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Child labour in Kosovo: An enquiry into the causes and impact of child labour

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Child labour in Kosovo:[1] An enquiry into the causes and impact of child labour

1 All references to Kosovo should be understood in the context of United Nations Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).

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CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSW	Centres for Social Work
DSPF	Department of Social Policies and Family
HCL	hazardous child labour
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statisticians
ILO	International Labour Office/Organization
KAS	Kosovo Agency of Statistics
LCP	Law on Child Protection
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SNA	System of National Accounts
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

Executive summary

Child labour remains a concerning, widespread phenomenon around the globe. According to the latest report (ILO and UNICEF 2021), one in ten children worldwide were in child labour at the start of 2020. The unexpected hardships brought forth by the COVID-19 situation have further undermined the progress made in the fight against child labour. Unfortunately, Kosovo has not been altogether immune to this global issue. It is not uncommon to witness Kosovo's children performing perilous tasks in the street or local markets or even begging. This situation calls for immediate action on behalf of the State and society to fight the issue of child labour in Kosovo. Consequently, this report aims to raise awareness and inform policy responses by providing the most recent statistical findings on this matter. More specifically, it provides a descriptive overview of the **prevalence**, **determinants** and **effects** of child labour based on descriptive and regression analysis of Kosovo's 2019–20 Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS).

The report finds that about 5.3 per cent of children in Kosovo and 7 per cent of children from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities are in child labour. A typical child in child labour from Kosovo would be a boy aged 12 to 14 from the poorest households in the rural areas of Ferizaj or Gjilan, while the most likely child labour profile in Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities is a boy aged 5 to 11 from the second poorest households in rural areas. About 96 per cent of children aged 5 to 14 and 92 per cent of those aged 15 to 17 attend school in Kosovo. Only 1 per cent of children aged 5 to 14 and 2 per cent of those aged 15 to 17 are engaged only in economic activity. But the situation is strikingly worse for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children: about 23 per cent of those aged 5 to 14 and 57 per cent of those aged 15 to 17 are out of school. The majority of the latter are not working either.

Children in households at the lowest wealth index quintile are more likely to be in child labour than other children, while material deprivation is less correlated with child labour. In contrast, the relations between household wealth, material deprivation and child labour are not straightforward for children from the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. In terms of work intensity, children in child labour spend an average of 10.3 hours working per week in Kosovo. In contrast, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children work almost twice as long as the national average, at 18.6 hours per week. Time-intensity of child labour and involvement in household chores becomes worse as children get older. Girls are significantly more likely to be engaged in household chores than boys, and for longer hours.

The situation in terms of workplace hazards is less worrisome. Only 2.7 per cent of children are exposed to workplace hazardous conditions overall in Kosovo. However, this figure increases significantly when focusing only on children in child labour, about 18.2 per cent of children Kosovo overall and 34.7 per cent of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children.

The overall descriptive statistics outlined in the preceding paragraphs are further confirmed by the econometric analysis on the determinants of child labour. The regression analysis revealed that the statistically significant determinants of child labour for Kosovo's children are age, being a boy, being from rural areas and of Albanian ethnicity. Caretakers' functional difficulties were an additional determining factor of child labour for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children.

The report also considers the implications of child labour for the educational and health outcomes of children aged 7 to 14. The regression analysis revealed that being in child labour is associated with a decrease of 6.7 percentage points in the probability of having foundational reading skills after controlling for various individual and household characteristics. However, there was no statistically significant impact for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children. Moreover, child labour is also associated with a 6.7 percentage point decrease in a child's probability of having foundational numeracy skills after controlling for various individual and household characteristics. The magnitude of child labour's potential impact on the probability of having foundational numeracy skills is even more striking (9.5 percentage points) for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, all else constant.

Finally, the report finds that child labour does not have a statistically significant association with functional difficulties after controlling for various individual and household characteristics. Surprisingly, being in child labour is associated with a decrease of 4.3 percentage points in the probability of children suffering from anxiety overall in Kosovo, while there is no statistically significant effect on children of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. In addition, there is no statistically significant relationship between child labour and depression, neither for children overall in Kosovo, nor for those from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities.

The report presents a clearer data-driven picture of the characteristics of the children in child labour and those at risk in Kosovo. More importantly, these findings further attest to the harmful effect of child labour on children's educational progress. As such, they are a wake-up call for the Government, civil society and other stakeholders to take action to eliminate child labour and improve children's educational outcomes.

Finally, the report finds that child labour does not have a statistically significant association with functional difficulties after controlling for various individual and household characteristics. Surprisingly, being in child labour is associated with a decrease of 4.3 percentage points in the probability of children suffering from anxiety overall in Kosovo, while there is no statistically significant effect on children of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities.

1. Introduction

There are still far too many children affected by child labour across the globe, jeopardizing both their prospects and ours as a society. According to the latest global estimates (ILO and UNICEF 2021), almost one in ten children worldwide were classified as in child labour at the start of 2020. This figure translates into 160 million children, 63 million girls and 97 million boys. Out of this group, about half of them are in even more precarious conditions, typically involved in hazardous work that risks their health, safety and moral development. Moreover, the COVID-19 situation has further undermined the progress made in the fight against child labour in the absence of timely mitigation actions. Unfortunately, Kosovo is not altogether immune to this global issue. Moreover, a non-negligent fraction of Kosovar children has also been exposed to the worst forms of child labour, which include commercial sexual exploitation (USDOL 2020).

However, there has been some progress in Kosovo's institutional and legal framework regarding this issue in the past years. For instance, the Law on Child Protection (LCP) entered into force in July 2020. It prohibits all forms of abuse and exploitation that endanger the life, safety, health, education, training and development of the child. Chapter 4 of the Law specifically addresses the protection of children from economic exploitation, prohibiting the employment of children in activities that harm their safety, health, morals and psychophysical development. Multiple implementation regulations on the LCP have been drafted since, including an updated version of the Hazardous Child Labour List[1] as well as Standard Operating Procedures for Children in Hazardous Child Labour.[2] Moreover, a database for digital management of child labour cases was designed with ILO support under its MAP16 project (Measurement, awareness-raising and policy engagement to accelerate action against child labour and forced labour) and officially launched by the Department of Social Policies and Family (DSPF) on 15 March 2021, replacing the previous module on child labour in the database of social services. Besides digitalization of the case management process, it also enables the generation of reports based on the indicators developed for child labour monitoring. Multi-user capability of the application has also been developed, enabling shared capability of all modules (actual and future) of the Integrated Social Services Platform, while the interoperability function makes the child labour module capable of connecting to other institutions and getting relevant data. The capacity of the Centres for Social Work (CSW) across Kosovo on the case management of children who are victims of child labour is strengthened; a guide, tutorials and support materials are also made available in three official languages for continuous professional development of CSWs. Efforts have also been made to strengthen the response of education, agriculture and

1 In line with the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No.182), the first three categories of the worst forms of child labour (child trafficking, forced labour, recruitment of children for use in armed conflict, use of children for prostitution and pornography and use of children for illicit activities) in Kosovo are prohibited by the Criminal Code. With regard to fourth category it was determined as hazardous child labour in Kosovo, with the support of the ILO, during 2005–07 and the hazardous child labour list was legally enforced as a Government Administrative Instruction on Prevention and Immediate Prohibition of Hazardous Child Labour (AI 17/2008). The Administrative Instruction lists (a) the hazardous sectors; and (b) hazardous generic activities to be banned as a matter of priority; in 2013, the AI 17/2008 was replaced by the AI 05/2013, updating the list of hazardous child labour in Kosovo.

2 As an official document, deriving from the Law on Child Protection, the Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) are intended to improve enforcement of laws and policies related to child labour and to strengthen multidisciplinary cooperation to protect children from hazardous child labour (HCL). They define and institutionalize the roles and operating procedures of institutions at central and municipal level for the prevention, identification, data collection, referral and treatment of children involved in HCL. The SOPs were developed with ILO support under the MAP16 project and officially endorsed by the Department of Social Policies and Family- MFLT in June 2021.

law enforcement institutions in addressing child labour, including an upgrade of the Module on Early Warning System in the Education Management Information System to enable real-time reports on the number of children combining school and work.

Despite this progress, recent thorough research to push the fight against child labour in Kosovo remains scarce (see, for instance, ILO 2020; GRETA 2021). The detailed reports of the MICS survey conducted by UNICEF and the Kosovo Statistics Agency provide the most recent information on child labour (UNICEF and KAS 2020a, 2020b). However, since they focus on a wide array of topics related to children's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), they do not go into depth on child labour specifically. The present report aims to fill this gap by using the 2019–20 data from those two reports. In doing so, it raises awareness and provides solid evidence to help fight child labour. These surveys provide statistically sound and internationally comparable data for developing evidence-based policies and programmes and monitoring progress toward national goals and global commitments.

The objective of this report is to provide robust statistical evidence on characteristics related to child labour, the determinants of child labour, and the impact of child labour on the educational and health outcomes of children, by conducting a series of cross-tabulations and regressions on the MICS 2019–20 datasets. The results are reported separately for Kosovo overall and the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities in Kosovo, since the survey design and resulting weights differ.

The report starts by giving an overview of definitions and measurements of child labour (section 2). Section 3 is devoted to a descriptive analysis of the prevalence of child labour in Kosovo. Next, section 4 scrutinizes the determinants of child labour regression analysis, and is followed by an overview of the implications of child labour on children's education and health outcomes in section 5. Finally, the report provides key conclusions and future recommendations in sections 6 and 7, respectively.

> There are still far too many children affected by child labour across the globe, jeopardizing both their prospects and ours as a society. According to the latest global estimates (ILO and UNICEF 2021), almost one in ten children worldwide were classified as in child labour at the start of 2020. This figure translates into 160 million children, 63 million girls and 97 million boys. Out of this group, about half of them are in even more precarious conditions, typically involved in hazardous work that risks their health, safety and moral development.

2. Definitions and measurement of child labour

This section describes the legal and statistical concepts of child labour from an international and national point of view. It also provides more details on how child labour is measured in this report based on the MICS survey.

Child labour refers to work for which children are either too young or which may be physically or psychologically injurious to their health and well-being. Three main international Conventions – the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) and Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) – together set the legal boundaries for child labour and provide the legal grounds for national and international actions against it. In addition, resolution IV of the 20th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) sets the frame of reference for child labour measurement and statistics (see box 1).

The ratification of these international agreements is not straightforward for Kosovo, given its unique status vis-à-vis the United Nations. However, Article 22 of Kosovo's Constitution incorporates the UN CRC into its national legal framework. It also has a series of laws regulating child labour issues. The minimum working age in Kosovo is 15 years old, as specified in Article 7 of the Law on Labour, while the minimum working age for hazardous work is 18 years old, as specified in Articles 20, 23, 26–27, and 45 of the Law on Labour. The list of hazardous occupations and activities prohibited for children is specified in Administrative Instruction No. 05/2013; Article 45 of the Law on Labour; Administrative Instruction No. 2008 (32-34).

UNICEF developed the Global MICS Programme in the 1990s as an international multi-purpose household survey programme to support countries in collecting internationally comparable data on a wide range of indicators on the situation of children and women. MICS surveys measure key indicators that allow countries to generate data for use in policies, programmes and national development plans and to monitor progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and other internationally agreed upon commitments.

One important SDG indicator for our purposes is that concerning child labour, SDG 8.7.1. The definitions outlined in box 1 emphasize hazardous activities as a component of child labour. However, the SDG definition and, consequently, the MICS survey takes another approach. SDG indicator 8.7.1 uses work beyond age-specific hourly thresholds as a proxy for hazardous work to ensure estimates' comparability and minimize data quality issues. Finally, the first version of this indicator considers own use production of goods or activities such as fetching water as household chores. This means they lie outside the United Nations System of National Accounts (SNA) production boundary. Therefore, one must remember that based on the statistical standards set out in the ICLS resolution, child labour estimates represent useful benchmarks for international comparative purposes but are not necessarily consistent with national child labour legislation estimates.

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Box 1. Legal and measurement standards regarding child labour

The ILO **Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138)** calls on the Member States to set a general minimum age for admission to work or employment not lower than the end of compulsory education, and generally at least 15 years of age (Art. 2, para. 3), and a higher minimum age of not less than 18 years for employment or work which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to jeopardize the health, safety or morals of young persons – usually referred to as hazardous work (Art. 3, para. 1).

However, there is no international list of hazardous work. Therefore, the identification of hazardous types of employment or work prohibited for up to 18 years has to be determined by the competent national authority after consultation with employers' and workers' organizations (Art. 3, para. 2). The Convention also contains several flexibility clauses that are left to the discretion of the competent national authority in consultation with workers' and employers' organizations. These include clauses relating to minimum age and light work:

(a) Minimum age. Members whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed may specify a lower general minimum age of 14 years (Art. 2, para. 4), although some choose to set it at 16 years.

(b) Light work. National laws or regulations may permit the employment or work of persons 13 to 15 years of age which is (i) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and (ii) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received (Art. 7). The lower age limit for light work can be 12 for developing countries (Art 7. para. 4).

The ILO **Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182)** supplements Convention No. 138 by emphasizing the urgent focus on the worst forms of child labour requiring immediate action. For the purposes of the Convention, the worst forms of child labour comprise:

a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, as well as forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;

b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;

c) the use, procurement or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in relevant international treaties; and

d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (Art. 3) ("hazardous work"). ILO **Recommendation No. 190** provides more detailed guidance to countries to define hazardous work within their borders.

The United Nations **Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989** recognizes the child's right to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or interfere with the child's education, or be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development (Art. 32.1). To achieve this goal, the UNCRC calls on States Parties to set minimum ages for admission to employment, having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments (Art. 32.2).

Resolution IV of the 20th International Conference of Labour Statisticians constitutes the authoritative standard for child labour measurement. It provides guidelines on translating the international legal standards concerning child labour measurement into statistical terms *for the purpose of child labour measurement*. It states that child labour may be measured in terms of children's engagement in work activities based on either the general production boundary or the production boundary outlined in the **UN System of National Accounts (SNA)**.

The 2019–2020 Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey reports for Kosovo overall and for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities in Kosovo (UNICEF and KAS 2020a, 2020b) present up-to-date information for assessing women and children's socio-economic conditions and demographic situation. The child labour module allows for the construction of both SDG indicator 8.7.1 (with and without household chores) and another MICS6 indicator, which includes some hazardous work definitions. The MICS reports chose to report the version that includes household chores as the national child labour estimate (SDG 8.7.1 – Indicator 2). Therefore, the present report also uses the latter definition for the child labour indicator throughout the analysis. The results are reported separately for Kosovo overall and for the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities in Kosovo since the survey design and resulting weights differ. Table 2.1 describes the various statistical definitions for a complete overview.

▶ Table 2.1. Statistical definitions for child labour indicators

Child labour indicator	Statistical definition
The definition used in the ILO global estimates of child labour	Percentage of children that performed economic activities during the last week for more than the age-specific number of hours or doing hazardous work as specified below: age 5-17: employed in hazardous work (in hazardous occupations or industries) age 5–11: 1 hour or more age 12–14: 14 hours or more age 15–17: 43 hours or more
SDG indicator 8.7.1 – Indicator 1	Percentage of children that performed economic activities during the last week for more than the age-specific number of hours is classified as in child labour: age 5–11: 1 hour or more age 12–14: 14 hours or more age 15–17: 43 hours or more
SDG indicator 8.7.1 – Indicator 2	Percentage of children that performed: - economic activities during the last week for more than the age-specific number of hours is classified as in child labour: age 5–11: 1 hour or more age 12–14: 14 hours or more age 15–17: 43 hours or more - household chores during the last week for more than the age-specific number of hours is classified as in child labour: age 5–14 years: 21 hours or more
MICS6 Indicator	Percentage of children engaged in economic activities or household chores above thresholds (as presented above), or working under hazardous conditions

3. Descriptive analysis

This section describes the main demographic and economic characteristics of the population of children in child labour. It looks mainly at correlations between child labour and various factors such as their socio-economic background, education and health. These traits can be both a risk factor and a consequence of child labour. Therefore, understanding the correlations between these traits and child labour is key to knowing which groups and what features policies fighting child labour should target.

The analysis begins by describing the activities performed by children. The following subsection then scrutinizes household and community factors correlated with child labour. Afterwards, the report delves deeper into the time-intensity of child labour before moving on to its relation to schooling, illnesses and household chores.

3.1. Activities performed by children

It is vital to first understand how many children are affected by child labour in Kosovo (that is, the prevalence rate). Given the multiple child labour definitions, this section provides the statistics according to each one of them for a complete unbiased picture. Unfortunately, the weights produced by the MICS surveys only account for the within-household child selection design and do not allow the generation of population estimates. However, using the population projections of the UN's Population Division, a crude population estimate of the number of children affected can be calculated by multiplying the survey estimates with the population size.

Table 3.1 shows that 5.3 per cent of children (19,642) in Kosovo are considered to be in child labour according to the SDG 8.7.1 second indicator. This figure is slightly higher for Kosovo's Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, at 7 per cent (534). However, if work in household chores is disregarded (SDG 8.7.1. first indicator), only 3.8 per cent of children overall in Kosovo (14,083) and 6.1 per cent of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children (465) are affected. Another indicator also used by the MICS survey – MICS6 – considers the hours and working conditions of children's economic and household activities. Based on this indicator, child labour prevalence almost doubled from 5.3 to 9.3 per cent for Kosovo overall (19,642 to 34,467). It also increased from 7 to 9 per cent for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children (534 to 686). The table highlights the importance of household chores and hazardous conditions in measuring child labour. However, the rest of this report defines child labour based on the SDG 8.7.1 second indicator for comparability purposes.

▶ Table 3.1. Child labour prevalence for Kosovo overall and for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities

Child labour indicator	Statistical definition	Kosovo		Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities	
SDG indicator 8.7.1 – Indicator 2	Percentage of children that performed: economic activities during the last week for more than the age-specific number of hours is classified as in child labour: age 5–11: 1 hour or more age 12–14: 14 hours or more age 15–17: 43 hours or more - household chores during the last week for more than the age-specific number of hours is classified as in child labour: age 5–14 years: 21 hours or more	5.3%	19 642	7%	534
SDG indicator 8.7.1 – Indicator 1	Percentage of children that performed economic activities during the last week for more than the age-specific number of hours is classified as in child labour: age 5–11: 1 hour or more age 12–14: 14 hours or more age 15–17: 43 hours or more	3.8%	14 083	6.1%	465
MICS6 Indicator	Percentage of children engaged in economic activities or household chores above thresholds (as presented above), or working under hazardous conditions	9.3%	34 467	9%	686

Note: Hazardous conditions include: carrying heavy loads; working with dangerous tools or operating heavy machinery; exposed to dust, fumes or gas; exposed to extreme cold, heat or humidity; exposed to loud noise or vibration; working at heights; working with chemicals or explosives; exposed to other unsafe or unhealthy things, processes or conditions.

The prevalence rate differs substantially by sex, residence, region and household wealth. Table 3.2 summarizes the child labour share in each of these diverse strata. It is necessary to note the survey's number of observations for child labour in different age groups and characteristics. For example, tables A.2 and A.3 in the Appendix show very few child labour observations in the age category 15-17. Thus, the interpretation of that column in table 3.2 for that age group should be approached with caution.

The highest share of children in child labour is for the 12-14 age group (7.9 per cent) as opposed to younger children (6.4 per cent) and the older ones (1.1 per cent). Overall, children in child labour are slightly more likely to be boys (6.4 per cent) than girls (4.1 per cent). Child labour is twice more prevalent in rural (6.8 per cent) than in urban areas (3.2 per cent). Children from the regions of Ferizaj (7.8 per cent) and Gjilan (6.8 per cent) are also more exposed to child labour than those in the remaining five regions of Kosovo. Finally, as expected, the highest share of children in child labour (7.9 per cent) can be seen in those based in the poorest households as proxied by the lowest wealth index quintile. Therefore, the most likely profile of the child labourer in Kosovo is a boy aged 12 to 14 from the poorest households in the rural areas of Ferizaj or Gjilan.

▶ Table 3.2. Percentage of children in child labour, by age group, sex, residence, region and household income quintile, Kosovo overall

		Age group			Total children
		Children aged 5-11 (%)	Children aged 12-14 (%)	Children aged 15-17 (%)	5-17 years (%)
Sex	Male	7.8	9.3	1.1	6.4%
	Female	5.0	6.4	0.0	4.1%
Residence	Urban	4.7	2.7	0.2	3.2%
	Rural	7.7	10.8	0.8	6.8%
Region	Gjakova	4.4	11.1	0.0	4.4%
	Gjilan	7.4	10.7	1.0	6.8%
	Mitrovica	7.0	1.1	0.0	3.9%
	Peja	4.8	7.6	2.3	5.0%
	Prizren	2.3	9.9	2.0	4.0%
	Prishtina	7.2	7.8	0.0	5.6%
	Ferizaj	11.0	9.4	0.0	7.8%
Wealth index quintile	Poorest	8.6	12.3	1.6	7.9%
	Second	5.0	8.4	0.5	5.0%
	Middle	6.9	5.2	0.0	4.8%
	Fourth	4.5	2.8	0.5	3.2%
	Richest	6.3	7.0	0.0	4.6%
Total		**6.4**	**7.9**	**0.6**	**5.3**

The characteristics of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children in child labour are somewhat different (table 3.3). First, the highest prevalence of child labour can be found in the youngest children; 8.2 per cent of children aged 5-11 compared to 6.2 per cent of children aged 12-14 and 5.2 per cent of children aged 15-17. Second, boys (9.2 per cent) are twice more likely to be in child labour than girls (4.6 per cent) in these communities. Third, child labour is also more prevalent in rural areas (8.1 per cent) than in urban ones (6 per cent). Finally, while the child labour shares are higher for the poorer households in these communities as well, the children from the second lowest wealth index quintile exhibit the highest share of children in child labour (8.8 per cent). Therefore, the most likely profile of the child labourer from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities in Kosovo is a boy aged 5 to 11 from the second poorest households in rural areas.

▶ Table 3.3. Percentage of children in child labour, by age group, sex, residence, region and household income quintile, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities

		Age group			Total children
		Children aged 5-11 (%)	Children aged 12-14 (%)	Children aged 15-17 (%)	5-17 years (%)
Sex	Male	9.6	7.4	10.0	9.2
	Female	6.6	4.8	0.0	4.6
Residence	Urban	6.7	6.1	4.4	6.0
	Rural	9.7	6.2	6.0	8.1
Wealth index quintile	Poorest	8.7	6.9	4.8	7.5
	Second	11.3	7.6	3.9	8.8
	Middle	4.8	7.5	6.3	5.8
	Fourth	5.8	1.7	8.6	5.7
	Richest	9.2	8.0	0.0	6.8
Total		**8.2**	**6.2**	**5.2**	**7.0**

One way of viewing the interaction between children's work and schooling is by decomposing the child population into four non-overlapping activity groups – children working only, children attending school only, children combining school and work, and children doing neither. Tables 3.4 and 3.5 shed light on these issues for children aged 5-14 and 15-17, separately. They focus on a child's engagement in economic activities instead of child labour to encompass a larger group of children that might be at risk of child labour. One overarching finding that stands out from both tables for children in Kosovo is that the overwhelming majority of children attend school. Even most of the children who are working indeed combine school with work. It is less likely for children to be working only (1 per cent for children aged 5-14 versus 1.8 per cent for those aged 15-17) than neither attending school nor working (4 per cent for children aged 5-14 versus 6.5 per cent for those aged 15-17). The trends are similar for both sexes, residence status and regional areas.

▶ Table 3.4. Child activity status by sex, region and residence, 5-14 age group, Kosovo overall (percentage)

		Mutually exclusive activity categories				(a)&(c)	(b)&(c)	(a)&(d)
		(a) Only working (%)	(b) Only schooling (%)	(c) Working & schooling (%)	(d) Neither activity (%)	Total working (%)	Total in school (%)	Total out of school (%)
Sex	Male	0.7	79.9	14.9	4.5	15.7	94.8	5.2
	Female	0.3	91.0	5.6	3.1	5.9	96.6	3.4
Residence	Urban	0.7	88.7	5.9	4.8	6.6	94.5	5.5
	Rural	0.4	82.9	13.6	3.1	14.0	96.5	3.5
Region	Gjakova	0.0	84.5	9.2	6.3	9.2	93.7	6.3
	Gjilan	0.3	90.0	7.9	1.9	8.1	97.8	2.2
	Mitrovica	0.2	84.2	12.4	3.3	12.6	96.6	3.4
	Peja	0.6	81.5	11.0	6.9	11.6	92.5	7.5
	Prizren	0.4	87.1	8.9	3.7	9.3	95.9	4.1
	Prishtina	1.0	85.4	10.4	3.2	11.4	95.7	4.3
	Ferizaj	0.3	83.8	12.8	3.1	13.1	96.6	3.4
Total 5-14		**0.5**	**85.3**	**10.4**	**3.8**	**10.9**	**95.7**	**4.4**

▶ Table 3.5. Child activity status by sex, region and residence, 15-17 age group, Kosovo overall (percentage)

		Mutually exclusive activity categories				(a)&(c)	(b)&(c)	(a)&(d)
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)			
		Only working (%)	Only schooling (%)	Working & schooling (%)	Neither activity (%)	Total working (%)	Total in school (%)	Total out of school (%)
Sex	Male	3.2	59.5	29.6	7.6	32.8	89.2	10.9
	Female	0.0	86.7	8.1	5.2	8.1	94.8	5.2
Residence	Urban	1.8	78.3	12.0	7.8	13.9	90.4	936
	Rural	1.7	67.6	25.1	5.6	26.8	92.7	7.3
Region	Gjakova	0.0	60.9	23.2	15.9	23.2	84.1	15.9
	Gjilan	2.2	73.7	24.1	0.0	26.3	97.8	2.2
	Mitrovica	0.9	78.6	16.8	3.7	17.8	95.4	4.6
	Peja	3.4	65.6	25.2	5.8	28.6	90.9	9.2
	Prizren	4.6	68.9	17.8	8.7	22.4	86.7	13.4
	Prishtina	1.1	72.4	18.7	7.8	19.9	91.1	8.9
	Ferizaj	0.6	81.7	17.7	0.0	18.3	99.4	0.6
Total 15-17		**1.8**	**72.0**	**19.8**	**6.5**	**21.5**	**91.7**	**8.3**

The situation in this regard is more worrisome for children from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities (tables 3.6 and 3.7). Almost one in four children aged 5-14 and three in five children aged 15-17 are out of school. Moreover, most of the children out of school are not engaged in any work activity. These findings hold across age, sex and residence, but the situation seems particularly alarming for girls or children from rural areas in the 15-17 age group. Only 37.3 per cent of girls aged 15-17 attend school, while 60.8 per cent attend neither school nor work. Likewise, in rural areas, only 35.1 per cent of children aged 15-17 attend school, while 54 per cent attend neither school nor work.

▶ Table 3.6. Child activity status by sex, region and residence, 5-14 age group, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities (percentage)

		Mutually exclusive activity categories				(a)&(c)	(b)&(c)	(a)&(d)
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)			
		Only working (%)	Only schooling (%)	Working & schooling (%)	Neither activity (%)	Total working (%)	Total in school (%)	Total out of school (%)
Sex	Male	1.5	69.6	8.2	20.8	9.7	77.7	22.3
	Female	2.0	70.7	4.7	22.5	6.8	75.5	24.6
Residence	Urban	1.8	66.4	5.4	26.4	7.2	71.8	28.2
	Rural	1.7	73.8	7.7	16.8	9.4	81.5	18.5
Total 5-14		**1.8**	**70.1**	**6.5**	**21.6**	**8.3**	**76.7**	**23.4**

▶ Table 3.7. Child activity status by sex, region and residence, 15-17 age group, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities (percentage)

		Mutually exclusive activity categories				(a)&(c)	(b)&(c)	(a)&(d)
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)			
		Only working (%)	Only schooling (%)	Working & schooling (%)	Neither activity (%)	Total working (%)	Total in school (%)	Total out of school (%)
Sex	Male	20.0	40.3	7.8	32.0	27.7	48.1	51.9
	Female	1.9	35.1	2.2	60.8	4.1	37.3	62.7
Residence	Urban	11.6	42.5	7.2	38.7	18.8	49.7	50.3
	Rural	10.9	32.4	2.7	54.0	13.7	35.1	64.9
Total 15-17		**11.3**	**37.8**	**5.1**	**45.8**	**16.4**	**42.9**	**57.1**

Thus, at first glance, engagement in economic activities does not seem to impede children overall in Kosovo from investing in their education, so far as attending school goes. In other words, schooling is combined with work for most children. However, for children of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, the "idleness" of children is worrisome; a high share of them attend neither school nor work. The following subsections allow us to probe further into characteristics and related issues in terms of health and education to better understand the extent of the child labour problem and its implications in Kosovo.

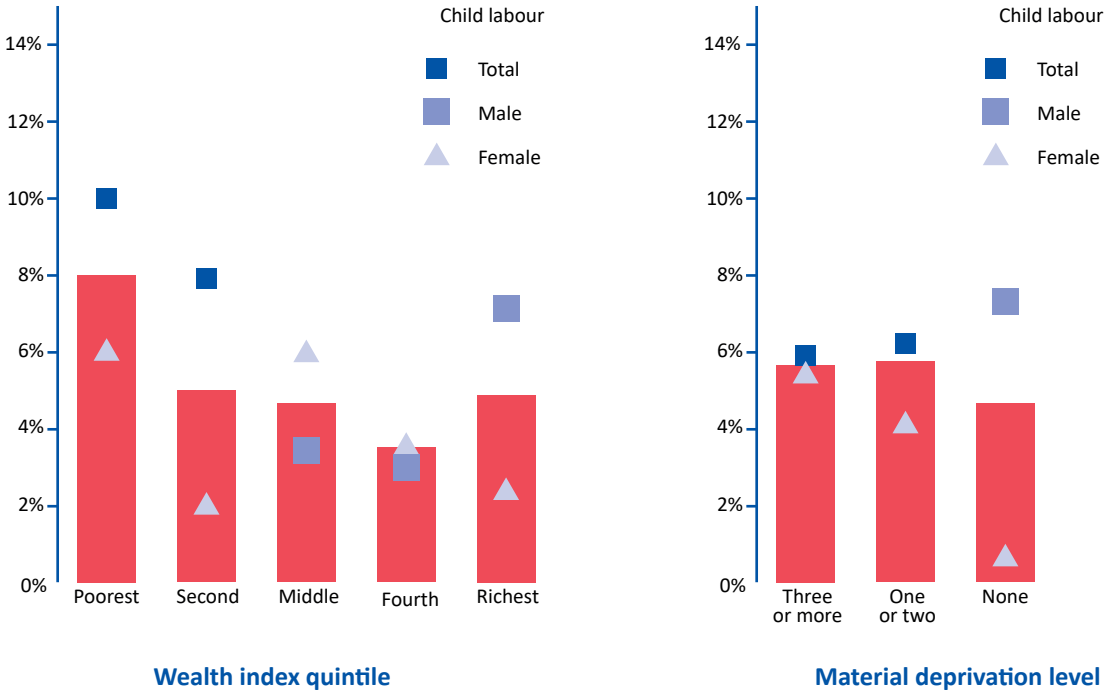
3.2. Household and community factors correlated with child labour

This subsection focuses on key household and community traits typically linked to child labour. It can serve as a backdrop for a broader discussion on why children engage in gainful activities and what can be done to address the worst forms of child labour. For instance, to get an initial understanding of the factors to be targeted for policy responses, that is, factors causing child labour, it can be helpful to correlate the frequency of child labour with the characteristics of children's households and the areas in which they live. However, drawing policy conclusions solely based on correlations should be done with caution because correlation does not imply causality.

Child labour is generally more prevalent among low-income and/or impoverished children. This finding highlights the likelihood that households in socio-economically precarious situations will turn to child labour to cover their fundamental needs. Nonetheless, the relationship between child labour and poverty might also go the other way. Children whose education is denied or hampered by child labour lack the skills necessary for an adequate job when they reach maturity, increasing their chance of living in poverty. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 show the child labour rates in total and by sex for households of different wealth index quintiles and material deprivation levels.

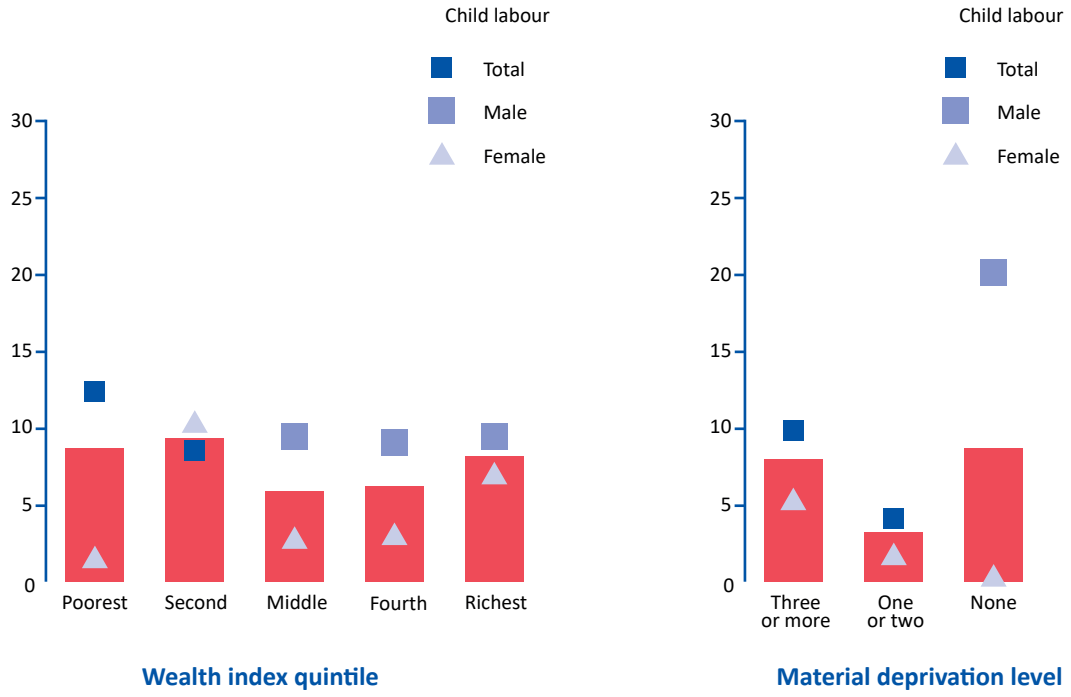
Figure 3.1 shows that the share of children in child labour in Kosovo generally decreases the higher the household stands in the wealth distribution; children in the households at the lowest wealth index quintile are more likely to be in child labour than other children. It also shows that boys are significantly more likely to be in child labour than girls in any wealth index quintile except for the middle and the fourth one, where the opposite holds true. However, the likelihood of child labour does not differ substantially among children from households of various material deprivation levels. Yet the findings by sex differ somewhat – there is a negative correlation between household material deprivation and child labour for girls, while the opposite stands true for boys.

▶ **Figure 3.1. Percentage of children aged 5-17 years in child labour, by household wealth quintile, household material deprivations and sex, Kosovo overall**



The relations between household wealth, material deprivation and child labour are not straightforward for children from the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. For instance, figure 3.2 shows that boys from the poorest households are most likely to be in child labour, but this is not the case for girls. The negative relation between household material deprivation and girls in child labour established for Kosovo overall holds for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian girls as well. However, boys from households with no material deprivation are more likely to be in child labour than those with at least one material deprivation. One explanation could be that these working boys contribute to the household's material well-being; hence the positive correlation between the two.

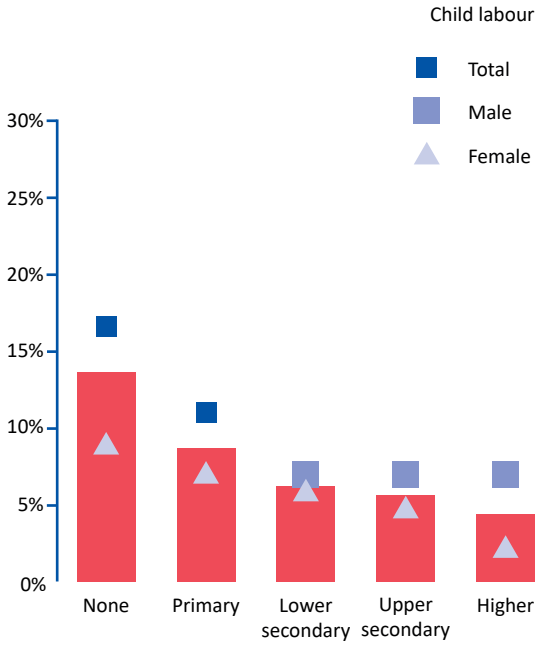
▶ Figure 3.2. Percentage of children aged 5-17 years in child labour, by household wealth quintile, household material deprivations and sex, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities



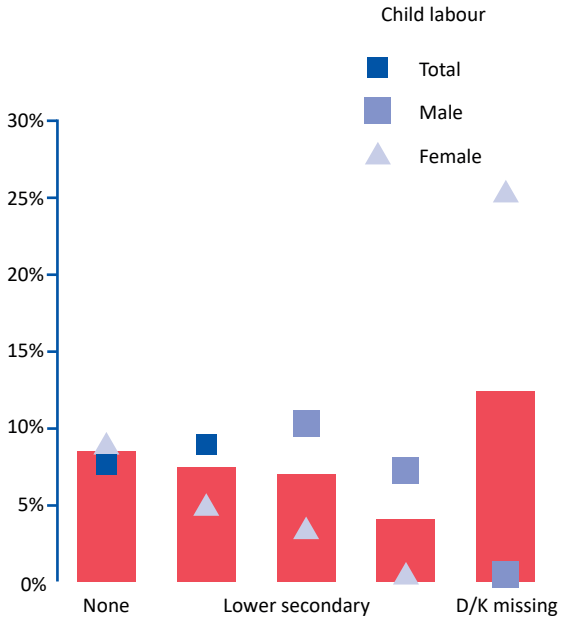
Another important household characteristic related to the likelihood of children engaging in child labour is the educational background of the household head. If the child comes from a household with a highly educated head, it is less likely that they will be exposed to child labour. The underlying assumption is that adults in that household are better equipped to assist their children in making the most of their increased earning potential because they are more aware of the benefits of education and/or are in a better position to do so.

Figure 3.3 shows that this finding holds true for Kosovo's children overall: the more educated the household head is, the lower the share of children in child labour for that group of households. Conversely, children in households where the household head has had no education are most likely to be in child labour. In addition, while girls are less likely to be in child labour than boys, the negative correlation between the education of the household head and child labour holds for both sexes. This relationship is not as clear-cut for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children, as figure 3.4 indicates. The highest percentage of child labour can be found in households with no information on the household head's education. However, similar to the relationship with household wealth, girls of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities are more at risk of child labour the less educated their household's head is.

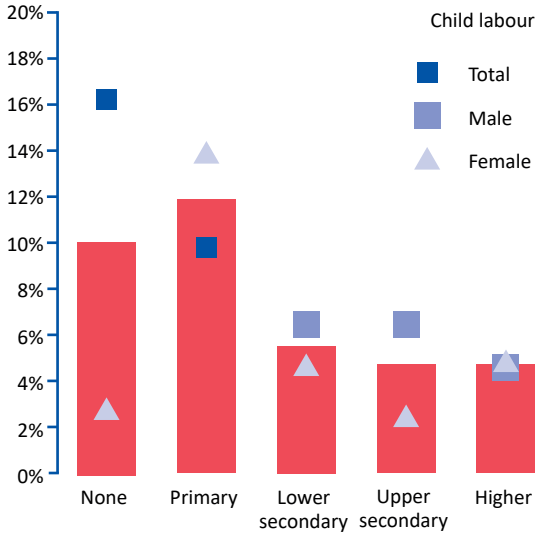
▶ Figure 3.3. Child labour and education level of household head, Kosovo overall

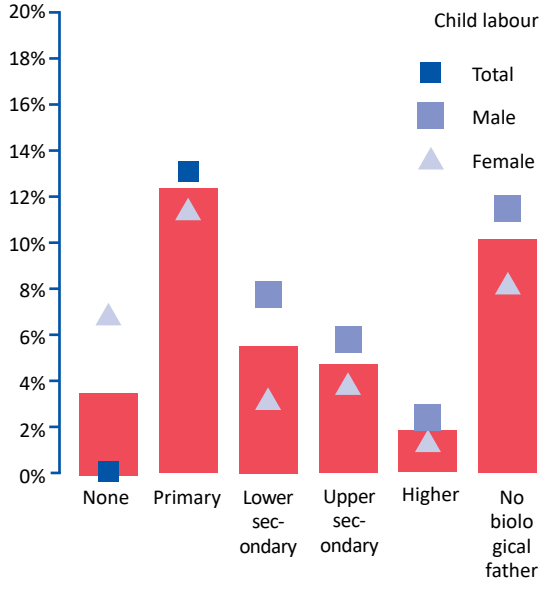


▶ Figure 3.4. Child labour and education level of household head, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities



▶ Figure 3.5. Percentage of children aged 5-17 years in child labour, by education level and sex of household head, Kosovo overall



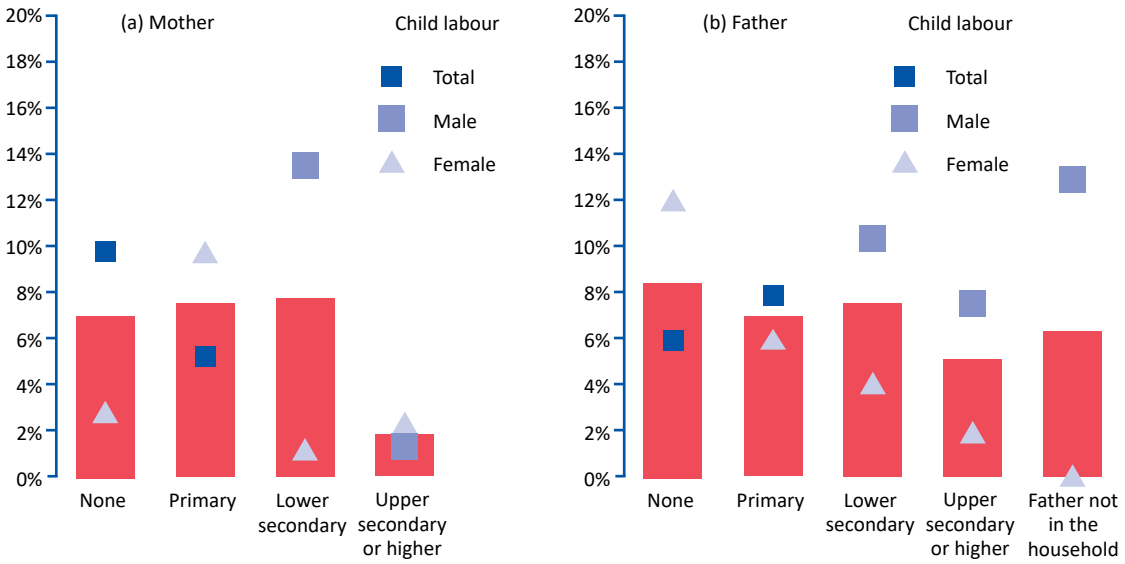


While the educational level of the household head proxies multiple socio-economic background attributes, parents' educational level can offer an even more in-depth view of the relation between education and child labour. Figure 3.5 shows the child labour prevalence by the education of children's mothers and fathers. Similar to the findings on the education of the household head, parents' education is also negatively correlated with child labour prevalence. This relationship is somewhat more robust for the mother's educational level. Children not living with biological fathers are approximately as likely to be in child labour as those with fathers who have at most a primary education. These trends hold for both boys and girls similarly.

Like the results based on the education of household heads, there is not such a clear relationship between child labour and their parents' education for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children. Nevertheless, figure 3.6 shows that the smallest share of children in child labour can be found for those with a mother educated at least at the upper secondary level. Additionally, girls are less likely to be in child labour the more educated their father is, while the opposite holds true for boys.

In addition to capturing values for education, these findings also proxy financial means and the general socio-economic background of households and parents. The less well-off the household is, the more at risk of child labour its children in Kosovo overall. This relation is also strong for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian girls, while the opposite is often true for the boys. One explanation could be that these Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian working boys contribute to the household's wealth; hence the positive correlation between education and child labour.

▶ Figure 3.6. Percentage of children aged 5-17 years in child labour, by education level and sex of household head, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities



3.3. Time-intensity of child labour

This subsection focuses on children's time spent in child labour, as this can have consequences for their health and education. Working for an extended period might not only tire out the children, but also expose them further to workplace hazards. As a result, children could take time off from studying and other child-friendly activities. This part focuses only on self-reported hours in economic activity. Hours in household chores and total child labour hours are provided in subsection 3.6.

Table 3.8 provides the average hours of gainful activity for children in child labour by age, sex and residence. It must be noted that the empty cells of the table for girls aged 12-17 are due to no child labour observations for that category. Children in child labour spend 10.3 hours in work per week in Kosovo overall. Those aged 15-17 work substantially more than younger children: 58.8 versus 8.4 hours per week. Boys work longer hours on average than girls; 12.2 compared to 4.7 hours per week. Children in child labour in rural areas work slightly more hours than those in urban areas: 10.6 versus 9.4 hours per week.

▶ **Table 3.8. Time-intensity of child labour: Average weekly working hours, by age group, residence and sex, Kosovo overall**

		Working hours				
		5-11 years	12-14 years	15-17 years	5-14 years	5-17 years
Sex	Male	6.0	17.4	58.8	9.8	12.2
	Female	4.7			4.7	4.7
Residence	Urban	6.9	18.8	56.0	8.2	9.4
	Rural	4.9	17.2	59.4	8.5	10.6
Sex and residence	Male, urban	7.6	18.8	56.0	9.0	10.2
	Male, rural	4.8	17.2	59.4	10.2	13.1
	Female, urban	1.4			1.4	1.4
Total		**5.5**	**17.4**	**58.8**	**8.4**	**10.3**

Table 3.9 shows that children from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities work almost twice as long as children in child labour overall in Kosovo: 18.6 hours per week as opposed to the national average of 10.3 hours. Even in this subgroup of children, those aged 15-17 work strikingly more than younger children: 61.2 versus 7.6 hours per week. This significant gap is mainly driven by boys' working hours. In these communities, the difference in child labour's time-intensity in rural versus urban areas is negligible.

▶ **Table 3.9. Time-intensity of child labour: Average weekly working hours, by age group, residence and sex, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities**

		Working hours				
		5-11 years	12-14 years	15-17 years	5-14 years	5-17 years
Sex	Male	5.9	24.5	61.2	8.9	23.3
	Female	5.1			5.1	5.1
Residence	Urban	6.4	18.0	58.6	6.7	19.1
	Rural	5.0	25.3	63.4	8.2	18.2
Sex and residence	Male, urban	9.1	18.0	58.6	9.8	31.9
	Male, rural	4.9	25.3	63.4	8.6	20.0
	Female, urban	4.8			4.8	4.8
	Female, rural	5.8			5.8	5.8
Total 15-17		**5.6**	**24.5**	**61.2**	**7.6**	**18.6**

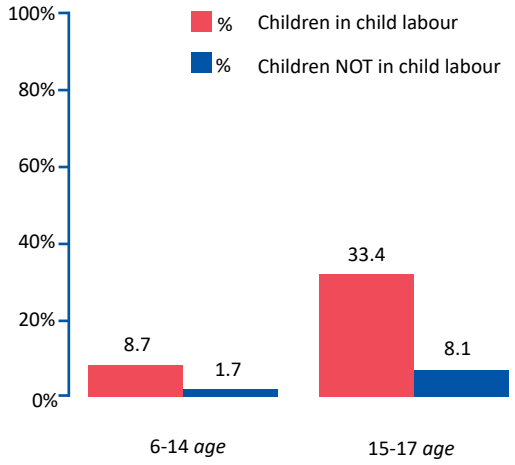
3.4. Child labour and schooling

One of the most crucial factors in determining the long-term effects of child labour is the extent to which it interferes with children's education. Children in child labour are typically either totally deprived of schooling or spend significantly less time in educational activities. They would thus be at a disadvantage in terms of their ability to acquire the education and skills required for more lucrative employment when they reach adulthood. Hence, this subsection examines the relationship between child labour and education, specifically focusing on how child labour can influence children's capacity to attend school. Staying in and progressing in the educational systems are also essential aspects of children's success in their educational path. Moreover, disaggregation by age and sex can reveal particularly vulnerable groups. However, the survey data do not have substantial information to construct those indicators and disaggregation is limited due to a low number of observations.

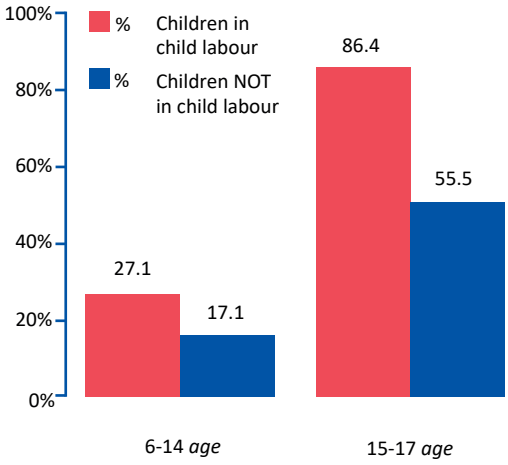
The figures below present the out-of-school rate of children in child labour and, notably, their relative disadvantage in this regard vis-à-vis children who are not in child labour for two broad age groups: 6-14 (primary and secondary school) and 15-17 (high school). Figure 3.7 shows that non-attendance rates are higher for children in child labour overall in Kosovo than for their peers not in child labour. About 8.7 per cent of children aged 6-14 engaged in child labour do not attend school, as opposed to only 1.7 per cent of children of the same age group but not in child labour. The gap is even more significant for older children: 33.4 per cent of children aged 15-17 in child labour are out of school compared to 8.1 per cent of those not in child labour.

Figure 3.8 focuses on Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children. The trend is the same for children of these communities, but it must be noted that their non-attendance rates are strikingly high. Almost 9 in 10 children in child labour aged 15-17 do not attend school. However, the non-attendance rate drops to six in ten children for those who do not engage in child labour. The situation is slightly less grave for children aged 6-14; about three in ten of them who engage in child labour are out of school versus two in ten for those not in child labour.

▶ **Figure 3.7. Out-of-school rate and child labour, children aged 6-17, Kosovo overall**



▶ **Figure 3.8. Out-of-school rate and child labour, children aged 6-17, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communitites**



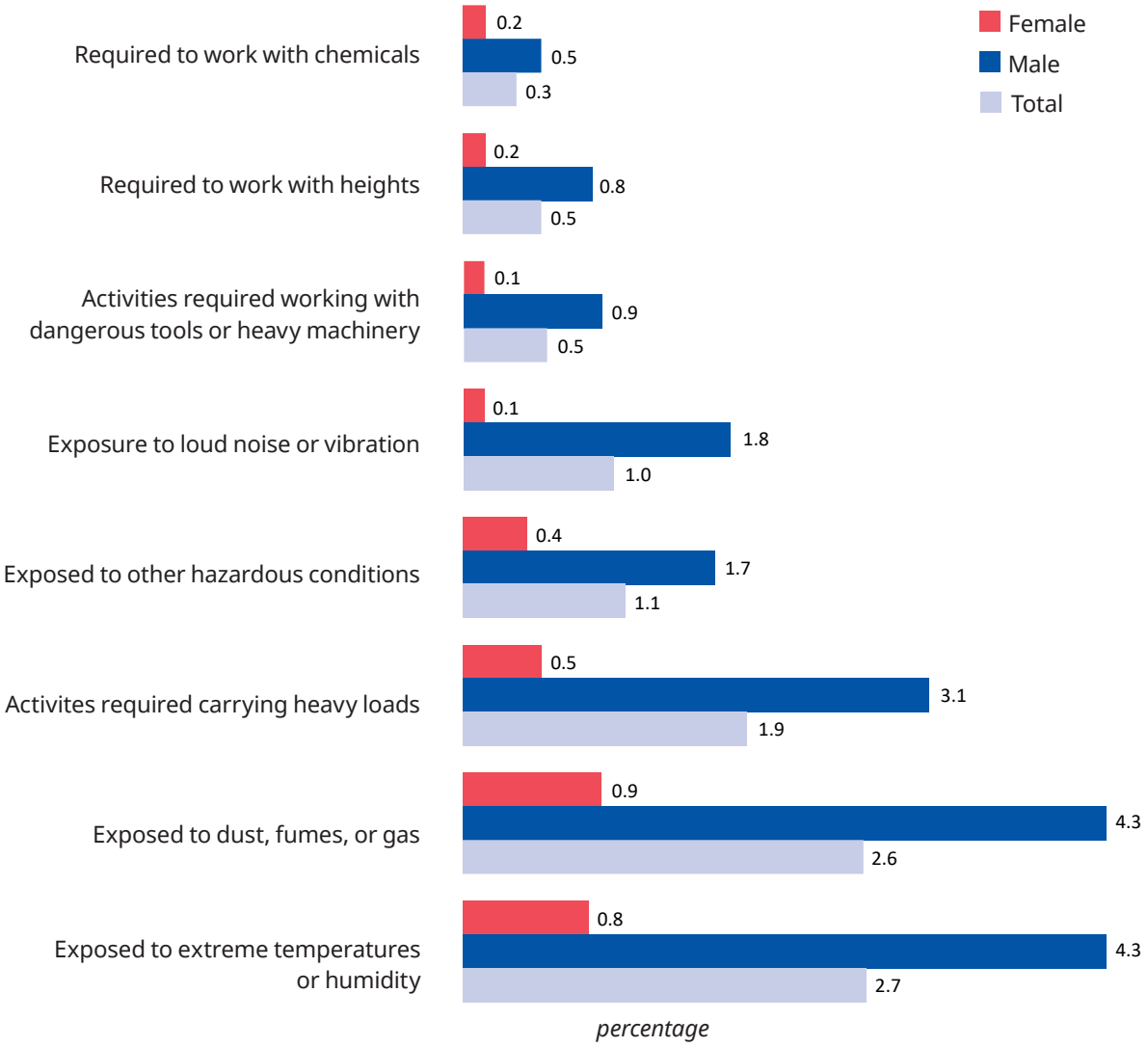
In section 3.1, we saw that children in Kosovo typically combine working with schooling. However, this section provides a different picture for those in the worst situations. Children in child labour are more likely to be completely absent from the educational system than those who do not engage in child labour. Moreover, children from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities are particularly vulnerable in this respect. Thus, there is still substantial scope for progress in ensuring these children stay in school.

3.5. Exposure to workplace health and safety risks

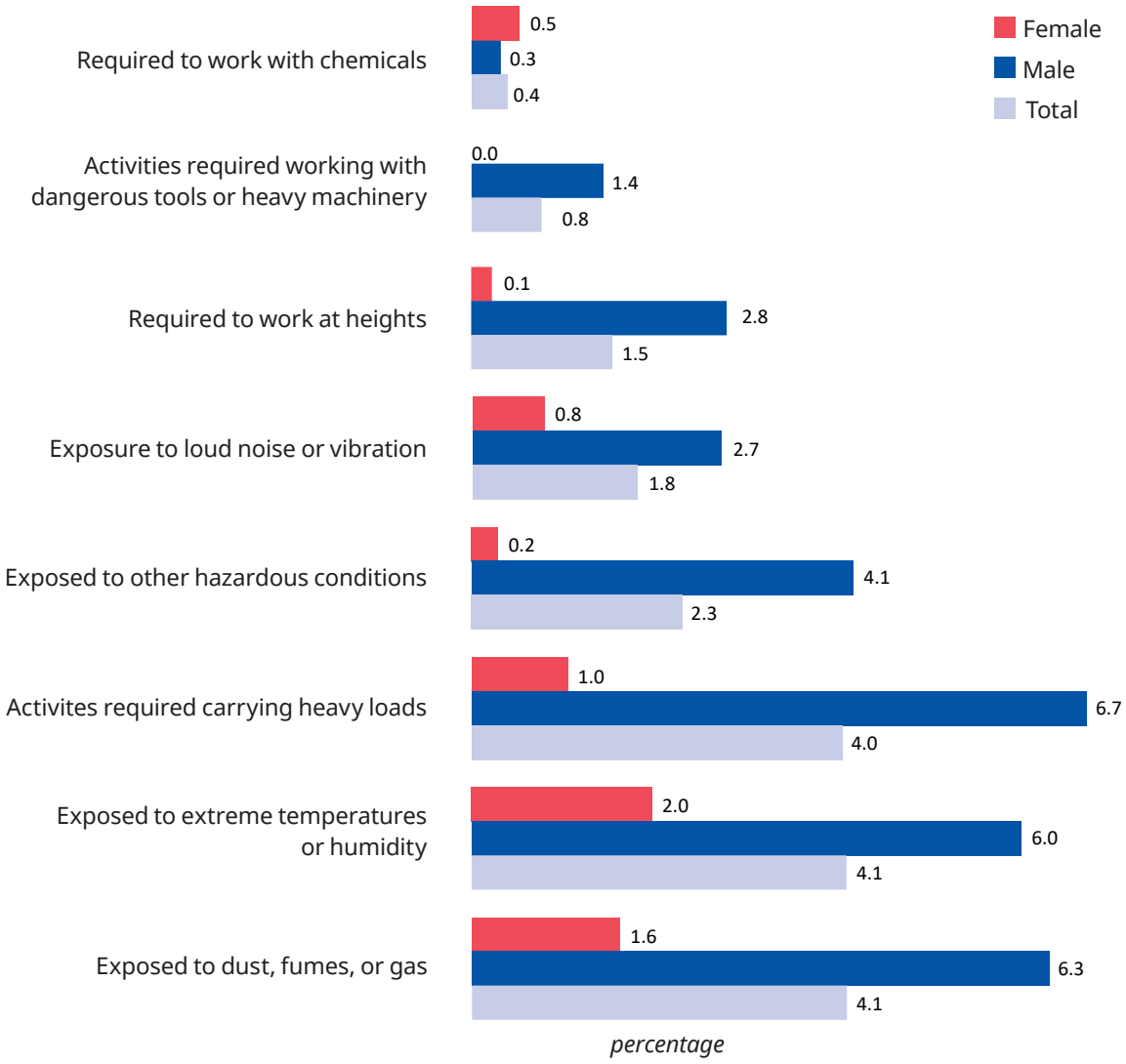
This subsection focuses on the workplace health and safety risks undergone by children. The health and safety aspects of children's work are central to international child labour legislation, which sets the standards for the fields, jobs and working conditions that should be covered in national definitions of hazardous work. Policy responses should then give priority to these areas when fighting child labour. While the 2019-20 MICS survey in Kosovo did not collect information on work occupations or industries, it did have a section on children's exposure to several hazardous conditions in their workplace. This information does not allow the construction of hazardous work indicators as defined by the ILO, but it is nevertheless revealing on the situations working children face even if they are not classified as in child labour according to the SDG 8.7.1 indicator.

Figure 3.9 shows that few children are exposed to workplace hazardous conditions. The most common workplace hazard is exposure to extreme temperatures or humidity, dust, fumes or gas; around 2.7 per cent of children are exposed to at least one of those. Even though exposure remains low, boys are still significantly more exposed to workplace health and safety risks than girls are. Figure 3.10 shows that hazardous conditions are twice more prevalent for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children. Additionally, the gap between boys and girls in these communities is even larger than for children in Kosovo overall.

Figure 3.9. Percentage of children aged 5-17 years exposed to workplace health and safety risks, by risk type and sex, Kosovo overall



▶ Figure 3.10. Percentage of children aged 5-17 years exposed to workplace health and safety risks, by risk type and sex, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities



While it seems that not many children are faced with hazardous conditions in their workplace, the situation changes significantly when comparing children in child labour to those not in child labour. Figure 3.11 shows that for any type of hazardous condition, children in child labour are significantly more likely to have faced that danger in their workplace than those not engaged in child labour. For instance, 18.2 per cent of children in child labour have been exposed to extreme temperatures or humidity in their workplace compared to only 1.8 per cent of the rest of working children. Furthermore, figure 3.12 shows that the hazardous condition exposure rates are even more worrisome for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian child labourers. Approximately one in three children in child labour of these communities have been exposed to dust, fumes or gas in their workplace. This figure is only 1.8 per cent for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children not in child labour. These findings highlight further critical issues accompanying children in these precarious circumstances, to which policy responses must pay special attention.

Figure 3.11. Hazardous conditions and child labour: Percentage of children aged 5-17, Kosovo overall

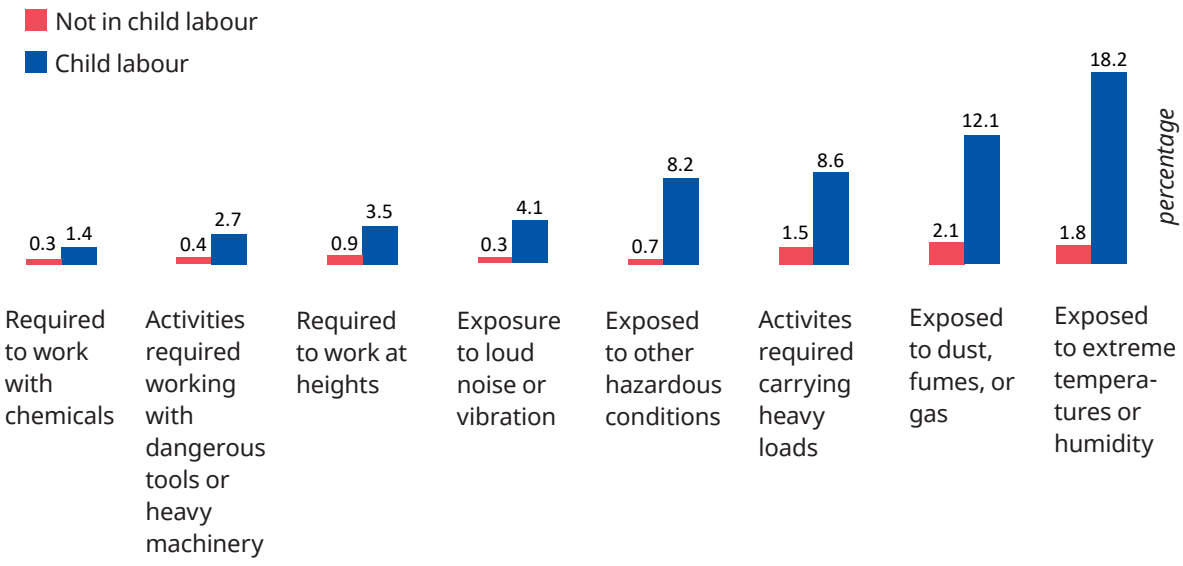
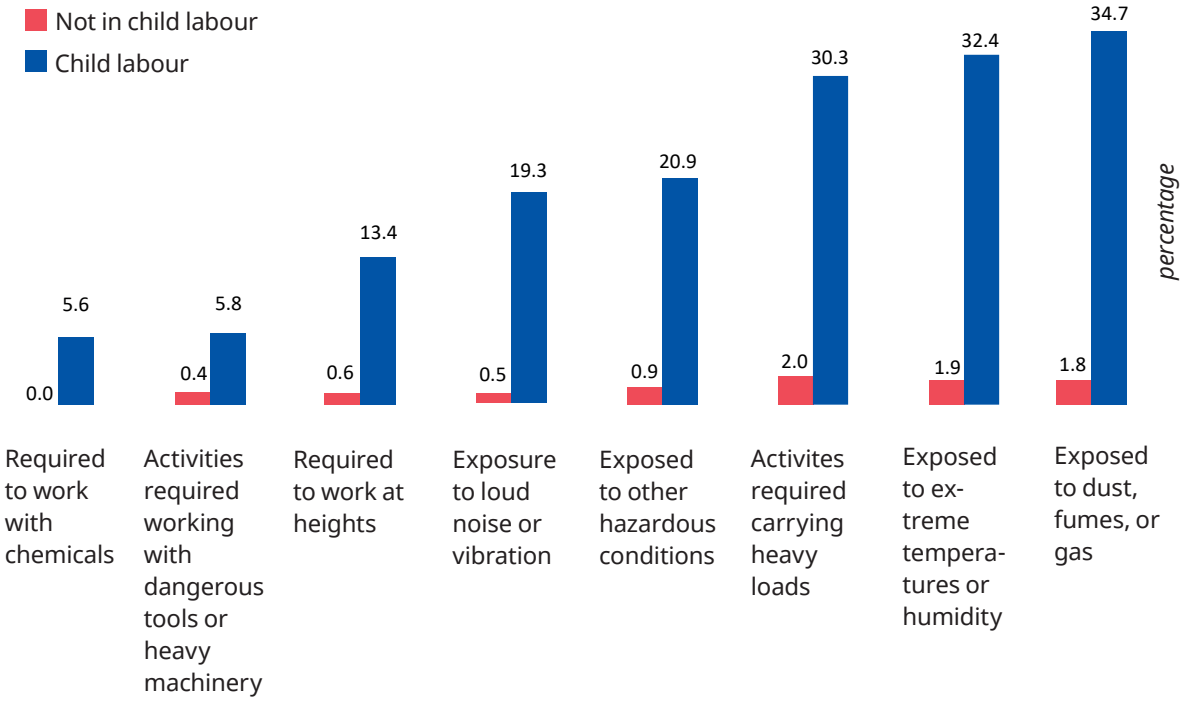


Figure 3.12. Hazardous conditions and child labour: Percentage of children aged 5-17, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities



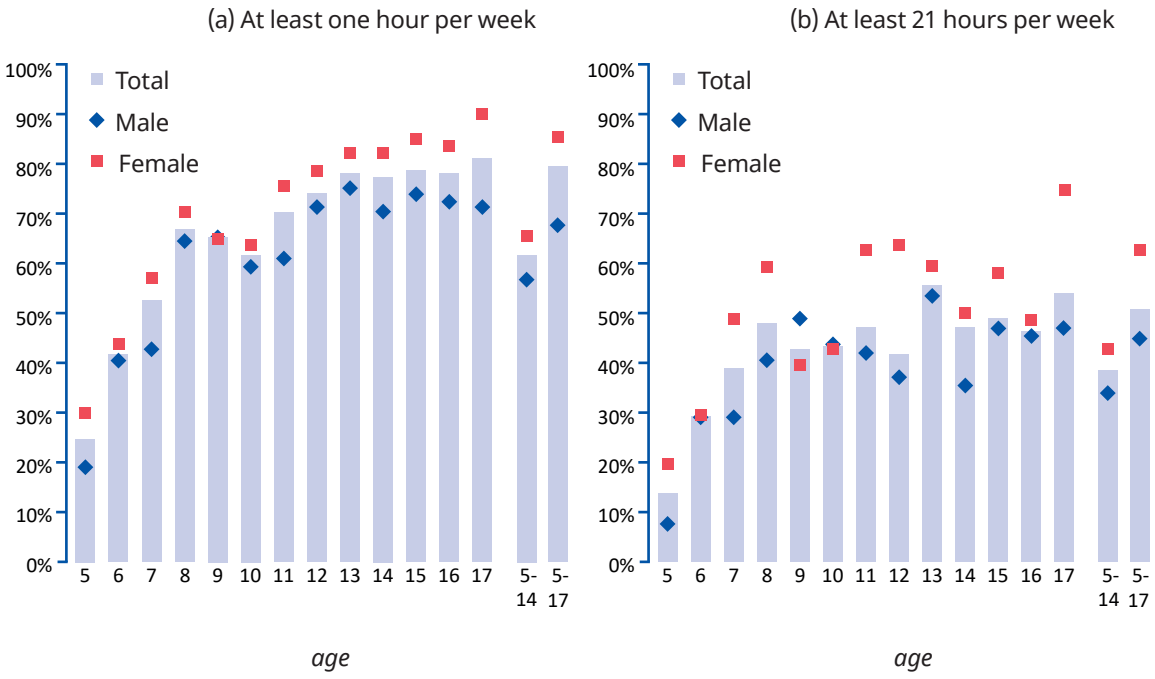
3.6. Household chores

This final subsection of the descriptive analysis focuses on a significant part of child labour as defined in this report: children's involvement in household chores. Caregiving for household members, cleaning and minor home repairs, preparing and serving meals, washing and ironing clothes, and accompanying family members to and from work and school are all examples of household tasks performed on an unpaid basis. Moreover, breakdown by sex is also provided, as it is vital to uncover the gender dimension in the burden of these household tasks.

The overview of the share of children performing household chores is reported separately for children spending at least an hour and those spending more than 20 hours performing these tasks in the past week as a reference period. The research suggests that the threshold of 21 weekly hours is the point where household chores begin to negatively impact the ability of children to attend and benefit from school. However, it must be emphasized that no agreed legal or statistical norms have been established on how much time spent performing chores is too much.

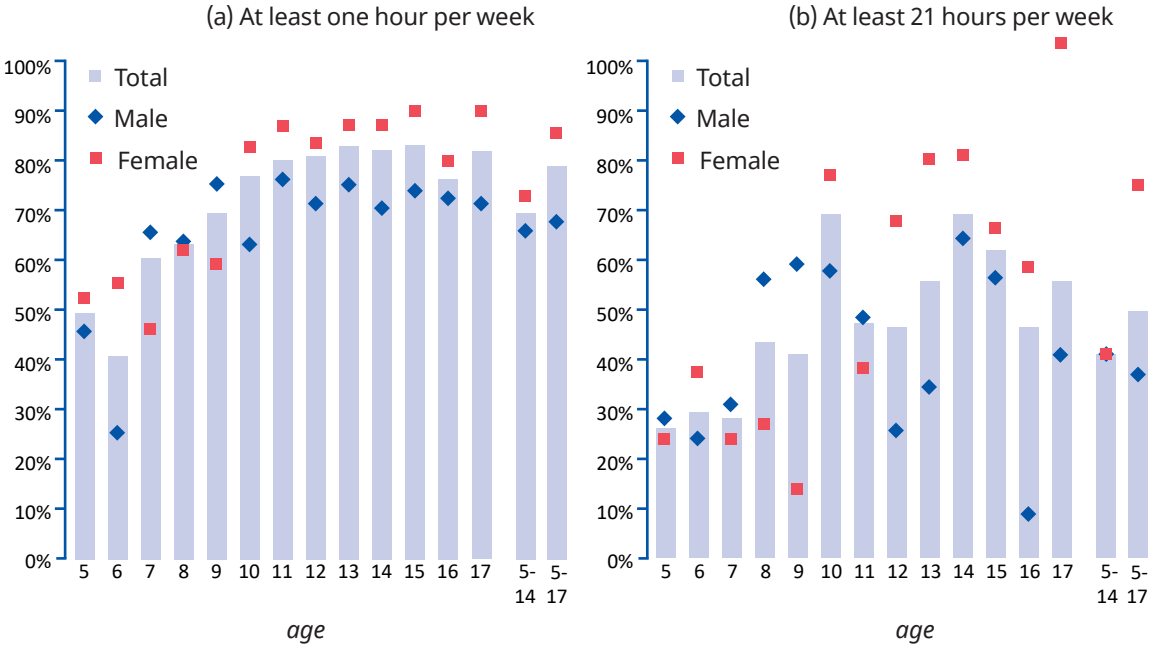
Figure 3.13 shows that involvement in household chores increases with the child's age. About 60 children aged 5-14 and 80 per cent of those aged 15-17 perform household chores for at least one hour per week. Fewer children perform household tasks for more than 20 hours per week. Approximately 40 and 50 per cent of children aged 5-14 and 15-17, respectively, cross the specified weekly hours' threshold. Another key finding that emerges from figure 3.13 is that girls are significantly more likely to be engaged in household chores at any age and involvement intensity than boys are. The gap is most prominent for girls aged 15-17, and it shrinks slightly when looking at involvement in chores for at least 21 hours per week.

▶ **Figure 3.13. Percentage of children performing household chores, by hours threshold, age and sex, Kosovo overall**



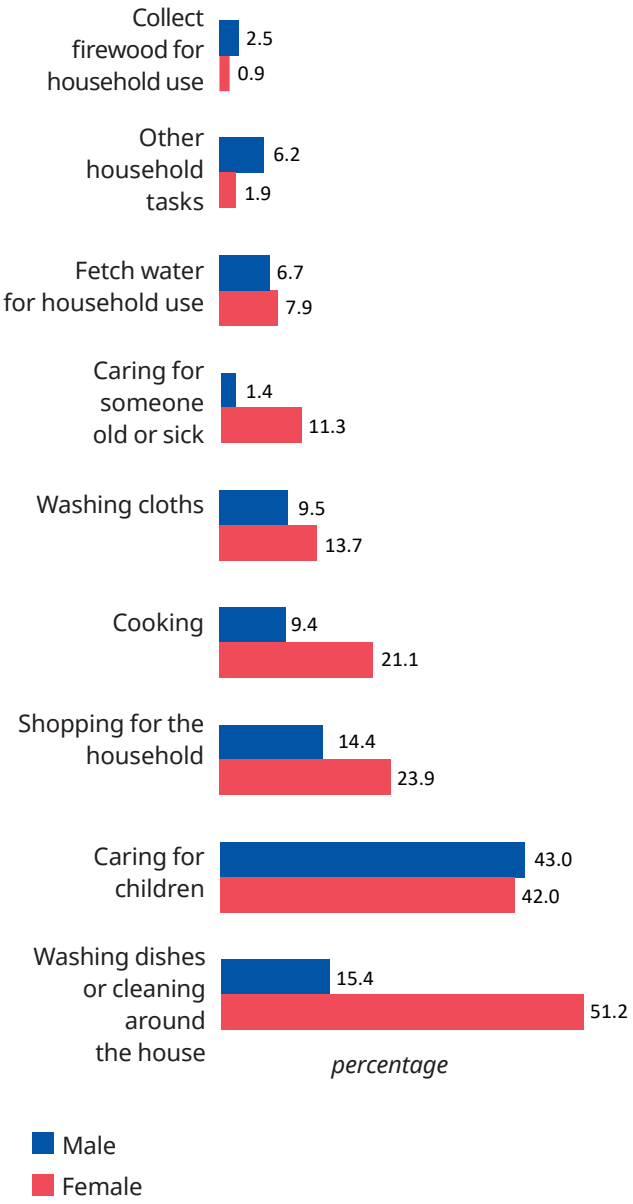
The results are not strikingly different when considering only children from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. Older children are also more likely to perform household tasks in this subgroup. Figure 3.14 shows that the rate of doing chores for at least an hour a week is the same for these communities as the overall rate in Kosovo. As expected, this rate drops once the threshold increases to 21 hours per week. Similar to the overall findings for Kosovo, girls are more likely to perform tasks than boys at almost any age and time-intensity. The exception is younger children -– an equal share of boys and girls of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities aged 5-14 are involved in chores for more than 20 hours weekly.

▶ Figure 3.14. Percentage of children performing household chores, by hours threshold, age and sex, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities

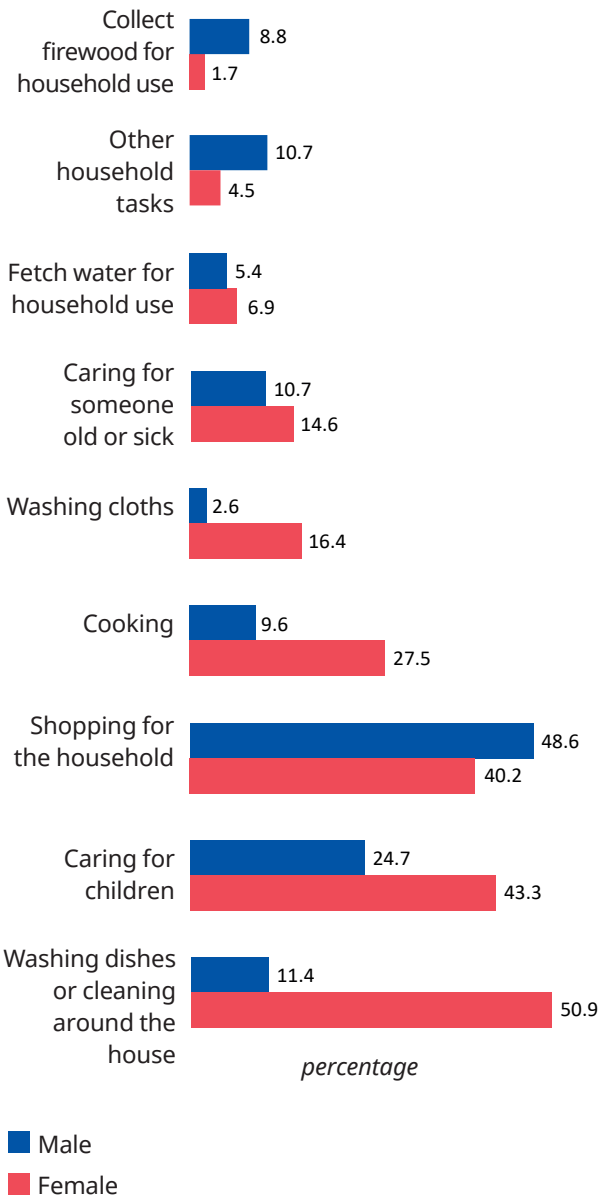


While most children do at least some household tasks for at least one hour a week, girls face a higher burden on average than boys do in this regard. It is also essential to understand what type of tasks these children perform, as this may uncover any gender segregation in household chores. Figures 3.15 and 3.16 show that washing dishes or cleaning around the house are the most common tasks for girls overall in Kosovo and specifically for those of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. These tasks are also the most gendered; about one in two girls compared to approximately one in ten boys have been washing and cleaning around the house. Figures 3.15 and 3.16 also show that shopping is the least gendered task: an almost equal share of boys and girls are involved in this household chore. The least frequent household tasks are collecting wood or fetching water for household use, for both girls and boys in Kosovo overall and in the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities.

▶ **Figure 3.15. Percentage of children aged 5-14 years performing household chores for at least 21 hours per week, by chore type and sex, Kosovo overall**



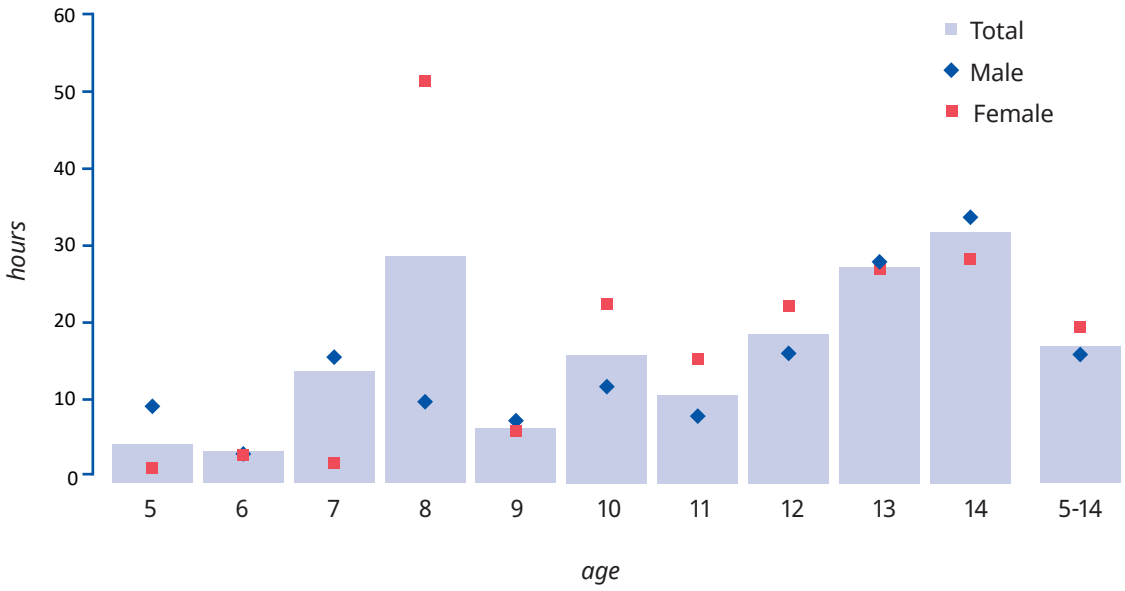
▶ **Figure 3.16. Percentage of children aged 5-14 years performing household chores for at least 21 hours per week, by chore type and sex, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities**



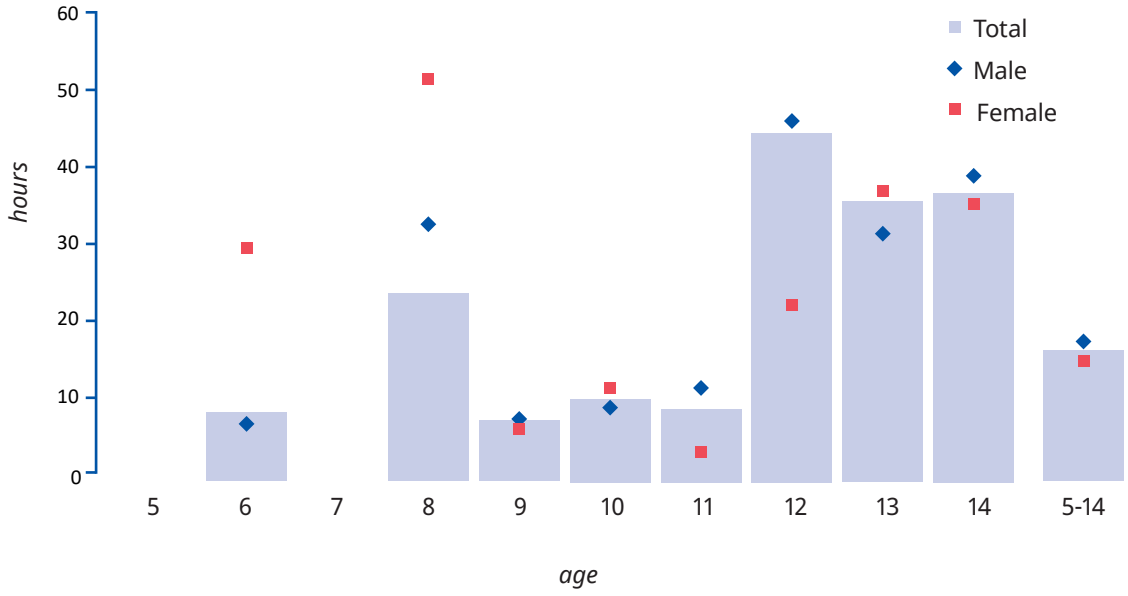
Finally, this subsection turns to the hours spent in work and household chores for children in child labour to offer a more complete picture of the total work burden of children in child labour. The focus is on children aged 5-14 due to this report's chosen definition of child labour. Involvement in household chores beyond a certain threshold is only relevant for those aged 5-14. Figure 3.17 shows that children in child labour of this age group spend on average 19 hours per week working in economic activities and household chores. Girls spend more hours at 21 hours per week than boys, who do 14 hours per week. The most considerable gender gap in hours worked can be seen in 8-year-olds. Similar to the previous findings where girls are more likely to be involved in household chores than boys, they also spend more hours than boys in these activities on average.

Figure 3.18 presents the results for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. Children of this group spend 14 hours per week on child labour and household chores. There is no vast difference in hours worked between girls and boys. The exception is children aged 6, where girls work significantly longer than boys. There are no observations of children in child labour aged 5 and 7 years old. While girls from these communities were more likely to be involved in household chores at any age than boys were, it is not evident that the former work longer hours at any age compared to the latter.

▶ Figure 3.17. Total time spent by children in child labour aged 5-14 years on child labour and household chores, average weekly working hours, by age and sex, Kosovo overall



▶ Figure 3.18. Total time spent by children in child labour aged 5-14 years on child labour and household chores, average weekly working hours, by age and sex, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities



4. Determinants of child labour: Regression analysis

After the overview of the prevalence of child labour and an assessment of its correlation with key related characteristics, this section dives deeper into establishing its determinants. Regression analysis can provide more statistically accurate estimates of the relationship between child labour and a particular individual, household or community background trait while keeping the effects of the other related variables constant. The resulting estimates are vital as they enable us to make suggestions for policy purposes with greater statistical assurance, narrowing down the target groups for potential programmes.

The econometric model chosen for this section is the probit. Child labour is the dependent variable, and several individual, home and societal factors are utilized as independent variables. The selection of independent variables is based on key factors resulting from household decision-making models in the literature and robust empirical findings on child labour in general. Tables of summary statistics for the variables used are provided in the Appendix, tables A.4 and A.5.

For instance, we are aware that, in many situations, the education level of the home head has a substantial negative correlation with child labour. One argument is that parents with higher levels of education are more aware of the benefits of education and/or are better positioned to assist their children in maximizing their earning potential via school. However, a hidden income impact might also be responsible for this association. In other words, family heads with higher levels of education are more likely to have well-paying occupations, and the inverse relationship between household education and child labour may be, in reality, driven by household income rather than education per se.

Similarly, while suggestive, the frequently high association between income and child labour cannot be construed as proof that child labour is the result of poverty alone. Low-income households often have additional characteristics which might also affect whether or not children are engaged in child labour. Income-poor households, for instance, are probably different from their non-poor neighbours in terms of their access to essential services, level of education, work status, and land ownership status, all of which may impact their judgements about child labour. The influence of income must thus be disentangled from the variety of other home characteristics accompanying economic poverty to show a causal link between child labour and income. Finally, it must be noted that while the regression analysis does a good job of controlling for the various correlated effects, it does not get rid of all sources of endogeneity entirely. Thus, interpreting the estimates as causal requires more complex and rigorous econometric techniques.

Table 4.1 provides the results from the probit regression of child labour on key individual and household characteristics for 5,322 children in Kosovo. The first column provides the computed marginal effect of each independent variable on the probability of the child being in child labour. In other words, it is the average change in child labour probability when a given independent variable increases by one unit and all other variables are held constant. Since a probit is a non-linear model, that effect will differ from individual to individual. Therefore, the average marginal effect is simply the mean of individual effects. Clustered and robust standard errors are provided in the third column. The respective z score and probability are provided in columns four and five. The following two columns of the table provide the lower and upper bound population estimates at 95 per cent statistical confidence. The final column gives an indication on whether the estimate is statistically significant.

At first glance, the only statistically significant determinants of child labour are age, sex, residence and school attendance. More specifically, being a boy is associated with an increase in the probability of being in child labour by 1.2 percentage points on average, all else constant. Additional-

ly, living in a household in rural areas is associated with an increase in the probability of being in child labour by 1.6 percentage points on average, all else constant. Interpreting age is slightly different since it shows up in a non-linear way due to the squared age term in the third row of the table. Given that the sum of the two variables is positive, it is sufficient to say that older children are more likely to be in child labour but that this association gets weaker as the child gets older.

▶ Table 4.1. Probability of being in child labour, average marginal effects, Kosovo overall

	Marginal effect	Standard error	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]		Significance
Age	6.0	17.4	58.8	9.8	12.2	0.019	***
Age²	6.9	18.8	56.0	8.2	9.4	0.000	***
Male	7.6	18.8	56.0	9.0	10.2	0.020	***
Albanian	-0.010	0.006	-1.860	0.063	-0.021	0.001	*
Rural	0.016	0.005	3.460	0.001	0.007	0.024	***
Household size	0.000	0.001	-0.550	0.579	-0.002	0.001	
Orphan	0.012	0.009	1.300	0.193	-0.006	0.031	
No bio. parent	0.009	0.006	1.450	0.148	-0.003	0.022	
Functional diff.	-0.001	0.007	-0.160	0.875	-0.014	0.012	
Water access	-0.006	0.004	-1.580	0.115	-0.014	0.002	
Higher ed. HH head	-0.005	0.006	-0.840	0.399	-0.016	0.006	
Wealth index quintile							
Second	-0.005	0.005	-0.930	0.353	-0.016	0.006	
Middle	-0.006	0.006	-0.960	0.338	-0.017	0.006	
Fourth	-0.010	0.006	-1.720	0.086	-0.021	0.001	*
Richest	0.001	0.007	0.130	0.895	-0.013	0.015	

*Notes: Sample size: N=5,322. Clustered robust standard errors. *** Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%. * Significant at 1%.*

Indeed, none of the results listed above should take a causal explanation per se. It must be noted that the data do not provide enough evidence for a statistically significant relationship between the probability of being in child labour and the rest of the variables, including household wealth and the household's educational background. Again, this does not mean that these are not important determining factors; one reason these estimates are insignificant could be the small sample size and the few observations of children in child labour.

The same analysis is applied to 2,086 children from the dataset of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. Table 4.2 presents the results of the probit; the interpretation of the columns remain the same. Similar to the general results, being a boy in these communities is associated with an increase in the probability of being in child labour by 1.6 percentage points on average, all else constant. In this case, an increase in a child's age is also associated with an inverse U-shape effect in the chances of being in child labour.

Interestingly, for this subgroup of children, having caretakers with functional difficulties is associated with an increase in the probability of being in child labour by 1.5 percentage points on average, all else constant. Additionally, a one unit increase in the child's household size and having access to water are associated with a decrease of 0.6 and 1.6 percentage points, respectively, in the probability of being in child labour on average. As above, household wealth does not seem to be statistically correlated with the probability of being in child labour after controlling for these various individual and household characteristics.

▶ Table 4.2. Probability of being in child labour, average marginal effects, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities

	Marginal effect	Standard error	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]		Significance
Age	0.011	0.007	1.650	0.099	-0.002	0.024	*
Age²	0.000	0.000	-1.650	0.099	-0.001	0.000	*
Male	0.016	0.007	2.140	0.032	0.001	0.030	**
Rural	0.003	0.007	0.450	0.654	-0.011	0.017	
Household size	-0.006	0.002	-3.020	0.003	-0.010	-0.002	***
Orphan	-0.028	0.023	-1.220	0.223	-0.073	0.017	
No bio. parent	-0.003	0.013	-0.250	0.804	-0.030	0.023	
Functional diff.	0.015	0.008	1.750	0.080	-0.002	0.031	*
Water access	-0.016	0.008	-1.960	0.050	-0.032	0.000	*
Wealth index quintile							
Second	0.003	0.011	0.270	0.784	-0.018	0.024	
Middle	-0.003	0.010	-0.290	0.770	-0.023	0.017	
Fourth	-0.001	0.011	-0.110	0.909	-0.022	0.020	
Richest	-0.003	0.011	-0.240	0.811	-0.025	0.019	

*Notes: Sample size: N=2,086. Clustered robust standard errors. *** Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%. * Significant at 1%.*

5. The implications of child labour for children's education and health

The MICS surveys have recently added new modules focusing on various aspects of children's education and health. The questions cover parental involvement in children's educational activities, literacy and numeracy skills, and whether they face any difficulty in various physical, social and mental dimensions. These modules apply only to children aged 7-14; thus, all results in this section refer to that age group. Particular attention is paid to how child labour relates to and affects these various aspects of children's education and health. In the following subsections, descriptive figures and regression analysis are used to capture the potentially harmful ramifications of child labour.

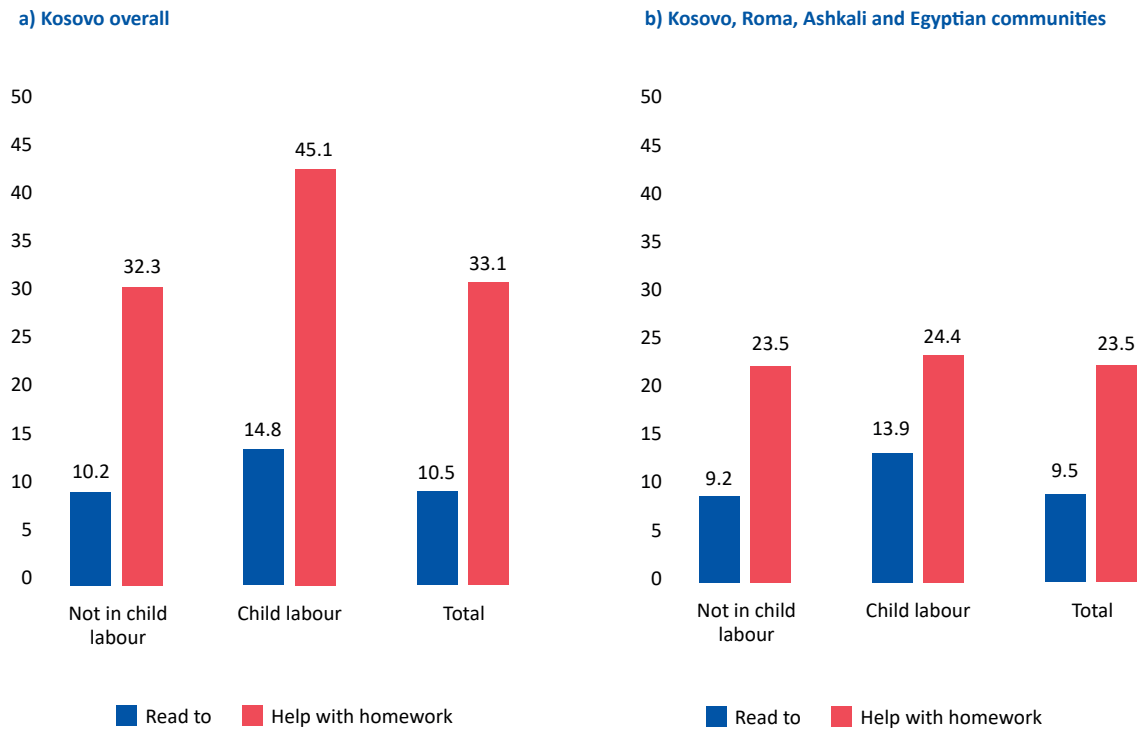
5.1. Education

The foundational learning module in MICS surveys evaluates learning outcomes in reading and numeracy for children of primary and lower secondary school age (7-14), regardless of their school attendance status. Additionally, the parental involvement module focuses on children's home learning environment and parental involvement in their education. These two modules provide a solid basis of evidence needed to improve education for children, especially among the most vulnerable such as those in child labour.

It is well acknowledged that parental participation in their children's schooling improves their learning outcomes. For example, reading at home significantly improves reading proficiency, comprehension and expressive language abilities (Gest et al. 2004). Additionally, studies demonstrate that parental support for their child's literacy development is a reliable long-term indicator of eventual educational success (Fluori and Buchanan 2004). Thus, it is crucial to examine how parental involvement differs depending on whether the child is in child labour.

Figure 5.1 shows that only 10.5 per cent of children overall and 9.5 per cent of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children have been read to by their parents or caretakers. In addition, approximately one in three children from Kosovo and one in four from Kosovo's Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities have received help with their homework. Children in child labour for Kosovo overall are slightly more likely to both be read to and significantly more likely to receive help with their homework. One interpretation is that they are more in need of this help, which is why they receive it. The difference in parental involvement based on child labour status is not so evident for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities.

▶ **Figure 5.1. Parental involvement for children aged 7-14, by child labour status**

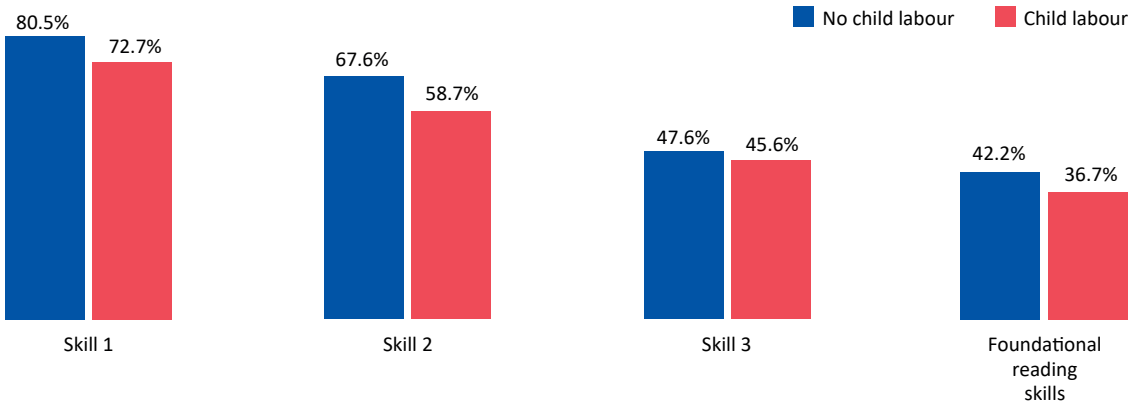


Given that children in child labour seem to receive more help, this could indicate that they are lagging behind. The latter is crucial information in Kosovo's case, where school attendance does not seem to be a major concern among working children. In other words, children's elevated school attendance rates may conceal child labour's negative repercussions without a complete picture of their educational outcomes. Thus, the following paragraphs will focus on children's skills and their child labour status.

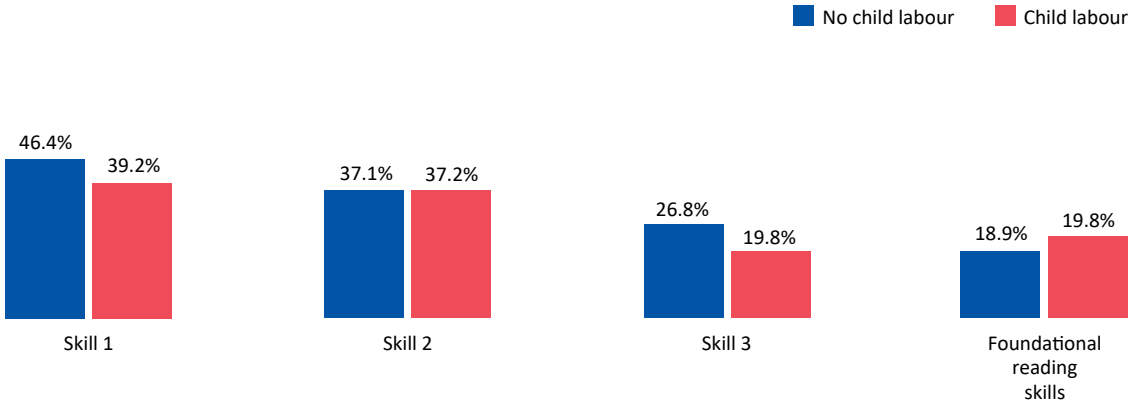
There are several reading skills measured by the MICS survey. The first is defined as reading correctly 90 per cent of words in a given story; the second measures whether the child can correctly answer three literal comprehension questions, while the third captures children who correctly answer two inferential comprehension questions. Children are classified as having foundational reading skills if they fulfil all three abovementioned skills.

Figure 5.2 shows that child labourers are less likely to have each of the three reading skills than children not in child labour. Moreover, only 36.7 per cent of children in child labour have foundational skills, as opposed to 42.2 per cent of children not in child labour. Among Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, significantly fewer children have any of the three foundational reading skills; figure 5.3 shows that only about one in five children of these communities have foundational reading skills. However, the child labour gap in reading skills among children of these communities is not as striking as that in Kosovo overall. Low reading performance appears to be a prevalent issue among Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children regardless of their working status.

▶ **Figure 5.2. Reading skills and child labour, children aged 7-14, Kosovo overall**



▶ **Figure 5.3. Reading skills and child labour, children aged 7-14, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities**



Figures 5.2 and 5.3 provide only overall correlations between the variables and do not control for other household and individual characteristics that could be driving both education skills and child labour decisions. Thus, a regression analysis can provide a more accurate estimation of the implication of child labour for educational performance. Table 5.1 provides the results from a probit regression on the probability of a child having foundational reading skills.

The key finding is that being in child labour is associated with a decrease of 6.7 percentage points in the probability of having foundational reading skills after controlling for various individual and household characteristics. Other factors that negatively affect reading skills are living in rural areas and larger households. On the other hand, attending school, having more educated household heads, being Albanian and being older all increase the probability of having foundational reading skills. For instance, a child with a household head with at least higher education is on average 9.3 percentage points more likely to have foundational reading skills than one whose household head is less educated, all else constant. According to the table, being from wealthier households also has a very significant positive correlation with reading performance, all else equal.

▶ Table 5.1. Probability of having foundational reading skills, average marginal effects, Kosovo overall

	Marginal effect	Standard error	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]		Significance
Child labour	-0.067	0.037	-1.790	0.074	-0.140	0.006	*
Age	0.508	0.042	12.230	0.000	0.427	0.589	***
Age²	-0.022	0.002	-11.330	0.000	-0.026	-0.018	***
Male	-0.023	0.018	-1.260	0.209	-0.059	0.013	
Albanian	0.071	0.035	2.000	0.046	0.001	0.140	**
Rural	-0.047	0.020	-2.300	0.022	-0.087	-0.007	**
Household Size	-0.011	0.004	-2.610	0.009	-0.019	-0.003	***
Water access	-0.015	0.020	-0.730	0.464	-0.054	0.024	
Higher ed. HH head	0.093	0.026	3.530	0.000	0.041	0.145	***
School Attendance	0.297	0.1207	2.470	0.014	0.061	0.532	***
Wealth index quintile							
Second	0.093	0.026	3.530	0.000	0.041	0.145	***
Middle	0.125	0.030	4.200	0.000	0.067	0.184	***
Fourth	0.144	0.030	4.880	0.000	0.086	0.202	***
Richest	0.068	0.032	2.150	0.032	0.006	0.130	**

*Notes: Sample size: N=1,199. Clustered robust standard errors. *** Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%. * Significant at 1%.*

Table 5.2 replicates the same analysis on the dataset of children from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. As there was no considerable difference in the reading skills of child labourers versus the rest of the children, the statistically insignificant coefficient of child labour on reading shown in the table is expected. In this case, being older also improves, on average, the chances of having foundational reading skills, all else constant. In contrast, being a boy is associated with an 8.8 percentage point decrease in the probability of having foundational reading skills. For Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children, coming from wealthier households also increases the likelihood of performing well in reading, as the positive significant coefficients in table 5.2 demonstrate.

▶ Table 5.2. Probability of having foundational reading skills, average marginal effects, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities

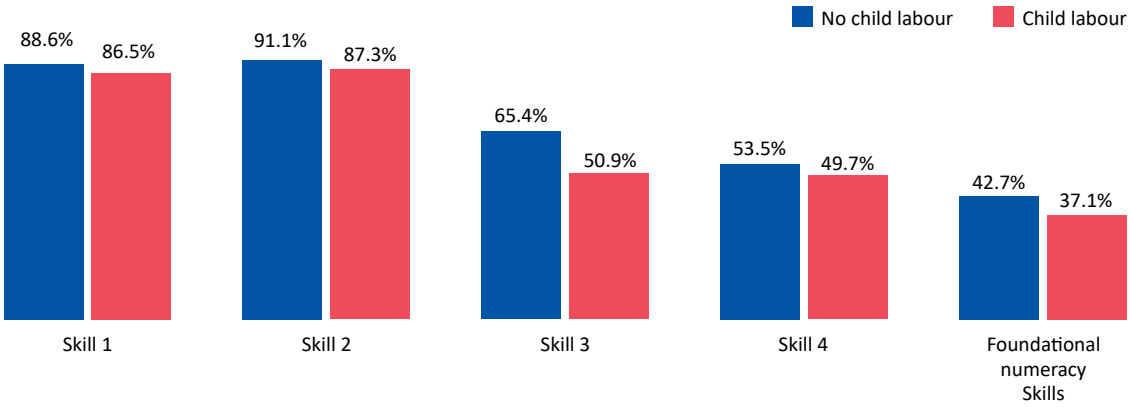
	Marginal effect	Standard error	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]		Significance
Child labour	-0.003	0.050	-0.060	0.954	-0.101	0.096	
Age	0.292	0.062	4.690	0.000	0.170	0.413	***
Age²	-0.013	0.003	-4.370	0.000	-0.018	-0.007	***
Male	-0.088	0.027	-3.310	0.001	-0.140	-0.036	***
Rural	-0.020	0.028	-0.740	0.458	-0.075	0.034	
Household Size	0.005	0.007	0.810	0.420	-0.008	0.018	
Water access	-0.025	0.035	-0.720	0.470	-0.094	0.043	
Wealth index quintile							
Second	0.059	0.035	1.700	0.090	-0.009	0.127	*
Middle	0.085	0.038	2.260	0.024	0.011	0.159	**
Fourth	0.245	0.042	5.900	0.000	0.163	0.326	***
Richest	0.204	0.045	4.500	0.000	0.115	0.293	***

*Notes: Sample size: N=393. Clustered robust standard errors. *** Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%. * Significant at 1%.*

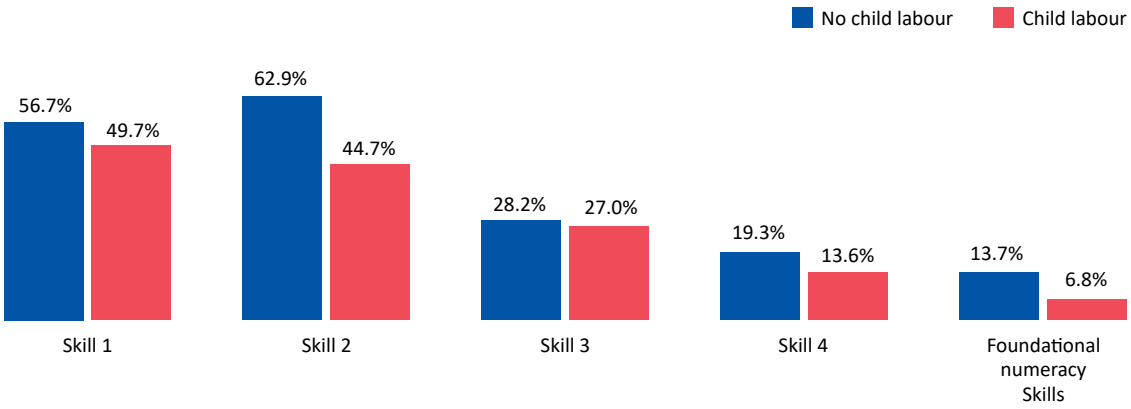
The MICS foundational learning module also covers numeracy skills. The first skill in this set measures whether the child can successfully complete a number reading task, while the second captures the successful completion of a numerical discrimination task. The following skill focuses on addition competencies and the final skill measures whether the child can complete a pattern recognition and completion task. Like foundational reading skills, a child is categorized as having foundational numeracy skills if they have all the above-mentioned skills.

Figure 5.4 shows that less than half the children in Kosovo have foundational numeracy skills, and this figure is even lower for children in child labour. About 42.7 per cent of children not in child labour have foundational numeracy skills as opposed to 37.1 per cent of those in child labour. Additionally, children in child labour are less likely to have each of the four numeracy skills. Figure 5.5 presents a severe situation for children of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities; less than 14 per cent of children have foundational numeracy skills in these communities. Furthermore, only 6.8 per cent of children in child labour have foundational numeracy skills.

▶ **Figure 5.4. Numeracy skills and child labour, children aged 7-14, Kosovo overall**



▶ **Figure 5.5. Numeracy skills and child labour, children aged 7-14, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities**



While the data provide evidence of the negative correlation between child labour and numeracy skills, the regression analysis can offer more precise estimates. Table 5.3 shows that even after controlling for various individual and household characteristics, being in child labour is associated with a 6.7 percentage point decrease in a child's probability of having foundational numeracy skills. Moreover, being a boy and Albanian increases the odds of foundational numeracy skills on average by 5.5 and 17.1 percentage points, respectively, all else constant. As expected, having a highly educated household head and being from a wealthier household is also associated with a higher chance of having foundational numeracy skills, all else constant. On average, children from rural areas perform worse in numeracy skills when controlling for individual and household characteristics.

▶ Table 5.3. Probability of having foundational numeracy skills, average marginal effects, Kosovo overall

	Marginal effect	Standard error	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]		Significance
Child labour	-0.067	0.037	-1.790	0.074	-0.140	0.007	*
Age	0.504	0.042	12.110	0.000	0.423	0.586	***
Age²	-0.022	0.002	-11.150	0.000	-0.026	-0.018	***
Male	0.055	0.018	2.990	0.003	0.019	0.090	***
Albanian	0.171	0.036	4.710	0.000	0.100	0.242	***
Rural	-0.082	0.020	-4.070	0.000	-0.122	-0.042	***
Household size	0.003	0.004	0.690	0.493	-0.005	0.011	
Water access	0.001	0.020	0.040	0.972	-0.038	0.040	
Higher ed. HH head	0.134	0.024	5.540	0.000	0.087	0.182	***
Wealth index quintile							
Second	0.080	0.026	3.030	0.002	0.028	0.132	***
Middle	0.084	0.030	2.810	0.005	0.025	0.143	***
Fourth	0.053	0.029	1.820	0.069	-0.004	0.110	*
Richest	0.154	0.032	4.810	0.000	0.091	0.217	***

*Notes: Sample size: N=1,199. Clustered robust standard errors. *** Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%. * Significant at 1%.*

Table 5.4 presents the same analysis done on the dataset of children from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. The magnitude of child labour's potential impact on the probability of having foundational numeracy skills is even more significant for this group. Being in child labour is associated with a 9.5 percentage point decrease in the chances of having foundational numeracy skills on average. Similar to the previous results, being a boy, having more educated household heads and coming from richer households all seem to increase the odds of doing well numerically.

▶ Table 5.4. Probability of having foundational numeracy skills, average marginal effects, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities

	Marginal effect	Standard error	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]		Significance
Child labour	-0.095	0.051	-1.850	0.064	-0.196	0.006	*
Age	0.212	0.055	3.850	0.000	0.104	0.320	***
Age²	-0.009	0.003	-3.590	0.000	-0.014	-0.004	***
Male	0.108	0.024	4.450	0.000	0.061	0.156	***
Rural	0.017	0.024	0.690	0.487	-0.031	0.064	
Household size	0.000	0.006	0.000	0.996	-0.011	0.011	
Water access	0.027	0.031	0.860	0.389	-0.034	0.089	
Higher ed. HH head	0.135	0.024	5.550	0.000	0.087	0.182	***
Wealth index quintile							
Second	0.044	0.028	1.580	0.114	-0.011	0.099	
Middle	0.139	0.036	3.900	0.000	0.069	0.209	***
Fourth	0.170	0.036	4.760	0.000	0.100	0.240	***
Richest	0.098	0.036	2.740	0.006	0.028	0.168	***

*Notes: Sample size: N=393. Clustered robust standard errors. *** Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%. * Significant at 1%.*

5.2. Health

Based on the findings above, there is substantial evidence that children in child labour are doing worse on average in their literacy and numeracy skills. Children's educational outcomes and progress suffer from their engagement in child labour. However, health is equally indispensable for their education and prosperity in the future. Therefore, the subsequent paragraphs will focus on child labour's implications for children's various physical, social and mental health aspects, also captured by MICS surveys for all children aged 5-17.

Having a functional difficulty for children aged 5-17 years is defined as having responded "A lot of difficulty" or "Cannot at all" to any questions within several functional domains.[3] Figures 5.5 and 5.6 show no substantial differences in the share of children with functional difficulties based on their child labour status for children in Kosovo overall and in Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. For instance, 9 per cent of children not in child labour have functional difficulties as opposed to 7 per cent of those in child labour. However, in Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, there is a visibly higher share of children with functional difficulties overall. For example, about 16 per cent of children not in child labour have functional difficulties, as opposed to 20 per cent of those in child labour in these communities.

Figure 5.6. Functional difficulty and child labour, children aged 5-17, Kosovo overall

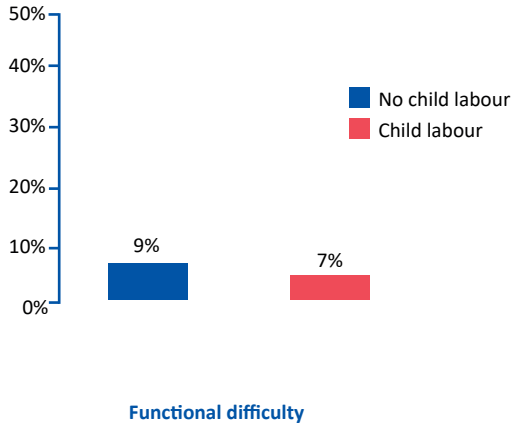
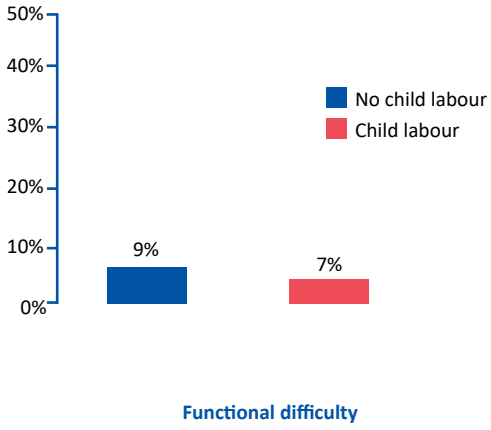


Figure 5.7. Functional difficulty and child labour, children aged 5-17, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities



The data do not provide sufficient evidence for child labour's adverse implications on children's functional difficulties. Nevertheless, further regression analysis is provided to test the relationship between child labour and health. Table 5.5 provides the results of a probit on the probability of having functional difficulties. As expected, child labour does not have a statistically significant association with functional difficulties even after controlling for various individual and household characteristics. On average, several other factors are associated with a decreased probability of having functional difficulties, such as being a boy, being from rural areas or richer households, and attending school.

3 Functional domains covered in MICS surveys are: seeing, hearing, walking, self-care, communication, learning, remembering, concentrating, accepting change, controlling behaviour, making friends, anxiety and depression.

▶ Table 5.5. Probability of having functional difficulties, average marginal effects, Kosovo overall

	Marginal effect	Standard error	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]		Significance
Child labour	-0.018	0.019	-0.950	0.343	-0.056	0.019	
Age	0.003	0.008	0.390	0.699	-0.012	0.018	
Age²	0.000	0.000	-0.240	0.807	-0.001	0.001	
Male	-0.021	0.008	-2.620	0.009	-0.037	-0.005	***
Albanian	-0.006	0.014	-0.470	0.641	-0.033	0.020	
Rural	-0.023	0.009	-2.550	0.011	-0.040	-0.005	**
Household size	0.001	0.002	0.520	0.602	-0.002	0.004	
Water access	-0.013	0.009	-1.510	0.130	-0.031	0.004	
Higher ed. HH head	-0.005	0.012	-0.410	0.679	-0.028	0.018	
School Attendance	-0.054	0.017	-3.190	0.001	-0.087	-0.021	***
Wealth index quintile							
Second	-0.005	0.006	-0.840	0.399	-0.016	0.006	
Middle							
Fourth	-0.042	0.013	-3.270	0.001	-0.068	-0.017	***
Richest	-0.029	0.014	-2.050	0.040	-0.057	-0.001	**

*Notes: Sample size: N=393. Clustered robust standard errors. *** Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%. * Significant at 1%.*

Table 5.6 provides the same analysis but on the data from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. Even in this case, the coefficient for child labour is not statistically significant. However, for this group of children, older children and those attending school are, on average, less likely to have functional difficulties, all else constant. The relationship between household wealth and a child's functional difficulty is not as strong in these communities.

▶ Table 5.6. Probability of having functional difficulties, average marginal effects, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities

	Marginal effect	Standard error	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]		Significance
Child labour	0.017	0.032	0.530	0.596	-0.045	0.079	
Age	-0.038	0.015	-2.540	0.011	-0.068	-0.009	**
Age²	0.002	0.001	2.520	0.012	0.000	0.003	**
Male	-0.001	0.016	-0.080	0.937	-0.033	0.031	
Albanian	-0.006	0.022	-0.280	0.781	-0.049	0.037	
Rural	0.024	0.017	1.440	0.151	-0.009	0.056	
Household size	-0.001	0.004	-0.160	0.872	-0.008	0.006	
Water access	-0.051	0.020	-2.560	0.010	-0.090	-0.012	
School Attendance	-0.082	0.018	-4.430	0.000	-0.118	-0.046	***
Wealth index quintile							
Second	-0.063	0.023	-2.760	0.006	-0.107	-0.018	***
Middle	0.080	0.029	2.810	0.005	0.024	0.136	***
Fourth	-0.026	0.026	-1.010	0.311	-0.077	0.024	
Richest	-0.090	0.026	-3.520	0.000	-0.140	-0.040	

*Notes: Sample size: N=771. Clustered robust standard errors. *** Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%. * Significant at 1*

The functional difficulty indicator contains anxiety and depression in its composition. However, considering child labour's mental toll on children, the following paragraphs delve deeper into anxiety and depression separately. Tables 5.7 and 5.8 provide the results from probit regressions on the probability of having experienced anxiety daily for children overall in Kosovo and for those of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, respectively. Contrary to expectations, being in child labour is negatively associated with anxiety on average for children in Kosovo after controlling for several individual and household characteristics. However, this result does not necessarily imply that child labour reduces anxiety among children.

An alternative explanation could be that anxious children are not in a state to perform any work; thus the negative correlation. The child labour coefficient for children of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities is not statistically significant, on the other hand. The tables also show that being older and being Albanian are both positively associated with anxiety, all else constant. On the other hand, attending school, being from rural areas, having household access to water, and household wealth are all negatively associated with anxiety, all else considered. Results are similar for Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian children, except that older children and those attending school are more likely to experience anxiety, all else constant.

▶ Table 5.7. Probability of experiencing anxiety, average marginal effects, Kosovo overall

	Marginal effect	Standard error	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]		Significance
Child labour	-0.043	0.019	-2.220	0.026	-0.081	-0.005	**
Age	0.011	0.006	1.830	0.068	-0.001	0.024	*
Age²	0.000	0.000	-1.500	0.133	-0.001	0.000	
Male	-0.003	0.007	-0.390	0.699	-0.015	0.010	
Albanian	0.030	0.013	2.350	0.019	0.005	0.056	**
Rural	-0.019	0.007	-2.590	0.010	-0.033	-0.005	**
Household size	-0.002	0.002	-1.380	0.167	-0.005	0.001	
Water access	-0.015	0.007	-2.100	0.035	-0.029	-0.001	**
Higher ed. HH	0.003	0.009	0.350	0.727	-0.015	0.021	
School Attendance	-0.031	0.013	-2.350	0.019	-0.057	-0.005	***
Wealth index quintile							
Second	-0.004	0.010	-0.430	0.669	-0.025	0.016	
Middle	0.006	0.012	0.510	0.608	-0.017	0.029	
Fourth	-0.018	0.011	-1.700	0.090	-0.039	0.003	*
Richest	-0.036	0.010	-3.630	0.000	-0.055	-0.016	***

*Notes: Sample size: N=2,381. Clustered robust standard errors. *** Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%. * Significant at 1%.*

▶ Table 5.8. Probability of experiencing anxiety, average marginal effects, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities

	Marginal effect	Standard error	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]		Significance
Child labour	-0.035	0.024	-1.470	0.141	-0.081	0.012	
Age	0.025	0.011	2.280	0.022	0.004	0.047	**
Age²	-0.001	0.000	-1.990	0.046	-0.002	0.000	**
Male	0.019	0.011	1.650	0.099	-0.003	0.041	*
Albanian	0.013	0.011	1.160	0.244	-0.009	0.035	
Rural	-0.007	0.003	-2.680	0.007	-0.012	-0.002	***
Household size	-0.002	0.014	-0.130	0.898	-0.029	0.025	
Water access	-0.035	0.024	-1.470	0.141	-0.081	0.012	
School Attendance	0.000	0.000	-2.350	0.019	-0.001	0.000	***
Wealth index quintile							
Second	0.008	0.017	0.490	0.627	-0.025	0.041	
Middle	-0.010	0.017	-0.630	0.531	-0.043	0.022	
Fourth	0.008	0.018	0.440	0.663	-0.027	0.043	
Richest	-0.042	0.016	-2.730	0.006	-0.073	-0.012	***

*Notes: Sample size: N=771. Clustered robust standard errors. *** Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%. * Significant at 1%.*

Tables 5.9 and 5.10 provide the same analysis as above but on the probability of experiencing depression daily. Again, there is not enough evidence to establish a relationship between child labour and depression, neither for children overall in Kosovo, nor for those of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. However, based on the results, these two groups' factors related to depression experiences are different. On the one hand, table 5.9 shows that being from rural areas or wealthier households, having access to water or educated household heads and attending school are all associated with a decrease in the probability of experiencing depression daily on average, all else constant. On the other hand, table 5.10 shows that for children of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, being from rural areas is associated with an increase in the probability of experiencing depression daily. At the same time, the relation with household wealth is not as strong on average, all else constant. Attending school seems to be beneficial for depression for both groups of children.

▶ Table 5.9. Probability of experiencing depression, average marginal effects, Kosovo overall

	Marginal effect	Standard error	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]		Significance
Child labour	-0.004	0.009	-0.410	0.683	-0.022	0.014	
Age	0.005	0.004	1.150	0.250	-0.003	0.012	
Age²	0.000	0.000	-1.400	0.160	-0.001	0.000	
Male	-0.009	0.004	-2.160	0.031	-0.017	-0.001	**
Albanian	0.006	0.007	0.830	0.405	-0.008	0.020	
Rural	-0.011	0.005	-2.310	0.021	-0.020	-0.002	**
Household sze	0.000	0.001	-0.380	0.704	-0.002	0.001	
Water access	-0.017	0.005	-3.750	0.000	-0.026	-0.008	***
Higher ed. HH head	-0.013	0.007	-1.850	0.065	-0.027	0.001	*
School Attendance	-0.015	0.008	-1.810	0.070	-0.032	0.001	**
Wealth index quintile							
Second	-0.011	0.007	-1.680	0.093	-0.024	0.002	*
Middle	-0.003	0.008	-0.350	0.723	-0.018	0.012	
Fourth	-0.016	0.007	-2.330	0.020	-0.029	-0.002	**
Richest	-0.019	0.007	-2.830	0.005	-0.031	-0.006	***

*Notes: Sample size: N=2,381. Clustered robust standard errors. *** Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%. * Significant at 1%.*

▶ Table 5.10. Probability of experiencing depression, average marginal effects, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities

	Marginal effect	Standard error	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]		Significance
Child labour	-0.008	0.020	-0.400	0.686	-0.047	0.031	
Age	-0.004	0.009	-0.390	0.695	-0.021	0.014	
Age²	0.000	0.000	0.610	0.544	-0.001	0.001	
Male	0.001	0.010	0.070	0.940	-0.018	0.020	
Rural	0.025	0.010	2.430	0.015	0.005	0.045	**
Household size	-0.001	0.002	-0.450	0.654	-0.005	0.003	
Water access	-0.001	0.012	-0.080	0.936	-0.024	0.022	
School Attendance	-0.014	0.011	-1.260	0.209	-0.035	0.008	***
Wealth index quintile							
Second	-0.018	0.014	-1.280	0.200	-0.045	0.009	
Middle	-0.010	0.015	-0.660	0.511	-0.041	0.020	
Fourth	-0.041	0.013	-3.230	0.001	-0.066	-0.016	***

*Notes: Sample size: N=771. Clustered robust standard errors. *** Significant at 10%. ** Significant at 5%. * Significant at 1%.*

6. Conclusion

Child labour remains a concerning, widespread phenomenon in Kosovo as well as around the world. This report has aimed to raise awareness and inform policy responses by providing the most recent statistical findings on this matter. More specifically, it has provided a descriptive overview of the **prevalence**, **determinants** and **effects** of child labour based on statistical descriptive and regression analysis of Kosovo's 2020 Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS).

The report has found that about 5.3 per cent of children in Kosovo and 7 per cent of children from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities were in child labour. Most children in Kosovo combined school and work; thus, school attendance was not highly informative on the consequences for those at risk of child labour in Kosovo. That being said, out-of-school rates remained worrisome for those already in child labour. In contrast, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children face different hurdles, whereby their "idleness" – neither at school nor at work – was at alarming rates. Children in child labour spent 10.3 hours in work per week in Kosovo overall. Additionally, children from Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities worked almost twice as long as children in child labour overall in Kosovo. Time-intensity of child labour got worse as children get older. In addition, involvement in household chores increased with the child's age. Girls were significantly more likely to be engaged in household chores than boys. Few children were exposed to workplace hazardous conditions, but children in child labour were significantly more likely to suffer from such conditions.

The regression analysis revealed that the only statistically significant determinants of child labour for Kosovo's children were age, being a boy, being from rural areas and school attendance. Caretaker's functional difficulties were an additional determining factor of child labour for children of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. Children's reading and numeracy skills appeared to have significant room for improvement. Furthermore, child labour made matters worse as it significantly decreased the probability of having foundational reading and numerical skills. Fortunately, child labour did not seem to have considerable implications for children's health. However, this finding could be different if hazardous work were to be included in the indicator.

These findings are valuable as they paint a clearer picture of those in child labour and those at risk. But, more importantly, they provide robust evidence of the harmful effect of child labour on children's educational progress. They should serve as a wake-up call for the Government, civil society and other stakeholders to take action to eliminate child labour and improve children's educational outcomes. The call to action is even more pressing given the progress lost due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The next section provides some recommendations on where to start.

7. Recommendations

In order to fight child labour in Kosovo, the following recommendations can help guide policy responses and the dialogue on the matter.

- Given the negative correlation between household wealth and child labour, it is vital to extend social protection for children and their families to mitigate the poverty and economic uncertainty that underpin child labour. The report provides ample information on the profile of children in child labour and those at risk. Thus, social protection policies can be targeted at these groups to increase the efficiency and impact of such schemes.

- Girls in Kosovo had the heaviest burden regarding household chores. Thus, special attention must be paid to gender norms and discrimination that increase child labour risks in the non-public sphere.

- Children from rural areas were particularly at risk of child labour, poor educational performance and other adverse outcomes. It is therefore recommended to improve rural livelihoods and resilience by investing in infrastructure related to children's well-being and education, as well as improving the rural families' overall economic prospects.

- School attendance was not the prevalent concern for Kosovo's children, but their educational attainment lagged significantly behind, especially for those in child labour. Schooling remains free in Kosovo, but more effort should be put into increasing its quality such that it provides a viable alternative to child labour and affords children a chance of a better future. Moreover, special attention should be paid to ensuring working children stay in school and do not fall behind in their lessons.

- However, particular policies should be designed to ensure school attendance for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian children. Unique curricula could also be drafted to help them catch up in basic numeracy and literacy skills, given their poor performance according to this report's results.

- While designing policies and strategies is the first step to tackling child labour, institutional bodies must ensure that necessary laws and regulations are in place to protect children, backed by proper implementation on the ground.

- Increasing the body of knowledge on child labour at the national level can aid in determining local priorities and directing funding and policy decisions. Kosovo's public authorities, the international and local organizations, and society must engage in social conversation to build effective and responsive policies for tackling child labour and its implications. This dialogue must be led by data and robust evidence. While this report provides an excellent starting point for the discussion, its limitations also highlight the need for Kosovo to implement a national child labour survey.

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Appendix: Complementary tables

Table A.1. Child labour population estimates, by age and sex

		Child labour population			
		5-11 years	12-14 years	15-17 years	5-17 years
Sex	Male	7 698	4 175	519	12 212
	Female	4 613	2 720		7 372

Table A.2. Child labour weighted observations by age, sex, residence, region, and wealth index quintile, Kosovo overall

		Age group			Total children 5-17 years
		Children aged 5-11	Children aged 12-14	Children aged 15-17	
Sex	Male	128	57	7	193
	Female	72	34	0	106
Residence	Urban	65	11	1	77
	Rural	136	80	6	222
Region	Gjakova	13	9	0	22
	Gjilan	22	14	1	37
	Mitrovica	30	2	0	31
	Peja	11	10	2	24
	Prizren	14	16	4	34
	Prishtina	76	30	0	106
	Ferizaj	35	11	0	46
Wealth index quintile	Poorest	67	41	5	113
	Second	39	25	1	65
	Middle	35	8	0	43
	Fourth	30	5	1	37
	Richest	29	12	0	41
Total		**201**	**92**	**7**	**299**

▶ Table A.3. Child labour weighted observations by age, sex, residence, region, and wealth index quintile, Roma, Egyptian and Ashkali communities

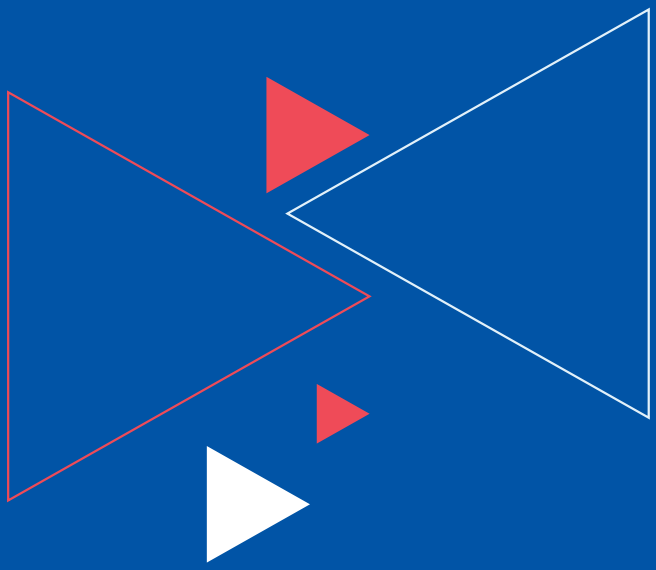
		Age group			
		Children aged 5-11	Children aged 12-14	Children aged 15-17	Total children 5-17 years
Sex	Male	55	16	24	96
	Female	42	11	0	53
Residence	Urban	46	13	11	69
	Rural	51	15	13	80
Wealth index quintile	Poorest	24	8	4	37
	Second	32	7	4	43
	Middle	11	6	6	23
	Fourth	10	2	10	22
	Richest	19	5	0	23
Total		**97**	**28**	**24**	**149**

▶ Table A.4. Summary statistics for variables used in section 4, Kosovo overall

Variable	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Child labour (SDG)	0.05	0.22	0	1
Age	11.21	3.80	5	17
Age²	140.09	84.70	25	289
Male	0.52	0.50	0	1
Albanian	0.90	0.30	0	1
Rural	0.59	0.49	0	1
Household size	6.39	2.43	2	22
Orphan	0.03	0.16	0	1
No biological parent	0.07	0.26	0	1
Functional difference	0.10	0.30	0	1
Water access	0.64	0.48	0	1
Higher education household head	0.19	0.39	0	1
Wealth index quintile				
First	0.26	0.44	0	1
Second	0.22	0.41	0	1
Middle	0.18	0.38	0	1
Fourth	0.17	0.38	0	1
Richest	0.17	0.38	0	1

▶ Table A.5. Summary statistics for variables used in section 4, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities

Variable	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Child labour (SDG)	0.07	0.26	0	1
Age	10.92	3.92	5	17
Age²	134.59	86.87	25	289
Male	0.53	0.50	0	1
Rural	0.49	0.50	0	1
Household size	7.31	2.28	2	16
Orphan	0.04	0.20	0	1
No biological parent	0.08	0.27	0	1
Functional difference	0.16	0.36	0	1
Water access	0.80	0.40	0	1
Wealth index quintile				
First	0.23	0.42	0	1
Second	0.24	0.43	0	1
Middle	0.20	0.40	0	1
Fourth	0.20	0.40	0	1
Richest	0.14	0.34	0	1



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