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Many thanks to my colleagues for suggestions that have led to improvements in the manuscript.

Child work and schooling in Niger

Keywords: child work, school attendance, grade repetition and school dropout.

<u>Abstract</u>

Education is increasingly recognised as essential for economic growth and social development. Unfortunately in many developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, education is only one of the activities in which children engage: economic employment and domestic work are competing alternatives. Using data from the MICS-2 survey conducted in 2000, this paper examines the relationship of child work to schooling in Niger. The analysis shows that child work does not affect school attendance but significantly increases grade repetition and school dropout. Girls and boys work nearly the same amount of time but contribute to different types of work; girls are more likely to carry out domestic work while boys are more likely than girls to work more for the family on a farm or in a business. Children from poor households do more work and are less likely to attend school. Children in a rural area experience a higher work burden and are more likely to repeat their grade and drop out of school than children in an urban area. As expected, children are less likely to work and more likely to attend school when their caretaker is educated.

CHILD WORK AND SCHOOLING IN NIGER

Introduction

Education is increasingly recognized as essential for economic growth and social development. Unfortunately in Africa, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, many children are not in school and the number out of school children has increased by 17 percent over the last decade (UNESCO 2003/2004). Research on education in developing countries has shown that low levels of school participation are not completely explained by the lack of school supply. Although governments are the primary providers of schooling in Africa, parents and other family members play a part in the decision as to whether children attend school (Lloyd and Blanc, 1996) and some children do not attend despite the availability of schooling Indeed, education is only one of the activities in which children engage: economic employment and domestic work are competing alternatives (Shapiro et al. 2003). Children contribute to household welfare through significant participation in the running of the home, for example by caring for younger children or fetching water and woods, or by working in the family farm or business, or through external employment. In some African societies parents may consider work as an important training and means of socialization for children.

It is important to identify factors that might influence households' schooling decisions. Many studies have concluded that parents' education is one of the most important determinants of children's participation in school. Educated parents are more likely to perceive the benefits of schooling and thus enroll their children in school. As with parents' education, household wealth also influences the demand for schooling perhaps because poor households are not able to bear the cost of sending their children to school. Children's participation in economic employment and domestic work is a common survival strategy for poor families. The low enrolment of girls has long been a concern to policymakers. In some developing countries, girls perform more home-related work than boys and thus may be less likely to attend school. In addition to gender inequalities, there are many disparities between urban and rural areas in developing countries with rural areas tending to be poorer and thus having lower school enrolment rates. Using data from the MICS-2 survey conducted in 2000, this paper examines children's work and participation in school in Niger, the impact of children's work on school attendance, grade repetition and school dropout. The determinants of schooling and child work considered in the paper are the educational attainment of the mother or person responsible for the child's care, household wealth and residence, the number of young children living in the household, and child's age and gender.

It is worth noting that the literature distinguishes child labour from child work. Child labour is defined as the regular participation of school age children in the labour force for economic reasons. As such, child labour prevents children from receiving schooling and may also be harmful to their health. On the other hand, child work refers to children's participation in light work that does not negatively affect their health and development or interfere with their education.

Background Information on Niger

With a population of about 10 million people and a gross national income per capita of US \$190 in 1999 (World Bank, 2001), Niger is one of the poorest countries in the world. Eighty percent of the population live in rural areas and about half of the population is under age 15 (UNDP, 2001). According to official data from the education system, the primary school net enrolment ratio for year 2000/2001 is 32 percent with more boys being enrolled than girls (39% versus 25%). There are also disparities in school enrolment between regions and between urban and rural areas. The net enrolment ratio was 42 percent for urban compared to 28 percent for rural. Official statistics also indicate that between 1995 and 2000, the gross enrolment rate in primary school increased slowly from 30 percent to 34 percent while public education expenditure as percentage of total government expenditure dropped from 16 percent to 12 percent. In year 2000¹ the percentage of repeaters in primary school was 10 percent while the survival rate to final grade (grade 6) was 65 percent.

The MICS-2 national report found that in Niger only 20 percent of adults aged 15 and over reported they are able to read, write and understand a short and simple statement about everyday life. Moreover, there are marked differences in literacy rates between men and women (30% versus 11%, respectively) and between adults living in urban and rural areas (51% versus 14%, respectively).

The current annual population growth rate of 3.6% (UNDP, 2001) greatly exacerbates the problem of achieving universal primary education by year 2015.

Data

The MICS-2 survey in Niger was a nationally representative survey of all households, designed to obtain data on key indicators for assessing progress towards the goals of the World Summit for Children. The survey instruments include 3 separate questionnaires for households, individual women aged 15-49, and for children under 5 years of age. This paper analyses data collected from the 4,321 households that were interviewed. Data collection took place from April to August 2000. The household questionnaire covers modules relating to child labour and education as well as gathering information on individual and household characteristics.

The child labour module was administered to the mother of each child living in the household aged between 5 and 14. If the child's mother was not living in the household, the person responsible for the child's care was interviewed. For each child, the survey asked if, during the week before the survey, the child was employed by someone other than a household member, helped with housekeeping chores, or performed any other work for the family (on the farm or in a business). For each type of work, the survey collected the number of hours worked during the week before the survey.

For each household member aged 5 and over, the education module collected information on whether the member had ever attended school and the highest level attended and grade completed at that level. For each household member aged 5 to 17, the survey gathered

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¹ UIS database

information on school attendance, level and grade attended for both the current and previous school years. It is worth noting that in Niger, the school year starts in October and ends in June, and the official primary school ages are 7 to 12 years.

The survey also asked for information on water and sanitation, the main material of dwelling floor, number of rooms, main cooking fuel, availability of electricity, assets owned by households (e.g., radio) or by household members (e.g., bicycle, car). The information was used to derive a wealth index for households based on the method of principal components as described in Filmer and Pritchett (1998a). This wealth index serves as a proxy for the socioeconomic status of households.

The survey employed a complex probability sample design featuring disproportionate sample allocation, stratification and clustering. In order to take this complexity into account, some of the analyses in this paper were performed using SUDAAN 8.0.

RESULTS

Child work

The definition of child work used in the analysis is that of UNICEF which considers a child to be currently working if during the week before the survey, the child worked for someone other than a member of the household (paid or unpaid), or did household chores for 4 or more hours per day, or worked in a family farm or business.

During the week before the survey, about 69² percent of children 5-14 in Niger were engaged in child work as is shown in table 1 and graph 1. Children were heavily engaged in domestic activities: about 89 percent of children helped with household chores of whom 17 percent spent 4 hours or more per day on these chores. The proportion of children who worked for someone who is not a member of the household is similar to the proportion of children who worked in a family farm or business: 43 and 44 percent, respectively. The data show that the work burden differs among children. In order to identify which children are spending more time on work, an ordinary least square (OLS) regression model of the number of hours children work was estimated separately for each type of work. The following explanatory variables were used in each model: age, sex and schooling status of the child, the number of children under 5 residing in the household, household wealth and residence, and the educational attainment of the mother or person responsible for the child's care. In the text, the word caretaker is used to refer to the mother or person responsible for the child's care. The results of the regression analyses are reported in table 2. As expected, these results show that the number of hours children work increases with their age.

It has been shown in some studies (see for example Canagarajah and Coulombe, 1997) that boys and girls carry out different types of work; girls do more household chores while boys are more likely to be in the labour force. The data presented here confirm this conclusion with respect to

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² In this analysis a small number of children were excluded because a clear answer was not obtained to questions related to their work status. Therefore, the proportions presented here are slightly different from the ones found in the MICS2 national report for Niger.

household chores. While girls do on average 6 more hours of domestic work, boys spend 6 more hours on the farm or in a business.

Children who are not in school spend 3 more hours on the farm or in a business than children who are currently attending school. However, the regression model indicates that after controlling for other variables in the model, the difference between the children attending school and the others in relation to the time spent in domestic activities is barely significant (p = 0.0494). This last result is an indication that schooling does not prevent children from doing domestic work for the household.

Research on child labour in the African context shows that more rural children engage in work than children living in urban areas (see for example Canagarajah and Coulombe 1997; Grootaert, 1998). Our analysis confirms this finding. Indeed, in Niger a child living in a rural area spends on average 3 more hours on domestic work and 7 more hours on the farm or in the family business compared to a child living in an urban area.

It is commonly believed that household poverty drives children into work. The data certainly show that children from the poorest households work more hours than children from the richest households; the difference in the number of hours worked being on average 2 and a half hours for domestic activities and 3 and a half hours for other family work. However, the data reveal no significant difference in the work burden between children from the poorest households and children from households in the middle categories. This might be due to there being little difference in wealth between the poorest and middle categories because of the depth of poverty in Niger or it might indicate that the wealth index is an inadequate proxy for socio-economic status. As mentioned earlier, in the absence of data on household consumption and expenditures, household characteristics and assets owned by households and household members are used to derive the wealth index. Inevitably the choice of the variables affects the quality of the index.

The educational attainment of the mother or person responsible for the child's care is also associated with the amount of time the child works. Children cared for by someone with primary level education work on average 2 hours less on the farm or in a business than those cared for by someone with no education. When the caretaker's educational attainment is secondary and higher, the time children spend in domestic activities and work for someone other than a household member decreases by 3 and a half hours and one and half hour, respectively.

The number of children under 5 residing in the household influences only the number of hours children work for someone outside the household.

Graph 1 – Insert Here

School attendance

About one third of children 5-14 (32%) were reported in the survey as currently attending school. As expected, the data confirm that there are marked differences between sub-groups of population. While 38 percent of boys were in school, the proportion was 26 percent for girls. The proportion of urban children attending school is 63 percent compared to 26 percent for rural children.

Much of the literature on the determinants on schooling (Lloyd and Blanc, 1996; Filmer and Pritchett 1998) shows that the educational attainment of the household head and household wealth are important determinants of children's participation in school. As can be seen in graph 2 and table 3, the proportion of children attending school increases from 27 percent of those with uneducated caretakers to 82 percent of those with caretakers who have secondary education and higher. School attendance also increases with household wealth from 20 percent in the poorest households to 58 percent in the richest households.

A straightforward examination of the data seems to show that working children and non-working children do not differ significantly with respect to school attendance (p=0.1320). However, in order to better assess the relationship between child work and school attendance, a logistic regression model of school attendance was employed. The explanatory variables used in the model were: the child's age, sex and work status, the educational attainment of the caretaker, the number of children under 5 residing in the household, household wealth and urbanization. The logit being linear in age, age was used as a continuous variable in the model. The results of the logistic regression analysis are presented in table 4 in the form of odds ratios, which represent the change in the odds of attending school associated with a one-unit change in the explanatory variable.

Older children are more likely to attend school than younger ones, all things being equal. Although the analysis included children 5-14 and schools cater for children 7 and over, the proportion of children currently attending school still increases with age among children 7-11 and then dropped for children ages 12-14 as is shown in graph 5. Boys and urban children are twice as likely to attend school as girls and rural children, after controlling for other variables in the model. However the logistic regression analysis confirms that even after adjusting for other factors, working children and non-working children still don't significantly differ on school attendance. Children from the wealthiest households are nearly 3 times more likely to attend school than children from the poorest households. However, there is no difference in school attendance between children from the poorest households and children from households in the middle wealth categories.

As expected, the more educated the caretaker the higher the probability of children 5-14 attending school. When the caretaker has attained primary education children are nearly twice as likely to attend school as those with a caretaker with no education. This likelihood increases to nearly 5 times when the caretaker has education at the secondary level and higher. The data also show that children are better off even when the caretaker has non-standard education with the odds of school attendance being 2.46 times that for children with an uneducated caretaker.

A common but not undisputed opinion is that, in the African context, the presence of young siblings in the household has an effect on children's schooling, particularly girls' education. In studying school enrolment and attendance in rural Botswana, Chernichovsky (1985) concluded that the presence of very young siblings was detrimental to children's schooling. However, (Canagarajah and Coulombe, 1997) did not find such an effect in a more recent study of child labour and schooling in Ghana. In our analysis the number of children under 5 residing in the household in Niger is not related to children's likelihood of attending school.

Graph 2 – Insert Here

Grade repetition

A high number of children repeating grades represents a serious drain on education system capacity (UNESCO 2002), particularly in countries with a shortfall of schools or school places due to limited resources. Table 5 shows that among children 5-14 who were currently attending school or attended school at any time during the current school year³, about 29 percent were repeating the grade they attended in the school year preceding the survey. Table 5 also shows that the proportion of repeaters varies between different sub-populations.

Not surprisingly, grade repetition is more common among working children. Overall, 34 percent of working children were repeating their grade versus 19 percent for nonworking children (p<0.001). Despite the gender disparity in school access, boys and girls are equally likely to repeat their grade: 30 percent of girls were repeating their grade compared to 28 percent of boys. For both sexes, grade repetition is higher among working children.

Grade repetition is also higher among rural children than urban children (34% versus 16%). Moreover, the difference in grade repetition between working children and nonworking children is more pronounced in rural areas.

Table 5 shows that after controlling for household wealth, working children and nonworking children differ significantly on grade repetition only for households in the middle wealth category. In households from the middle wealth category, 44 percent of working children were repeating their grade compared to 23 percent for nonworking children.

In households where the caretaker has received no education or non-standard education, child work significantly increases children's likelihood of repeating their grade. However, child work has no statistically significant effect on grade repetition when the caretaker has attained primary education or higher.

Graph 3 – Insert Here

School dropout

Table 6 shows that among children 5-14 who attended school in the school year before the survey, 11 percent have dropped out at the time of the survey. Like grade repetition, the proportion of children who dropped out of school is higher among working children than nonworking children (13% versus 6%). Although boys are twice more likely than girls to attend school there is no gender difference on school dropout: 11 percent of girls dropped out of school versus 12 percent of boys. For both sexes, dropout remains higher among working children.

Dropout is also higher among rural children: 13 percent compared to 7 percent for urban children. Overall, the proportion of children who dropped out of school decreases with rising levels of the caretaker's educational attainment: from 12 percent when the caretaker has no

³ Attendance at any time during the current school year was only asked of children who were not currently attending school. The majority of repeaters (92%) are children who were currently attending school.

education to about 5 percent when the caretaker has secondary education or higher. The data also reveal that after controlling for the caretaker's educational attainment, working children and nonworking children differ significantly on dropout only when the caretaker is uneducated. For other levels of education of the caretaker, child work has no statistically significant effect on children's school dropout. This last result is not surprising since uneducated parents are less likely to recognize the benefits of schooling and their children are more likely to drop out of school.

Our analysis shows that after controlling for household wealth, the relationship between child work and school dropout disappears for all levels of household wealth except for the middle wealth category.

Graph 4 – Insert Here

Conclusion

This paper examined child work and schooling in Niger focusing on the impact of child work on school attendance, grade repetition and school dropout. The data reveal that about 3 out of 10 children 5-14 attend school in Niger and 2 of these 3 children are engaged in work at the same time. During school year 1999/2000, about 29 percent of children 5-14 were repeating the grade they attended in the previous school year. Among those who attended school in the previous school year, 11 percent have dropped out. The analysis shows that child work does not affect school attendance but significantly increases grade repetition and school dropout. The survey didn't collect information on the nature of work children do for someone other than a household member. Such information would help understand why child work is not related to school attendance because fostering, which is common in many African countries is often seen as an opportunity for schooling and fostered children, particularly girls are expected to carry out domestic activities. Our analysis shows that children are heavily engaged in domestic activities and less than 3 percent of children working for someone other than a household member were paid. Older children do more work but are more likely to attend school than younger ones.

Although boys are twice more likely to attend school than girls, there is no gender difference in grade repetition and school dropout. This result suggests that, once enrolled in school, girls tend to progress as well as boys. Girls and boys work nearly the same amount of time but contribute to different types of work; girls are more likely to carry out domestic work while boys are more likely than girls to work more for the family on a farm or in a business.

The data show that rural children experience a higher work burden and are more likely to repeat their grade and drop out of school. In sub-Saharan Africa, the quality of education is often poor in rural areas and children may drop out due to the lack of a local school or because the only school is far from the household. Equity concerns in Niger, as in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, should not be limited to gender. With 80 percent of the population being rural, the urban-rural parity in school access and learning performance should also be given priority in policy intervention.

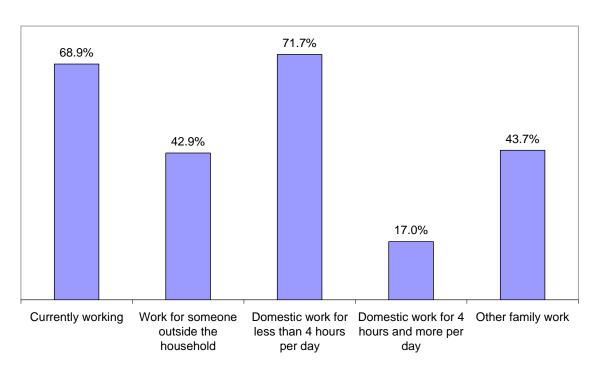
As expected, children are less likely to work and more likely to attend school when their caretaker is educated. Child work significantly increases the probability of grade repetition and school dropout only when the caretaker is uneducated; it has no effect on repetition and dropout when the caretaker has primary education or higher. The presence of young children (up to 5 years) in the household reduces only the time children work for non members of the household but it does not affect time spent in domestic work and work for the family on the farm or in a business.

The analysis confirms that children from poor households do more work and are less likely to attend school. However, after controlling for household wealth, working children and nonworking children don't differ significantly on grade repetition and school dropout for all levels of household wealth except for the middle wealth category.

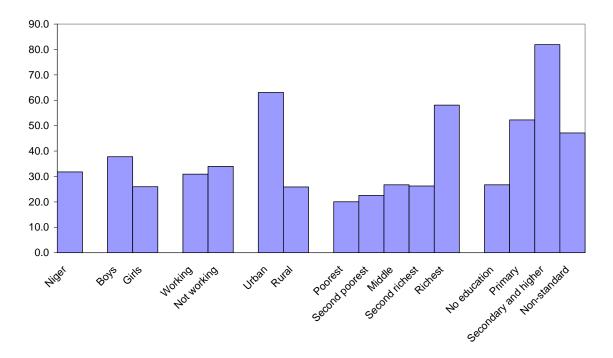
In a review of research on education and inequality in developing regions, Buchmann and Hannum (2001) found that the relationship between schooling and child work differs across countries. Comparisons between different sources of data within and across countries are difficult to do because of the variation in the definition of child work and children's age group used in different studies. The MICS-2 surveys having applied essentially the same survey instrument overcome these difficulties and therefore, provide an excellent opportunity for comparative research. One limitation of the MICS-2 surveys is that the education module does not include questions on the reasons why children are not attending school. Building an understanding of these reasons would help in the examination of the impact of child work on children's progression in school.

Annex

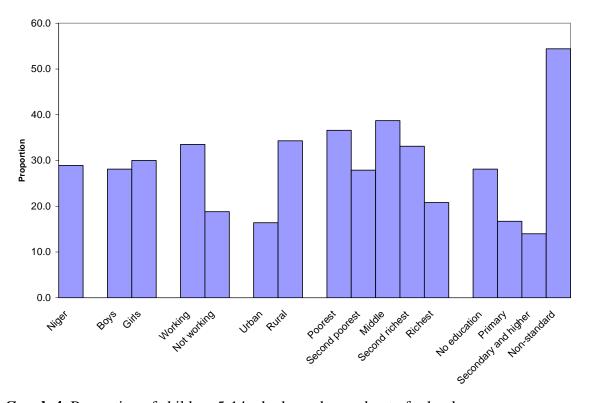
Graph 1: Proportion of children 5-14 who are currently working



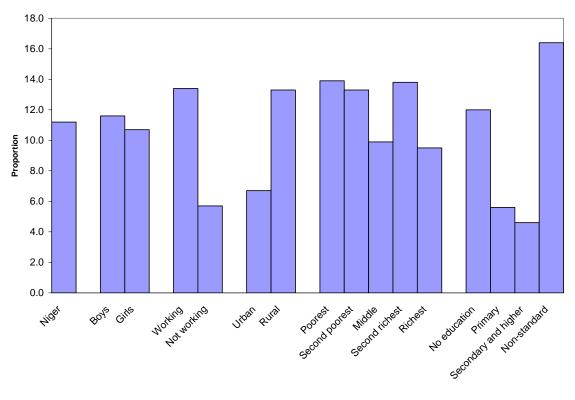
Graph 2: Proportion of children 5-14 currently attending school



Graph 3: Proportion of children 5-14 currently repeating their grade

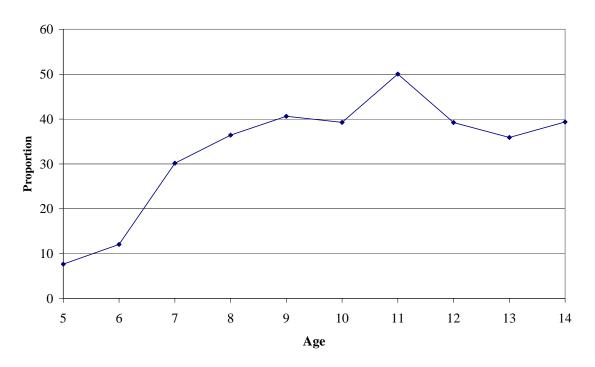


Graph 4: Proportion of children 5-14 who have dropped out of school



Graph 5: School attendance by age

Currently attending school



<u>**Table 1**</u>: Proportion of children 5-14 currently working, by background characteristics

Background characteristics		Work for someone who is not a household member (%)		Domestic work (%)		Other family work (%)	Currently working (%)	Number of children sampled
		Paid	Unpaid	Less than 4 hours per day	4 hours or more per day			
Age								
	5 - 9	1.6	38.4	77.3	8.6			
	10 - 14	3.9	42.9	64.0	28.3	59.0	82.3	3061
Gender								
	Boys	3.2	40.4	74.7	9.9	52.3	72.6	3595
	Girls	2.0	40.3	68.7	24.1	35.3	65.2	3637
Currently atter	nding school							
	Yes	3.1	42.2	75.9	13.2	40.1	67.1	2253
	No	2.4	39.4	69.8	18.9	45.6	70.1	4821
Residence								
	Urban	4.2	34.9	72.5	11.3	17.0	52.4	1164
	Rural	2.2	41.4	71.5	18.1	48.9	72.0	6069
Household W	ealth							
	Poorest	2.3	41.0	70.6	20.0	51.9	73.9	1393
	Second poorest	1.8	45.1	71.9	16.2	48.2	71.9	1198
	Middle	2.6	38.6	70.6	20.1	47.9	69.2	1582
	Second richest	2.7	40.2	69.3	18.8	47.0	74.1	1400
	Richest	3.2	38.2	75.4	10.7	27.0	57.8	1660
Caretaker's ed	ucational attainment							
	No education	2.5	39.6	70.9	18.3	45.8	70.4	5915
	Primary	3.7	36.8	73.7	11.2	31.4	60.9	537
	Secondary and higher	1.2	31.0	79.3	4.7	16.5	44.3	211
	Non-standard	2.3	55.0	74.6	13.7	44.0	70.2	566
Niger		2.6	40.3	71.7	17.0	43.7	68.9	7233

<u>Table 2</u>: OLS regressions of the number of hours children worked during the week before the survey

Variables	Number of hours worked for someone who is not a household member		Number of hours spent on domestic work		Number of hours spent on other family work	
	Coefficient	p	Coefficient	p	Coefficient	p
Age	0.39	0.0000	1.79	0.0000	2.06	0.0000
Gender						
(reference = boys) Girls	-0.27	0.2013	5.89	0.0000	-6.27	0.0000
Currently attending school						
(reference = yes) Non	-0.10	0.7553	1.14	0.0494	3.12	0.0001
Residence						
(reference = urban)						
Rural	0.86	0.1012	2.81	0.0068	7.08	0.0000
Household wealth						
(reference = poorest)						
Second poorest	0.43	0.3386	-0.19	0.8410		0.2301
Middle	0.30	0.4846	1.18	0.1400		0.1476
Second richest	0.67	0.2903	0.18	0.8292		0.6387
Richest	-0.06	0.9100	-2.58	0.0061	-3.55	0.0429
Caretaker's educational attainment						
(reference = no education)						
Primary	-0.54	0.1957	-1.32	0.0542	-1.84	0.0380
Secondary and higher	-1.44	0.0047	-3.34	0.0001	-1.48	0.1613
Non-standard	0.18	0.7819	-1.06	0.2951	0.90	0.4713
Number of children under 5	-0.32	0.0056	-0.14	0.4808	0.08	0.7780

<u>**Table 3**</u>: Proportion of children 5-14 currently attending school, by background characteristics

Background	characteristics	Percentage	Number of children	
Gender				
	Boys	37.8	3517	
	Girls	26.0	3557	
Currently wo	orking			
	Yes	30.9	4892	
	No	34.0	2181	
Residence				
	Urban	63.1	1135	
	Rural	25.9	5939	
Household w	vealth			
	Poorest	20.0	1377	
	Second poorest	22.5	1172	
	Middle	26.7	1538	
	Second richest	26.3	1361	
	Richest	58.1	1626	
Caretaker's e	ducational attainment			
	No education	26.7	5790	
	Primary	52.3	529	
	Secondary and higher	81.9	207	
	Non-standard	47.2	544	
Niger		31.8	7073	

<u>Table 4</u>: Logistic regression of school attendance

Variables		Odds Ratio (OR)	p	Lower 95% Limit OR	Upper 95% Limit OR
Intercept		0.03	0.0000	0.02	0.04
Age		1.20	0.0000	1.17	1.23
Gender					
	Boys	2.01	0.0000	1.73	2.34
	Girls	1.00		1.00	1.00
Currently wo	rking				
	Yes	1.00		1.00	1.00
	No	1.25	0.0379	1.01	1.54
Residence					
	Urban	2.13	0.0000	1.47	3.09
	Rural	1.00		1.00	1.00
Household w	ealth				
	Poorest	1.00		1.00	1.00
	Second poorest	1.13	0.5164	0.78	1.64
	Middle	1.40	0.0402	1.02	1.92
	Second richest	1.34	0.0864	0.96	1.86
	Richest	2.90	0.0000	1.95	4.31
Caretaker's ed	ducational attainment				
	No education	1.00		1.00	1.00
	Primary	1.95	0.0000	1.52	2.50
	Secondary and higher	4.72	0.0000	3.10	7.19
	Non-standard	2.46	0.0000	1.74	3.50
Number of ch	nildren under 5	1.04	0.2186	0.97	1.12

<u>**Table 5**</u>: Proportion of children 5-14 currently repeating their grade, by background characteristics

Background characteristics		Working children (%)	Non working children (%)	p*	All children (%)	Number of children
Gender						
Gender	Boys	31.9	17.2	0.0000	28.1	1447
	Girls	36.2	20.4	0.0000	30.0	1002
Residence						
	Urban	18.8	13.8	0.0334	16.4	743
	Rural	37.9	23.1	0.0007	34.3	1705
Household w	vealth					
	Poorest	39.9	22.7	0.0587	36.6	305
	Second poorest	30.5	17.6	0.0990	27.9	290
	Middle	44.2	22.5	0.0022	38.7	455
	Second richest	37.7	19.4	0.0109	33.1	387
	Richest	23.4	17.4	0.1035	20.8	1011
Caretaker's e	ducational attainment					
	No education	31.4	19.7	0.0002	28.1	1694
	Primary	20.0	11.9	0.0757	16.7	285
	Secondary and higher	15.5	12.9	0.6331	14.0	174
	Non-standard	61.8	32.1	0.0018	54.4	293
Niger		33.5	18.8	0.0000	28.9	2449

^{*} p-value for testing the association between child work and grade repetition

<u>**Table 6**</u>: Proportion of children 5-14 who dropped out of school, by background characteristics

Base: children 5-14 who attended school in the previous school year

Background characteristics		Working children (%)	Non working children (%)	p*	All children (%)	Number of children
C 1						
Gender	D	12.6	4.0	0.0006	11.6	1246
	Boys	13.6	4.9	0.0006	11.6	1246
.	Girls	13.1	6.5	0.0001	10.7	860
Residence						
	Urban	8.9	4.0	0.0108	6.7	660
	Rural	14.8	7.5	0.0063	13.3	1447
Household	wealth					
	Poorest	14.4	11.0	0.5444	13.9	255
	Second poorest	15.0	5.8	0.0245	13.3	260
	Middle	12.4	0.0	0.0073	9.9	389
	Second richest	14.9	9.5	0.2754	13.8	327
	Richest	12.3	5.7	0.0278	9.5	876
Caretaker's	educational attainment					
	No education	14.2	5.4	0.0000	12.0	1461
	Primary	6.6	4.0	0.4373	5.6	240
	Secondary and higher	9.5	0.7	0.0922	4.6	153
	Non-standard	15.7	18.6	0.6611	16.4	251
Niger		13.4	5.7	0.0000	11.2	2106

^{*}p-value for testing the association between child work and school dropout

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