average. Young boys spend slightly more time than girls in remunerated employment, while young girls spend more than twice as much time as boys on household activities (King and van de Walle, 2007). The upshot is that young girls from the poorest households are less likely than boys to combine school and work, and more likely to be out of school (Hallman et al., 2007).

Economic shocks can increase the impetus towards child labour. Crop losses, sudden increases in household health costs or parental unemployment can pull children out of school and push them into paying jobs. In the Kagera region of the United Republic of Tanzania, transitory income shocks caused by crop losses were associated with a 30% increase in hours worked by children aged 7 to 15 and a 20% fall in school attendance (Beegle et al., 2006). This example illustrates the interaction between vulnerability and disadvantage in education. Households with a limited coping capacity can be forced to compromise the long-term welfare of children to secure short-term survival.

Child labour confronts policy-makers with wide-ranging challenges. Preventing educational marginalization by saving children from having to work requires not only more effective legislation but also economic incentives aimed at keeping children in school.

Group-based disadvantages

Education for All is a principle rooted in the ideas of human rights and equal citizenship. It does not allow for distinctions based on ethnicity, race, language or culture. Yet these group-based identities are among the deepest fault lines in education. In many countries, children born to parents who are members of an ethnic or linguistic minority, a particular racial group or a low caste enter school with poor prospects of success and emerge with less education and lower achievement than do children without these disadvantages.

The processes that lead to group-based marginalization do not lend themselves to generalization but they include formal and informal discrimination, stigmatization and social exclusion linked to social, economic and political power relationships. Many of these processes have deep historical roots in slavery, dispossession or subjugation. The experiences of the K'iche' in Guatemala, Aboriginals in Australia, low-caste people in India and Kurds in Turkey have evolved

from complex histories and are perpetuated through disparate structures. Yet there are some significant common threads, with marginalized groups facing high levels of social discrimination, fewer employment opportunities, more limited rights, and limited prospects for social and economic mobility. All too often their experience in school reinforces and perpetuates their marginalization.

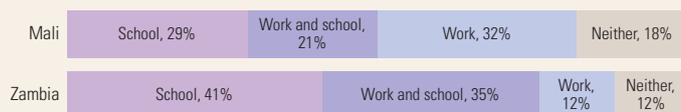### Box 3.5: Mali and Zambia – combining child labour and schooling

Child labour is the rule rather than the exception in Mali and Zambia. Many children in both countries work longer than the average adult in rich countries, with damaging implications for education. However, the consequences vary in scale and severity.

About half of 7- to 14-year-olds in Mali and Zambia were working in 2005, predominantly in rural areas. An alarmingly large proportion of these children – about 80% in both countries – were reported as involved in hazardous work.

Behind these comparable headline figures there were complex variations between school and work. Whereas most working children in Zambia combined the two activities, in Mali about a third of children were reported to be just working and only around 20% combined school and work (Figure 3.23). The average time spent working helps explain the difference. Child labourers in Mali logged an average of thirty-seven hours working each week, compared with twenty-four hours in Zambia.

Figure 3.23: Patterns of school and work vary.

Children aged 7 to 14 by involvement in economic activity and schooling, Mali and Zambia, 2005

Mali	School, 29%	Work and school, 21%	Work, 32%	Neither, 18%
Zambia	School, 41%	Work and school, 35%	Work, 12%	Neither, 12%

Note: Work does not include household chores.
Sources: Understanding Children's Work (2009), based on Mali National Child Labour Survey, 2005 and Zambia Labour Force Survey, 2005.

These working children have lower levels of school attendance at every age, especially in Mali. School attendance gaps are relatively small in Zambia up to age 13 or 14, again underlining the more marked trade-off between school and work in Mali.

Why does child labour in Zambia seem more compatible with education? Some children in Mali – notably those with inflexible employment conditions such as those working as domestic labourers and in manufacturing that limit the scope for combining school and work – appear to face particularly severe disadvantages. Mali has more and deeper poverty, and greater gender disparities in education. School-related factors, including distance to school, the duration of the school day and flexibility of the school calendar, could also be significant.

Source: Understanding Children's Work (2009).

Social deprivation and educational marginalization

Group-based marginalization has multiple sources. Some, such as race, ethnicity and language, are intimately tied up with the cultural identity of the group in question and with the experience of social discrimination. Other factors are related to poverty, health status and wider social circumstances. The borders between these underlying sources of disadvantage are blurred. For example, ethnicity and language are often two sides of the same coin and ethnic or linguistic minorities may face higher levels of poverty. What is clear from the evidence set out in the first part of this chapter is that group identity is often an aspect of 'multiple exclusion' that has a significant bearing on participation and achievement in education (Lewis and Lockheed, 2007).

The situation of indigenous groups in Latin America powerfully illustrates the multiple dimensions of deprivation. Indigenous people, especially women and children, have less access to basic health services. They are also more likely to suffer from nutritional problems. In Ecuador and Guatemala, about 60% of indigenous children under 5 are malnourished – roughly twice the national averages (Larrea and Montenegro Torres, 2006; Shapiro, 2006). In Ecuador, non-indigenous women are three times as likely to receive antenatal care and have a skilled attendant present at birth (Larrea and Montenegro Torres, 2006). Being indigenous raises the probability of being in poverty by between 11% and 30%, depending on the country (Hall and Patrinos, 2006).

Poverty magnifies the barriers facing indigenous children, especially girls. In Guatemala, indigenous girls from extremely poor households enrol in school 1.2 years later than indigenous girls from non-poor households, on average, and are far more likely to drop out. Among 7- to 12-year-olds, Mayan boys and girls are twice as likely as non-indigenous children to combine school and work. For non-enrolled indigenous females, lack of money and housework are cited by parents as the main reason for children being out of school (Hallman et al., 2007).

The experience of indigenous people in Latin America also draws attention to the interaction between marginalization in education and employment. Over the past decade, some indigenous people in Latin America have narrowed the gap with the majority population in terms of

years in school. But gains in education have enhanced their prospects for employment and higher wages far less than for non-indigenous people, pointing to discrimination in labour markets (Hall and Patrinos, 2006). This helps explain why progress in reducing poverty among indigenous people has been slow despite expanded access to education. The persistence of high levels of household poverty helps explain in turn why child labour, a major cause of school dropout, has tended to fall more slowly among indigenous people than among non-indigenous people.

Australia provides a striking example of extreme marginalization amid high levels of overall development. The country consistently figures in the top five on the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Index. Yet in 2001, it was estimated that Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia would rank around 103 – below the Philippines and around the level of Viet Nam (Biddle and Mackay, 2009; Cooke et al., 2007). Social disadvantage on this scale inevitably affects what Aboriginal children achieve in school.

The marked racial divisions evident in the United States's education system are also wrapped up in social disparities. Gaps in learning achievement are evident early on. On average, African-American children register lower cognitive development levels by the age of two (Fryer and Levitt, 2006); (Table 3.4). Part of the difference can be traced directly to poverty and to parental education. Other significant factors include the number of books in the home and time spent reading (Ferguson, 2007). These disparities point to the importance of concerted pre-school strategies for overcoming group disadvantage, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Similarly, the restricted opportunities experienced by Roma children in school are intimately linked to poverty, unemployment, poor housing and poor health. A survey has found that one-quarter of the Roma population in southern and eastern Europe lives in dilapidated housing. The poverty rate for Roma in Romania is almost three times the national average (UNICEF, 2007a). The invisibility of Roma in national education programmes reinforces their exclusion: in Hungary, most education policies do not mention Roma, the country's most educationally disadvantaged community (Open Society Institute, 2007).

High economic growth and rapid poverty reduction do not automatically dissolve deeply entrenched

'The ridicule we face prevents us from coming to school and sitting with higher-caste children.'

Musahar girl, India

group-based disadvantages. Since the early 1990s, poverty in Viet Nam has been cut by two-thirds, far surpassing the Millennium Development Goal target. Despite the gains, however, the average poverty rate among the country's 10 million ethnic minority people is 52%, compared with 10% for the majority Kinh (World Bank, 2009d). Minorities also have worse health, nutrition and education indicators, and less access to basic services. Partly because of these inequalities, the benefits of rapid economic growth have trickled down more slowly to ethnic minority groups. And the poverty gap has widened over time. At the end of the 1990s, the poverty rate among the non-Kinh population was two and a half times higher than the average for Kinh. By 2006, it was five times higher (Baulch et al., 2009).

The wider social and economic inequalities driving group-based marginalization in Viet Nam have important consequences for education. While education figures for ethnic minority groups are improving, they still lag far behind those of the Kinh population. One-quarter of minority children enter school late, compared with 5% for Kinh children. Around 30% of minority households report at least one child dropping out of primary school, double the Kinh share (World Bank, 2009d). Two of the four top reasons for dropping out – inability to afford school fees and need for child labour at home – are directly related to poverty.

Low status and social identity

Low status is intrinsic to marginalization. In parts of South Asia, social practices relating to group status are often based on complex ideas about caste. While caste-based discrimination is frequently outlawed through legislation, underlying practices and attitudes are often difficult to change.

In India, the 1950 Constitution banned 'untouchability' and provided measures to compensate for the extreme social, education and economic disadvantage arising out of that status. Yet, despite progress in many areas including education, deep caste-based disparities remain (Box 3.6). Belonging to a scheduled caste or tribe lowers prospects of school attendance.[7] Being a girl and living in a rural area brings a further layer of disadvantage. In 2004/2005, just 57% of rural girls aged 12 to 14 from scheduled tribes and 66% from scheduled castes were in school, compared with a national average of 80% (Figure 3.24).

Table 3.4: Poverty and early cognitive development by race, United States

	White	African American	National average
Poverty rate (%)	11	25	13
Cognitive development			
2-year-olds: Per cent demonstrating proficiency in listening comprehension	42	30	37
2-year-olds: Per cent demonstrating proficiency in expressive vocabulary	71	56	64
4-year-olds: Per cent proficient at letter recognition	37	28	33
4-year-olds: Average overall mathematics score	24	21	23

Sources:
Poverty rate: Annual Social and Economic Supplement (ASEC) to the 2008 Current Population Survey (CPS), in DeNavas-Walt et al. (2008).
Cognitive development: National Center for Education Statistics (2009). Data for 2-year-olds collected in 2003–04; for 4-year-olds in 2005–06.

Box 3.6: Living with stigma – the 'rat catchers' of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar

'The higher-caste students tell us that we smell bad,' one girl said. Another added, 'The ridicule we face prevents us from coming to school and sitting with higher-caste children.' These girls from the hamlet of Khalispur, near the city of Varanasi, belong to the Musahar or 'rat catcher' community of eastern Uttar Pradesh, India.

Khalispur has a government primary school. Despite an entitlement to receive a stipend, midday meals and uniforms, few Musahar girls attend. The testimony of some of them powerfully demonstrates the force of social attitudes in creating disadvantage: for these girls, school is a place where they experience social exclusion, as stigmatization undermines the self-esteem vital to effective learning. Subtle forms of discrimination reinforce caste hierarchies in the classroom. 'We are forced to sit on the floor,' one girl said. 'The desks and benches in the classroom are meant for the children from the higher castes.'

The Musahar community, which spans eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, has high levels of poverty and low levels of literacy among adults. Apart from catching rats in rice fields, the livelihoods of the Musahar typically revolve around crushing and carrying stones, supplying brick kilns, making leaf plates and performing casual day labour. In contrast to some other low-caste groups, the Musahar have a weak political voice.

According to Musahar elders, government policies have improved but social attitudes have not: 'They do admit our children to school and we now have legal rights, but the behaviour of children from other castes and the teachers is a problem. Our children do not dare attend the school.'

Interviews courtesy of Sudhanshu Joshi, Global March Against Child Labour

---

7. Scheduled castes are the former untouchables and scheduled tribes are India's indigenous populations. Both are listed in schedules appended to India's constitution as groups deserving affirmative action measures.

Figure 3.24: In India, scheduled castes and tribes remain disadvantaged at all levels in education

Attendance rates by age group in India, by community, rural/urban residence and gender, 2004/2005
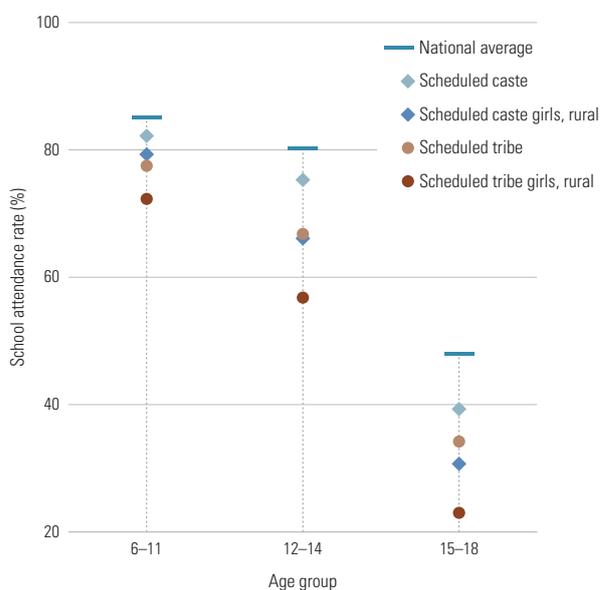
Notes: The attendance rate for an age range is the proportion of children of that age range who report attending school at the time of the survey. The age ranges correspond approximately to primary education, upper primary (or 'middle') education and secondary education, respectively, in the Indian school system.
Source: Bhalotra (2009) based on National Sample Survey data (61st round).

To what extent do these differences stem from distinctive caste and tribe disadvantages rather than wider social and economic factors? That is a key question for policy-makers seeking to equalize opportunity. Research for this Report helps provide a partial answer (Bhalotra, 2009). Using household survey data, and controlling for household and individual characteristics, the study found that about 60% of the attendance gap for scheduled-caste children aged 6 to 14 could be attributed to household characteristics, mainly poverty and lower parental education. For scheduled-tribe children in the same age group, household characteristics weighed less heavily, accounting for about 40% of the attendance gap. One conclusion to be drawn for members of both scheduled groups is that poverty matters a great deal in perpetuating educational disadvantage. However, the non-poverty component is larger for scheduled tribes partly because of the weight of social and cultural discrimination.

Public attitudes have consequences that go beyond school attendance. Institutionalized stigmatization can erode self-confidence and levels of expectation, undermining children's potential for learning.

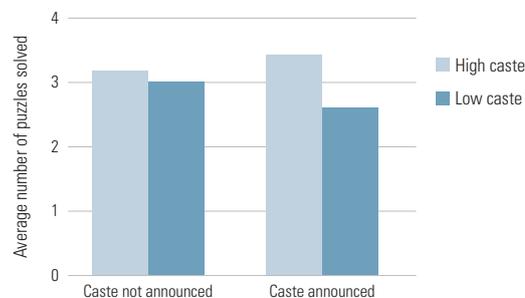8. In three test rounds, scores for low-caste children fell by 14%, 25% and 39%.

One particularly striking illustration comes from an experimental investigation into the impact of caste perceptions on test scores (Hoff and Pandey, 2004). Children aged 11 and 12 were chosen at random from a low caste and three high castes, and given a series of puzzles to solve. When caste was not announced to the participants, it had no bearing on the initial score or on the improvement in score registered in subsequent test rounds. But when caste was announced before the test, the scores for low-caste children fell dramatically (Figure 3.25).[8] These findings underline the degree to which social identities that are a product of history, culture and personal experience can create pronounced education disadvantages through their effects on individual expectations.

The critical role of language

Language and ethnicity are deeply intertwined. Having a distinctive language is often a crucial element of personal identity and group attachment. Just as a local language may be a point of association for members of an ethnic group, it can also be an element in their marginalization. People who cannot speak a country's dominant language may have less access to written and spoken sources, restricting their opportunities for employment and social mobility (Smits and Gündüz-Hosgör, 2003; Smits et al., 2008). Parents who do not speak the official language in which their children are being educated may have less opportunity to engage with teachers, education authorities and homework. And their children may not grasp what is being taught if teachers do not speak their home language. The resulting inequalities in opportunity are a major factor

Figure 3.25: Social stigma can undermine test performance
Experimental impact of the announcement of caste on solving puzzles in India

Note: Children aged 11 and 12 were given a packet of fifteen maze puzzles and asked to solve as many as they could in fifteen minutes.
Source: Hoff and Pandey (2004).