		
41.	Who enc study	ourages you most to ?	• .						
-									
							· .		•
								e . ¹	
		• .						·•	

Family:	Respondent:	Municipio:	State:		Present age:	<u>. </u>
0	ccupational Trajectory				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Characteristi	cs	Present Job	Previous Job	Previous Job	Previous Job	First Job
01. Age when jobs (i complet years) NK/NR	in n e					
02. Length of employm in jobs (date b left) NK/NR	ent declared egan and		•		:	
03. School at 1. Yes 2. No NK/NR	tendance			and the second sec		· .
04. Years of NK/NR	schooling					
05. Last grad 0. None 1. 1 2. 2 3. 3 4. 4 5. 5 6. 6 7. 7 8. 8 NK/NR	e completed					
06. Level of 1. Illi 2. Lite 3. Prim 4. Gina 5. Cole 6. 1° G 7. 2° G 8. Adul 9. Adul 10. Coll 11. Univ NK/NR	schooling terate rate ary sio (4-9 grades) gio rau rau t intensive 1 ⁰ grau t intensive 2 ⁰ grau ege entrance exam pr ersity	ep	•			

Section II - Occupational History

-7-

	-8-			
· , ,				
Family: Respondent:	Municipio:	State:	Present age:	·
Occupational Trajectory		· .		
Characteristics	Present Job	Previous Prev Job Jo	ious Previous b Job	First Job
07. Motive for entry and for changing NK/NR	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	· ·		
<pre>08. Place of work 1. Municipio 2. State 3. Rural 4. Urban NK/NR</pre>			·	
09. Place of household 1. Municipio 2. State 3. Rural 4. Urban NK/NR	· · ·			
10. Type of job done (description) NK/NR				
 Position in occupation Employee Self-employed Sharecropper "Volante" worker Employer Other NK/NR 				
 Sector of Activity Primary Secondary Tertiary Civil construction NK/NR 				
13. Hours worked per week NK/NR				
		•		

Family: Respondent:	Municipio:	State:	Present age	2:
Occupational Trajectory			· · · ·	<u>, , w 20, 20 2 1</u>
Characteristics	Present Job	Previous Job	Previous Previous Job Job	First Job
<pre>14. Signed work card 1. Yes 2. No NK/NR</pre>			, <u>, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , </u>	
<pre>15. Contributes to previdential institute? Which? l. Yes 2. No NK/NR</pre>				• •
<pre>16. How long did you seek work between jobs? NK/NR</pre>		• • •		
17. Payment for work1. Monetary2. KindNK/NR	<u>Cr\$</u>	<u>Cr\$</u>	<u>Cr\$</u>	<u>Cr\$</u>
 Payment for work Hours Day Week Monthly Tasks NK/NR 	•			
<pre>19. Have (or had) other income besides that declared above? 1. Yes 2. No NK/NR</pre>	· ·	· · ·		
		`		

-9--

Fami	ly: Respondent:	Municipio:	State:	Present age:
	Occupational Trajectory			
Char	acteristics .	Present Job	Previous Job	Previous Previous First Job Job Job
20.	If yes, what is the source? 1. Work 2. Alimony, retirement			
	benefits, child support 3. Rent 4. Gift/allowance 5. Other NK/NR			· · ·
21.	<pre>If income was from work, what type(s)? NK/NR</pre>		s.	
22.	Position in Occupations 1. Employee 2. Self-employed 3. Sharecropper 4. "Volante" worker 5. Employer 6. Other NK/NR			
23.	Sector of activity 1. Primary 2. Secondary 3. Tertiary 4. Civil construction NK/NR			
24.	Number of hours worked weekly NK/NR	• • • • •		
25.	Income from the work 1. Monetary 2. Kind NK/NR	<u>Cr\$</u>	<u>Cr\$</u>	<u>Cr\$ Cr\$ Cr\$</u>

-10-

Family: Respondent:	Municipio:	State:		Present age:	
Occupational Trajectory				<u> </u>	
Characteristics	Present Job	Previous Job	Previous Job	Previous Job	First Job
26. Income from the work declared above 1. Hour 2. Daily 3. Weekly 4. Monthly 5. Tasks 6. Other NK/NR	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				
	·				
				- - - -	
		· · ·		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	· · ·				· • ·
		:			
	• • •				· ·
			•		

-11-

Section III - Characteristics of the Household

Fami	ly:H	Respond	ent:	Municipio:		_ State:_	T ₃	vpe of dw	relling:
01.	Dwelling is	s:	1. Owned	2. Rentéd	3. 1	oaned	4. Other	NK/	'nR
02.	Size (m ²)			_m2					
03.	Rooms	:	Total Livingroom Inside bat Private ou Collective	Used as bedro Kitchen hroom tside bathroom outside bathroom	oms		· ·		Total
04.	Water supp	ly	1. Inside 2. Inside 3. No insi 4. No insi 5. Other f NK/NR	plumbing - pub plumbing - wel ide plumbing - ide plumbing - Form	olic hoo l or sp public well of	ok-up oring hook-up ∢ r spring	outside		
05.	Sanitary installa	tions	1. Public 2. Septic 3. Rudimer 4. Other 5. Does no NK/NR	sewage system tank ntary tank ot have				a de la companya de la	
06.	Electric 1	ights	1. Has	2. Does not l	ave	NK/NR			
07.	Stove		1. Gas of 2. Oil of 3. Coal 4. Wood 5. None	r electric r kerosene		•		•	
08.	Refrigerat	or	1. Has	2. Does not	have	NK/NR			•
09.	Washing Ma	chine	l. Has	2. Does not	have	NK/NR	: 		

-12-

Family:	Responden	t:	Munici	ipio:	State:	Type of	dwelling:
10. Television	n set l.	Black	and white	2. Color	3. Both 4.	None NK/NR	
11. Radio	1.	Has	2. Does	not have	NK/NR	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
12. Passenger	car l.	Has	2. Does	not have	NK/NR		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
13. Asphalt	1.	Has	2. Does	not have	NK/NR		
14. Walls	1. 4.	Brick Straw	2. P 5. 0	repared woo ther	d 3. Ur NK/NR	ncovered lath a	and plaster
15. Floor	1. 5.	Wood Other _	2. Ceme	nt 3. T NK/N	ile 4.I R	Dirt	
16. Roof	: 5.	Concre Other _	te slab	2. Shingle NK/NR	s 3. Zinc	4. Straw	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
17. Sewing ma	chine 1.	Has	2. Does	not have	NK/NR	No.	
18. Blender	1.	Has	2. Does	not have	NK/NR		
19. Telephone	1.	Has	.2. Does	not have	NK/NR		

-13-
APPENDIX D

REALITY AND THE LAW

The Consolidation of the Labor Laws (CLT) in Article 402-441 and several other legal actions specify the rules to be followed for the work of minors. The items below select some topics of the law which may be untrusted with the realities revealed by the data presented above.

Art. 402: "The worker from 12 to 18 years of age is considered a minor."

Art. 403: "It is forbidden for the child less than 12 years old to work."

"The work of minors from 12 to 14 years of age is subject to the following conditions:

(a) (Such an employed minor may work only with) A guarantee of school attendance, for at least, throughout the primary level primary."

COMMENT: This requirement is not met. Eleven percent of the minors who work in this age group are not enrolled in school. Minors of this age who belong to poor families tend to find irregular work in the informal sector, thus falling outside the control of the appropriate official organs.

> (b) (Such an employed minor may work only at) services of a light nature that will not jeopardize his health or his normal development."

COMMENT :

Numerous families interviewed sheltered minors of 14 years of age who worked as painters, auto mechanics, servants, blacksmiths, agricultural day-laborers, etc., as much as 14 hours per day, doing heavy, unhealthy work. Art. 405:

"The minor will not be allowed to work:

I - in places or jobs that are dangerous or not healthy...
II - in places or jobs which are harmful to his moral character...."

- "2 Work performed in the streets...will depend on the previous authority of the justice of minors.
 - 3 Work which is considered harmful to the moral character of the minor is:
 - (a) work which is done in any way in burlesque theaters, movie houses, night clubs, casinos, dancing halls, and similar establishments."

Art. 407:

"Once it has been verified by the competent authority that the job performed by the minor is harmful to his health, physical or moral development, he is be obliged to change jobs, and the firm where he is employed must provide full assistance to the minor to expedite the change in his functions."

COMMENT:

Competent authorities are not always present. We encountered one case, for example, of a girl who worked in a factory, who, because she was pregnant, was constantly pressured by her section chief to remain seated during her whole work period, though he knew it was injurious to her health to do so. The pressure, her inability to cope with the situation, and the lack of local protection caused her to be discharged, which was what the management wanted in the first place.

Art. 412: "After every period of actual work there will be a rest interval not less than 11 hours."

Art. 424: "It is the duty of those legally responsible for minors--fathers and mothers, or guardians--to withdraw them from any job which considerably decreases their time for studying, or reduces their time of rest...or jeopardizes their moral character."

COMMENT:

COMMENT:

The poor family's struggle for survival leaves no room for choice. Any help the children can provide for the family budget is very important. So parents or guardians are obliged to take them out of school and put them to work, and they are not in a good position to restrict the number of hours they will have to work. Another fact noted in the case studies is that poor parents often are in no position to prevent their children from working at a job that threatens their moral development, even though they are aware of the effects such work may have on to their children, as for example when they work in the open markets or at guarding cars, places were all kinds of people circulate, some of whom possibly are involved in illegal activities.

Art. 427: "The employer...will be obliged to give to the minors whatever time is necessary for them to attend school."

The realities observed appear to prove the opposite. Employers provide no cooperation whatsoever. Cases were observed in which the youngster left school for just this reason: the employers unwillingness to let the youngsters off work a few minutes early so they could get to school on time. There was even one case of an employer who refused to let the youngster off to take a test.

9. GUIDELINES FOR A MORE REALISTIC LAW

Factors that impede the combination of study and work among minors and youths.

- 1. Full-time employment.
- 2. Full-time work, with long work hours (40-48 hours or more).
- Work locales of jobs destined for minors who live on the outskirts of the cities.
- Absence of literacy courses, supplementary courses, and job training courses in the peripheral neighborhoods.
- 5. Insufficient food, reflecting in the health of the minor and future adults.
- Activities that in general are poorly paid, require long hours, tiring the minor and making him miss school.
- 7. The buying power of the family who because they lack the resources are unable to buy the school materials and uniform required.
- 8. Lack of openings in the regular schools.

-4-