



School Dropout and its Impact on Child Labour

from a Human Rights Perspective

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National Center for Human Rights

2016

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Introduction

The criteria by which the progress or backwardness of nations in the development fields is measured from a human rights perspective vary, whether in social, economic, political or cultural terms. Among these measures is the extent to which States Parties to a human rights convention are committed to and respect it, and the extent to which they comply with the provisions of the conventions they have ratified. Numerous conventions have guaranteed the child's right to education, given its importance in enabling the child to acquire knowledge and the ability and skill to adapt and interact positively with the environment and society.

Primary education is an inalienable right of the child and a fundamental obligation of States under the international human rights treaties they have ratified. From this standpoint stems the global importance of affirming the protection of children's right to education, in the light of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights¹, which affirms in its Article (26) that everyone has the right to education and that education shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages, and in more comprehensive detail in Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights²; the same is also provided for in Articles 28 and 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. A number of other human rights treaties also elaborate on the right to education³, as affirmed by Article (29).

¹See the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948, Article (26): "1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. 2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. 3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children."

²General Comment No. 13/2 of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights devotes two articles to the right to education, articles 13 and 14. Article 13, the longest provision in the Covenant, is the most wide-ranging and comprehensive article on the right to education in international human rights law. The Committee has already adopted General Comment 11 on article 14 (plans of action for primary education); General Comment 11 and the present general comment are complementary and should be considered together. The Committee is aware that, for millions of people throughout the world, the enjoyment of the right to education remains a distant goal; moreover, in many cases, this goal is becoming increasingly remote. The Committee is also conscious of the extraordinary structural and other obstacles impeding the full implementation of article 13 in many States parties.

³The Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989: "1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular: (a) make primary education compulsory and available free to all; (b) encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need; (c) make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means; (d) make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children; (e) take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates. 2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention. 3. States Parties shall promote and encourage international cooperation in matters relating to education, in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries."

Education has a central role in human development, not only because it is a human right in its own right, but also because it is an enabling right that is fundamental to the exercise of all other rights⁴. The right to education to which every child is entitled is education that equips the child with skills, strengthens his capacity to enjoy all human rights and strengthens his respect for himself and his abilities, given that the basic aim of education is the development of the personality of every child.

Although the international community is committed to realizing the right to basic education for all, the gap between commitment and reality remains wide in various countries of the world⁵, and it could easily widen if tangible and sustainable steps are not taken. Identifying the challenges that prevent everyone from enjoying the right to education, and eliminating them, constitute an agenda for the entire international community⁶, starting with the application of the principle of equal opportunities in education, through guaranteeing the national legal framework and addressing the nature of financial and material obstacles, in addition to obstacles of a cultural and linguistic nature.

Conversely, the individual and collective effects of the violation of the right to education are evident for children at the compulsory education stage, where it leads to the problem of deprivation of education, or what is known as school dropout in its various forms – absconding, interruption of schooling and forced deprivation of education⁷. These effects are not confined to the negative impact on the pupil's psychological state; they extend to all aspects of society, increasing illiteracy and unemployment rates and dependency ratios. The problem of school dropout also contributes to producing social phenomena associated with it, such as child labour, early marriage, begging and juvenile delinquency, and these problems have a profound effect on the fragmentation and disintegration of the family fabric within society.

At the national level, school dropout and child labour are considered both long-standing and new phenomena within Jordanian society. Their causes and factors have multiplied as a result of the changes that Jordanian society has witnessed in recent years in its social and economic structures, owing to a number of factors, changes and internal and external influences, including, but not limited to, the Syrian refugee crisis⁸ and its effects on the various development sectors, whether education, health or housing. This has placed pressure on these sectors, causing numerous social problems, the most important of which are: pressure on school facilities as a result of increased school capacity; pressure on health and environmental facilities and on the urban infrastructure of the governorates hosting the largest number of Syrian refugees; and many other social and economic effects.

The commonly recognized concept of school dropout is the pupil's permanent interruption of school attendance before completing the compulsory stage.

A quick review of the education laws of some countries shows that the compulsory education stage varies from one country to another: some make compulsory education last nine years, ending at the age of

⁴General Comment No. 1 of the Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2001.

⁵See the report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, 2011.

⁶Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, Kishore Singh, 2010.

⁷There is no comprehensive and exclusive definition of the concept of dropout, although most of the literature agrees that school dropout is [T.N.: sentence incomplete in the original].

⁸Syrian refugee children in Jordan account for fourteen per cent of working children in Jordan, according to a survey conducted by the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan in cooperation with the Ministry of Labour and the Department of Statistics in 2016. For further information, please visit the website of the Ministry of Labour.

fourteen⁹, while others are content with six years of compulsory education. In Jordan, the law has set the period of compulsory education at ten years, but has not yet defined the concept of school dropout¹⁰.

Proceeding from the foregoing, this study was undertaken to shed light on the close relationship between two interconnected violations affecting the rights of the child: his right to education and his right not to have his childhood exploited through labour, by identifying the causes, factors and effects leading to these violations.

The study reviewed the literature on reducing school dropout and child labour, the latter being one of the most prominent objectives emphasized by the International Labour Organization since its establishment in 1919. The Organization has worked on preparing and monitoring labour standards regarding the concept of the minimum age for work or employment; International Convention No. 138 provides that the minimum age for admission to employment shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling.

Objective of the Study

This study seeks to shed light on the phenomenon of school dropout and the extent of its connection with the phenomenon of child labour from a human rights perspective, by identifying the factors, causes and effects leading to both phenomena and the resulting violations of the rights of the child.

Methodology of the Study

The study is divided into two parts. The first part addresses the theoretical framework in terms of the international standards and the national system for reducing school dropout and child labour, examining the provisions of the relevant international conventions, the comments of the treaty committees and an analysis of the applicable national laws.

The second part addresses the field framework of the current situation of children working in the labour market in the governorates of Irbid and Mafraq. To reveal this situation, the study used a field survey, designing a questionnaire that was administered through personal interviews with children working for a wage or without a wage in the informal labour sector, including agricultural work, begging, selling at traffic lights, selling at stalls in popular markets, and industrial workshops (car repair, blacksmithing, carpentry, etc.). The questionnaire was divided into independent variables relating to the social, economic and educational characteristics of working children (sex / age / age at starting work / parents' social status / governorate / geographical area (urban or rural) / nationality / number of family members / the educational level reached by the child), in addition to closed and open questions. The case-study method was also used to study the social and economic circumstances of the children concerned, as was the focus-group method: two focus group discussion sessions were held in each of the governorates targeted by the study, with participants drawn from the relevant bodies, members of the local community in each governorate and representatives of civil society institutions.

⁹UNESCO (2011), World Data on Education: Syrian Arab Republic. The full report is available on the UNESCO website.

¹⁰ A review of the Education Law No. 3 of 1994, as amended, and of the sufficiency of its provisions for reducing school dropout reveals a legislative shortcoming in that it provides no penalty for school dropout. The matter remains within the scope of follow-up by school principals where a student is absent from school for a full academic year and is then classified as a dropout, and is limited to procedures whereby the guardian undertakes to return his child to school, without any penalty provided for by law for failure to honour that undertaking.

Study Population

The study population consists of working children in Jordan in the informal sector who have left school in the governorates of Mafraq and Irbid in 2016, in the age group (5–17) years.

Study Sample

A random sample of 154 children working in the informal sector during school hours was selected, of both sexes, in the age group (5–17) years and residing in the governorates of Irbid and Mafraq.

Questions of the Study

1. Identifying the international standards and the applicable national laws relating to school dropout and child labour.
2. Determining the relationship between child labour and the variables of sex, age, date of starting work, parents' social status, place of residence, nationality and the educational level reached by the child.
3. Identifying the impact of Syrian asylum on the rates of child labour and school dropout.
4. Identifying the causes and factors of school dropout and their relationship to child labour.
5. Identifying the social and economic effects of school dropout and child labour.
6. Identifying the extent of official and unofficial institutional protection within the system for protecting children from school dropout and child labour.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

The System of International and National Standards relating to the Right to Education and the Reduction of Child Labour

First: International Standards relating to the Right to Education and the Reduction of Child Labour

The international standards governing the protection of the rights of the child have emphasized the need to take into account the best interests of the child, the principles of survival and development and of non-discrimination, and have urged the State to take special measures of protection and assistance on behalf of all children and young persons without any discrimination. The international standards and the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights have also emphasized the protection of children and young persons from economic and social exploitation and the enactment of laws penalizing their employment in any work harmful to their morals or health or dangerous to life or likely to hamper their normal development. The Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights have called on States Parties to set age limits below which the paid employment of child labour should be prohibited and punishable by law.

At the level of international norms, the Convention on the Rights of the Child provides for the protection of the child from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental or

psychological development. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights¹¹ also emphasized, in paragraph 3 of its Article 10, the need to guarantee special measures to protect children and young persons from economic and social exploitation, to strictly penalize under the law the employment and exploitation of children in any work harmful to their morals or health or dangerous to life or likely to hamper their normal development, and to set age limits below which the paid employment of child labour should be prohibited and punishable by law.

Within the same framework, the international standards relating to the right to education address its role in guaranteeing the child's other rights, the most important of which is that he shall not be exploited in any form of work. It is necessary here to set out the normative content of the right to education and its main elements, the general legal obligations of the State in the field of the right to education and, finally, the nature of the progressive realization of economic, social and cultural rights in this regard.

First: The normative content and elements of the right to education

The international human rights standards addressing the right to education, foremost among them the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, together with the detailed comments of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on the articles relating to the right to education, affirm that the content of the right to education rests on several elements, including the following:

1. Availability of educational opportunities¹²

The State has the duty to provide educational opportunities, and this pillar comprises three main dimensions:

- 1- **Free education:** everyone enjoys the right to education without bearing material costs. International instruments provide for the State's duty to provide free primary education and require it to develop a plan of action to guarantee this. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights also provides for making secondary education in its various forms generally available and accessible to all and for the progressive introduction of free education. It should be noted that the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights affirmed in its General Comment No. (11) of 1999 that: "the imposition of fees by the Government, the local authorities or the school, as well as other direct costs, constitutes a disincentive to the enjoyment of the right and may jeopardize its realization. They are also often highly regressive in effect. In addition, indirect costs, such as compulsory levies on parents or the obligation to wear a relatively expensive school uniform, can also fall into the same category". Accordingly, free education means not only that education is not subject to fees, but also exemption from the costs relating to the educational process, such as school uniforms, transport, stationery and the like.
- 2- **Compulsory primary education:** no body or person has the authority to treat primary education as optional; this applies to parents or guardians of children and to the State itself. It is a compulsory and absolute matter, without any discrimination on the basis of sex, for example; this must be

¹¹The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966; entry into force: 3 January 1976, in accordance with article 27.

¹²See the comment of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, No. 11 of 1999, on plans of action for primary education.

established by a clear law, and competent bodies and mechanisms must be in place to monitor its implementation¹³.

- 3- **Infrastructure (adequate buildings):** this is the dimension emphasized by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in its General Comment No. (13) issued in 1999, in which it pointed to the need for educational institutions to exist in sufficient numbers, equipped with the tools necessary for the educational process and with procedures guaranteeing the general safety of students and protection from natural elements such as cold, and to the need to provide sanitation facilities for both sexes, safe drinking water, trained teachers receiving competitive salaries, study curricula, libraries, computer facilities and the other requirements of the educational process¹⁴.

2. Accessibility¹⁵

The Government must ensure the enjoyment of the right to education by guaranteeing access to existing educational institutions. This element includes the following:

- 1- **Non-discrimination:** education must be accessible to all without any discrimination, especially to the most vulnerable groups¹⁶, in law and in policy and practice. The principle of non-discrimination extends to all persons of school age residing in the territory of a State Party to the international conventions, including non-nationals and refugees¹⁷, as well as persons with disabilities. Various conventions have addressed equality in education, most notably the Convention against Discrimination in Education of 1960, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.
It is worth mentioning that the principle of equality and non-discrimination in education is not subject to the progressive realization provided for in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, nor to the availability of resources. The obligations arising from the right to equality in education are immediate obligations covering all aspects of education and directed at prohibiting discrimination, whatever its cause or basis. The adoption of temporary special measures intended to bring about de facto equality between men and women and for disadvantaged groups does not constitute a violation of the right to non-discrimination with regard to education, provided that such measures are not continued after the objectives for which they were taken have been achieved. Sharp disparities in spending policies that result in differing qualities of education for persons residing in different geographic locations are considered a form of discrimination. States Parties must closely monitor education, including all

¹³General Comment of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights No. 13 of 1999 on the right to education, Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

¹⁴General Comment of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights No. 13 of 1999 on the right to education, Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

¹⁵Comments Nos. 11 and 13 of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1999.

¹⁶The Vienna International Plan of Action on Ageing provides for facilities to ease the access of older persons to educational institutions, for making opportunities available to them to obtain education, and for overcoming the stereotypical image of older persons. See: Circle of Rights, publications of the International Training Programme on Human Rights under the auspices of the Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development, 2000, p. 314.

¹⁷Comments Nos. 13 and 14 of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: School programmes in many countries today recognize that persons with disabilities can best be educated within the general education system. Thus, the Standard Rules provide that "States should recognize the principle of equal primary, secondary and tertiary educational opportunities for children, youth and adults with disabilities, in integrated settings". In order to implement such an approach, States should ensure that teachers are trained to educate children with disabilities within regular schools and that the necessary equipment and support are available to bring persons with disabilities up to the same level of education as their non-disabled peers. In the case of deaf children, for example, sign language should be recognized as a separate language to which the children should have access and whose importance should be acknowledged in their overall social environment.

relevant policies, institutions, programmes, spending patterns and other practices, so as to identify and take measures to redress any de facto discrimination¹⁸.

- 2- **Physical accessibility:** education must be within safe physical reach, and educational institutions must be located in places that are easily and safely accessible, either through attendance at a school in a convenient geographical location for students' places of residence or through modern technology, such as access to distance-learning programmes and other means¹⁹.

Second: General legal obligations of the State in the field of the right to education

The State is required to fulfil a set of obligations arising from the right to education. On the basis of the international texts addressing the right to education and the comments of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on the right to education and the protection of children from exploitation in any form of work, there are general legal obligations in the field of the right to education consisting of three elements, namely the obligation to respect, the obligation to protect and the obligation to fulfil and empower, as follows:

- 1- **The obligation to respect:** The obligation to respect requires States Parties to avoid measures that hinder or prevent the enjoyment of the right to education, and to cease practices that violate individuals' right to use the resources available to them in order to enjoy this right²⁰.
- 2- **The obligation to protect:** The obligation to protect requires States Parties to take measures to prevent third parties, whether individuals, bodies or other institutions, from violating the rights of others in general and the right to education in particular. Where a third party violates economic, social and cultural rights, the public authorities must work to prevent further violations and guarantee legal redress for the victims. The obligation to protect requires the State to take immediate steps to prevent violations of economic, social and cultural rights and to guarantee impartial avenues of legal redress in cases where it is alleged that the State or any other party has violated economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to education²¹.
- 3- **The obligation to fulfil and empower:** The obligation to fulfil and empower requires States to take positive measures that enable and assist individuals and communities to enjoy the right to education. This obligation rests mainly on two important elements: the obligation to facilitate and the obligation to provide. The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights affirmed in its General Comment No. (13) on the right to education that "the obligation to facilitate includes taking positive initiatives to facilitate the full enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights, and the obligation to provide includes direct and indirect services provided by the State to realize the right". The obligation to fulfil also includes the adoption by the State of legislative measures, such as amending or enacting the laws necessary to realize the right.
Empowering individuals with respect to economic, social and cultural rights in general, and the right to education in particular, also requires taking actual and effective steps to build individuals' capacities so that they are able to exercise their rights, and raising their awareness of their rights and duties by disseminating human

¹⁸See the comment of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights No. 13 of 1999, the right to education.

¹⁹See comment No. 13 of 1999 of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

²⁰Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Handbook for National Human Rights Institutions, United Nations, Geneva, 2005, p. 18. See also the comment of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on Article 13 of the Covenant.

²¹Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Handbook for National Human Rights Institutions, United Nations, Geneva, 2005, p. 20.

rights conventions among them and familiarizing them with these conventions, increasing awareness of the national legislation governing these rights and familiarizing them with the mechanisms that can be followed in the event of a violation of their rights, as stated in the general comment of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

Second: Constitutional Guarantees relating to the Right to Education and Combating Child Labour in Jordan

Article Six of the Constitution enshrines the right to education, specifically in its second paragraph, which provides that the State shall guarantee work and education within the limits of its capabilities and shall guarantee tranquillity and equal opportunities for all Jordanians. Article (19) of the Constitution also provides that "communities shall have the right to establish and maintain their own schools for the education of their own members, provided that they comply with the general provisions prescribed by law and are subject to the control of the Government in matters relating to their curricula and orientation". Article 20 affirms that "basic education shall be compulsory for Jordanians and free of charge in Government schools".

Likewise, Article 23 of the Jordanian Constitution affirms that the legislation enacted by the State shall lay down special provisions and conditions governing the work of juveniles and women, while affirming that free education for children is compulsory. The Jordanian Constitution thus guarantees the child's right to compulsory education and his right not to be exploited through labour, which confirms the Constitution's harmony with international instruments in affirming the child's protection from economic exploitation. Neither the Constitution nor the other Jordanian laws governing the right to education discriminate between males and females with regard to enrolment in educational stages of all kinds.

Third: National Laws Governing the Right to Education and Combating Child Labour

1. The Education Law No. 3 of 1994, as amended, and the sufficiency of its provisions for reducing school dropout

The State is obliged to conduct a comprehensive review of its legislation governing the right to education in order to ensure that such legislation is compatible and consistent with the international standards governing this right. If it finds that any legislation contravenes its international obligations in this field, violates individuals' right to obtain education or does not achieve the desired aim, it must amend or repeal that legislation or enact new laws consistent with its international obligations.

From this standpoint, a reading of the Education Law to determine its legal sufficiency for reducing school dropout shows that Article Ten (10/a) of the Law provides as follows: "Basic education is compulsory education and is free of charge in Government schools".

The Jordanian legislator did well to provide that education is compulsory and free. However, compulsion requires the law to include guarantees and mechanisms to secure it and to provide remedies against those who attempt to breach it. The Education Law contains no legal provision imposing penalties on a guardian who does not send his children to school. The Law also contains no guarantees or mechanisms for enrolling children in schools and reducing school dropout; in other words, the Law contains no guarantees for giving effect to Article Ten, which provides for compulsory education. Nor does the Law designate the body responsible for reporting children's non-enrolment in school.

In practice, the Ministry of Education takes a series of administrative measures to address school dropout: schools submit lists of dropout students to the education directorates, which in turn write to the administrative governor to obtain an undertaking from the guardian to send the child to school. These measures are insufficient, and practical reality shows that school dropout is continuously and steadily increasing. It should be noted, however, that the Ministry of Education has established the basis for opening evening centres for the "Culture Enhancement Programme for Dropouts".

2. The Jordanian Labour Law No. 8 of 1996, as amended, with regard to the work of juveniles

The Law, in Articles 2, 73, 74, 75, 76 and 77, defines a juvenile as any person, male or female, who has reached the age of seven but has not completed eighteen years of age; provides that a juvenile who has not completed sixteen years of age may not be employed in any way whatsoever; and further provides that a juvenile who has not completed eighteen years of age may not be employed in dangerous, arduous or health-damaging work, such work being specified by decisions issued by the Minister after consulting the relevant official bodies. The Law also specifies the working hours of juveniles and emphasizes that the employer must request the birth certificate, a medical fitness certificate and the guardian's consent to the work, and its provisions also penalize employers who violate the provisions relating to the work of juveniles.

This is consistent with the conventions of the International Labour Organization, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

3. The Juveniles Law No. (32) of 2014

The Law affirms the protection and care of juveniles in certain cases, as provided for in paragraphs (b), (d), (f), (g) and (k) of Article 33, in particular where the juvenile has no legitimate means of subsistence or no trustworthy provider and his parents, or one of them, are deceased, imprisoned or absent; where he begs by any means; or where he is a street vendor or a scavenger of waste.

4. The Instructions on Financial Aid for the Care and Protection of Needy Families No. (5) of 2015

The National Aid Fund Law No. (36) of 1986 provides that the Fund's Board of Directors has the power to issue the instructions necessary to determine the categories entitled to aid from the Fund, the conditions of their entitlement and the amount or type of aid due to each category²².

Accordingly, the Instructions on Financial Aid for the Care and Protection of Needy Families No. (5) of 2015 were issued²³.

For the purpose of reducing school dropout, Chapter Six of these Instructions sets out the bases and general conditions for granting basic monthly aid; Article (18/f/1) provides as follows:

"The basic monthly aid provided for in these Instructions shall be granted to needy families upon fulfilment of the following conditions: the family's commitment to the conditions of education, protection, family care, health and environmental care, as follows; any family

²²Article (8/g) of the National Aid Fund Law No. (36) of 1986, published on the official website of the Fund: <http://www.naf.gov.jo/node/36> – website accessed on 25/7/2016.

²³Instructions on Financial Aid for the Care and Protection of Needy Families No. (5) of 2015, issued pursuant to Article (8/g) of the National Aid Fund Law No. (36) of 1986, published on the website of the National Aid Fund: <http://www.naf.gov.jo/node/69> – website accessed on 25/7/2016.

member entitled to aid who does not comply with them shall not be counted among the family members entitled to aid: (the family's commitment to sending its children to school and to their not dropping out); 25% of the total aid due to the family shall be deducted for each member whose dropout from school, or non-enrolment at the legal age specified for enrolment, is officially established; excluded from this are those not enrolled for health reasons, provided that this is established by a medical report issued by the competent medical authority".

This legislative orientation is a commendable orientation towards a policy of clearly and explicitly obliging families to send their children to school and to ensure that they do not drop out, by linking aid to families' compliance with the education conditions. This is consistent with both legal and social logic: such aid is provided to families to help them live in dignity, and parents or those responsible for children are therefore required, under national and international legislation, to provide them with the right to education. This provision would also limit the exploitation of children by some needy families as a means of generating additional income.

Furthermore, this provision is consistent with the international human rights standards in the field of the right to education, which oblige the State to take legislative measures that strengthen and guarantee the right to education.

Policies Governing the Combating of Child Labour and School Dropout in Jordan

Before referring to the national policies governing the combating of child labour and school dropout in Jordan, the statistical estimates of the number and proportion of children in Jordan's population should first be set out. Children in the age group 5–17 years numbered approximately 4.03 million²⁴, or 42% of the total population; male children in this age group numbered 2.076 [million] and female children 1.96 [million]. Furthermore, the number of working children in Jordan reached 75,982 according to the results of the 2016 Child Labour Survey.

As regards the scope of the present study, the number of children aged 5–17 years in Mafrq Governorate was 184,975, of whom 90,727 were female and 94,248 male, while in Irbid Governorate the number of children was 747,763, of whom 380,653 were male and 367,110 female.

In addition, according to the statistics of the Ministry of Social Development for 2016²⁵ concerning child beggars in the two governorates, the number of child beggars in Mafrq Governorate was 69, of whom 39 were male and 30 female, while in Irbid Governorate the number was 22, of whom 5 were male and 17 female.

Cases of school dropout in Jordan numbered 4,000, in addition to the finding²⁶ of a joint report of the United Nations Children's Fund and the Ministry of Education that 90,000 children in Jordan receive no form of education.

²⁴Report of the National Child Labour Survey in Jordan, 2016.

²⁵Statistics of the Ministry of Social Development, October 2016.

²⁶Country Report on Out-of-School Children (2014), UNICEF.

Since juvenile delinquency is one of the consequences of school dropout and child labour, statistical estimates indicate that the number of juveniles held in the social care homes of the Ministry of Social Development in 2016 was 2,086²⁷.

Jordan has adopted a comprehensive national policy on combating child labour through the adoption of the National Framework for Combating Child Labour²⁸, which is a referral system among the relevant bodies for studying the social, economic and educational situation of the working child, in addition to addressing this phenomenon in all governorates of the Kingdom through the relevant bodies and taking collective action by the institutions and ministries concerned, in particular the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Social Development.

On another level, the Ministry of Social Development combats begging by children²⁹, prepares assessment studies of the family situation of working children and determines the necessary interventions, in addition to establishing a section within the Ministry to reduce child labour and preparing a system for the protection and care of working children in cooperation with the International Labour Organization, and preparing a guide for behaviour monitors and social workers to provide them with basic information on child labour and holding specialized courses to raise their awareness in this regard³⁰.

For its part, the Ministry of Education prepares a detailed record of each child's educational history and proposes the educational support that can be provided to him³¹.

In 2016, the National Framework for Combating Child Labour resulted³² in the issuance of a report on the National Child Labour Survey, the preparation of a training guide for educational counsellors in the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour, the strengthening of the child labour unit in the Ministry of Development, and the strengthening of the role of the Greater Amman Municipality in raising awareness of child labour and monitoring and preventing it, through the participation of 279 Greater Amman Municipality inspectors in the field of child labour³³.

Results of the Study in the Applied Framework

This part summarizes the characteristics of child labour in the governorates of Irbid and Mafrq. All the quantitative data presented in this part are based on statistical analysis using the Statistical Package for

²⁷Statistics of the Ministry of Social Development up to October 2016.

²⁸The objectives of work under the National Framework for Combating Child Labour are: 1. Supporting national partners to improve overall coordination and to strengthen integration and interconnection among the monitoring systems of the various relevant bodies, including labour inspectors, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Social Development, thereby strengthening national monitoring systems aimed at supporting and protecting the child and the family and improving the mechanisms for linking working children and their families to improved education and social protection. 2. Supporting further research on aspects and trends of child labour in order to provide policy-makers with information to inform decision-making and guide direct action. 3. Supporting and strengthening the capacity of the constituents of the International Labour Organization to implement the National Framework. 4. Providing support for the integration of both the elimination of child labour and the promotion of youth employment issues into national development policy frameworks. For further information on the achievements of the National Framework, please visit the website of the Ministry of Labour.

²⁹Interview with the Ministry of Social Development, 16/11/2016.

³⁰A report received by the Center setting out the achievements of the Ministry of Social Development in apprehending child beggars and the measures it has taken to reduce child labour.

³¹Interview with the Ministry of Education, 16/11/2016.

³²For further information on these achievements, please visit the website of the International Labour Organization.

³³The National Framework for Combating Child Labour is criticized for not involving civil society institutions in the work to combat child labour, as well as for the limited number of labour inspectors monitoring and combating child labour.

the Social Sciences (SPSS), complemented by qualitative data provided by the respondents and by participants in the focus groups conducted for the purposes of this study.

First: General Characteristics of Working Children in Mafraq and Irbid Governorates

Figure (1) shows that the highest proportion of working children were male, at 94.2%, while females accounted for 5.8%.

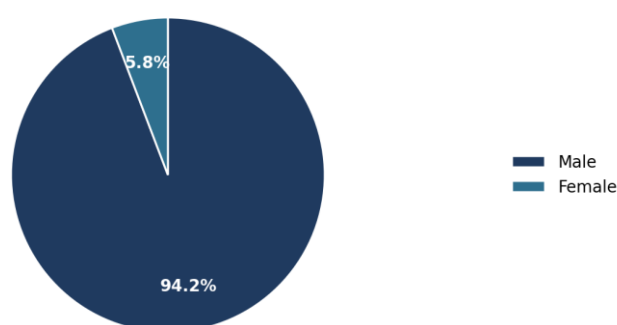


Figure 1: Percentage distribution of working children by sex

Most of the working children interviewed in Irbid and Mafraq governorates were male.

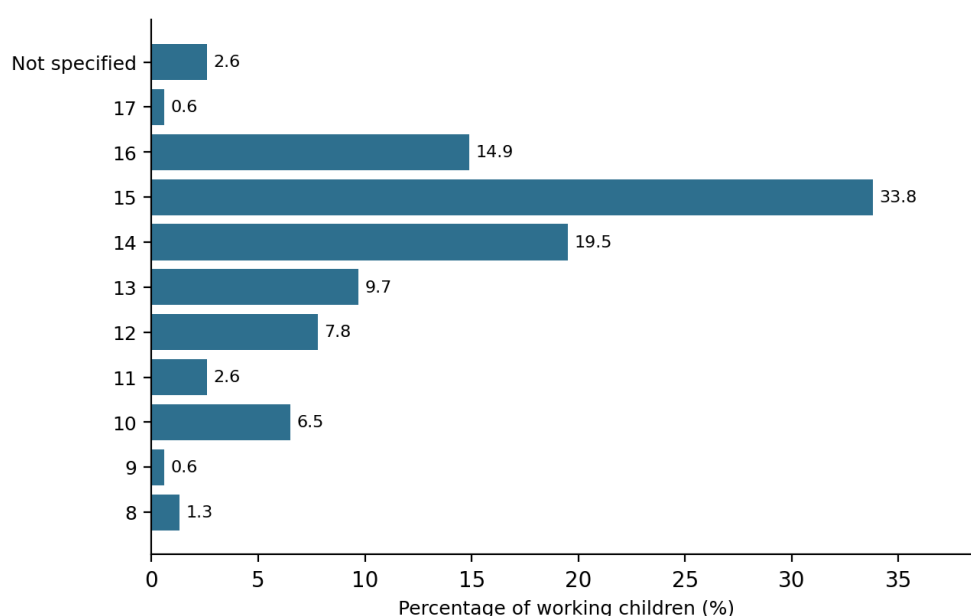


Figure 2: Percentage distribution of working children by age

The results revealed that 33.8% of working children are aged 15 years, followed by children aged 14 years at 19.5%, while the lowest proportion was for those aged 9 years and 17 years, at 0.6% each. This is attributed to the nature of the occupations practised by the children, although the Center affirms that a child is every human being below the age of eighteen years unless majority is attained earlier under the law applicable to the child. Accordingly, although the highest proportion in this study is of children aged 15 years, they are nonetheless still children.

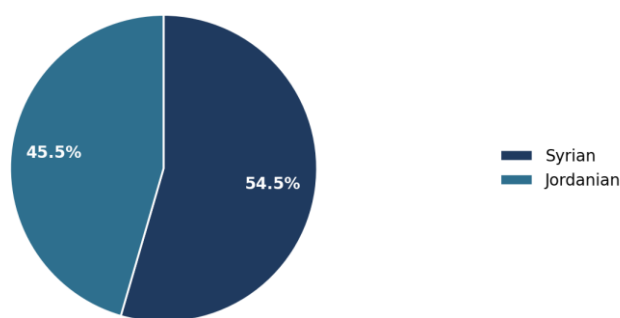


Figure 3: Percentage distribution of working children by nationality

The results revealed that the highest proportion of working children were of Syrian nationality, at 54.5%, while Jordanian working children accounted for 45.5%. This is attributed to the demographic changes that have occurred in Irbid and Mafrqa governorates as a result of the huge influx of Syrian refugees into both governorates. It appears that working children help meet their families' expenses, and that Syrian children are not interested in attending school owing to the different school curricula, the difficulty of understanding them and, in their view, the futility of learning in schools.

Distribution of Children by Number of Family Members

Figure (4) shows that 20.1% of working children came from families of 6 members, 17.5% from families of 5 members and 15.6% from families of 7 members, while the proportion was equal, at 1.3%, for families of 13, 15 and 16 members.

It is clearly apparent that the largest proportion of working children are those ranked first, second or third among the children in their families, as they recorded the highest proportions. This is explained by the parents' reliance on the eldest children to help meet expenses, while the lowest proportions are for those ranked lowest. To clarify this point, the children were asked about their families' living conditions; the respondents replied that these are very poor and that they contribute substantially to the family's expenses, in addition to high rents, low family income and the scarcity of the assistance provided to them by the bodies concerned, and that these circumstances have caused them psychological disturbances, depression and anxiety. This indicates that older children are exploited more than younger children.

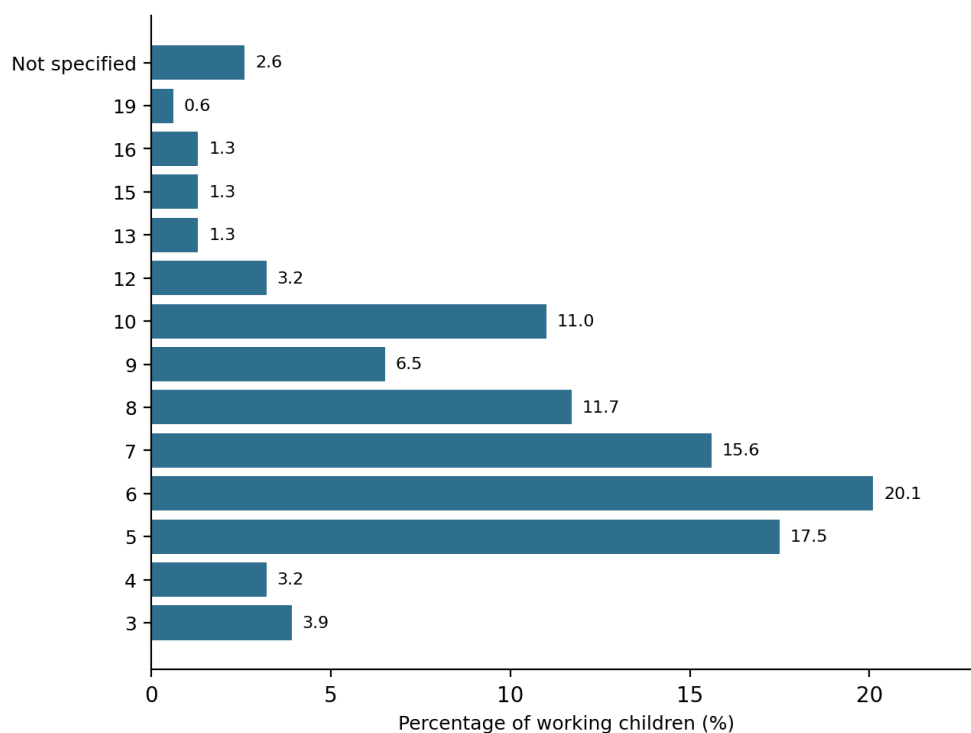


Figure 4: Number of family members

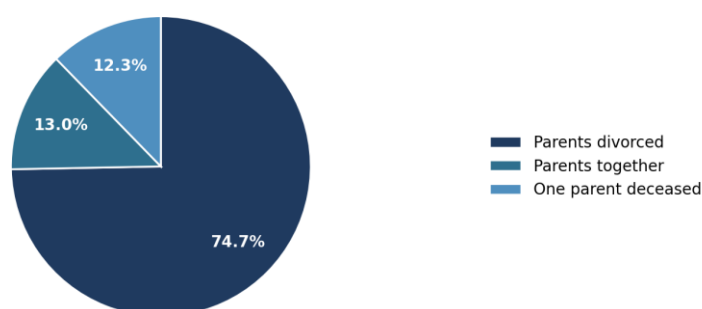


Figure 5: Percentage distribution of working children by parents' social status

Figure (6) [sic] shows that the highest proportion of working children came from families in which the father and mother are divorced, at 74.7%, while families in which both parents are together accounted for 13%, and families in which either the father or the mother is deceased accounted for 12.3%. This indicates that family disintegration is one of the causes of school dropout and child labour.

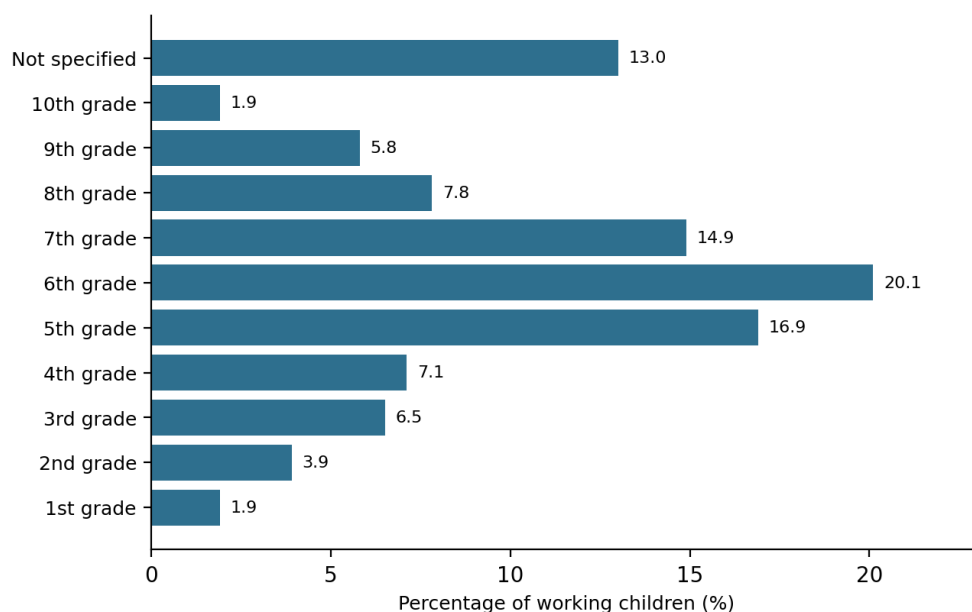


Figure 7: Percentage distribution of working children by last grade completed

The results showed that one fifth of working children had passed the sixth grade (20.1%), followed by those who had completed the fifth grade (16.9%) and those who had passed the seventh grade (14.9%); the proportions for the other grades varied, while 13% did not specify the last grade they had passed. These proportions indicate that most respondents left school without completing compulsory education.

Factors Leading to School Dropout³⁴

The factors and causes leading to school dropout and child labour within Jordanian society vary according to the literature on the subject. It is noted, however, that the factors leading to dropout from education, and their effect in increasing the number of children in the labour market during the current year, stem from the very particular circumstances that Jordanian society is experiencing and suffering from as a result of the social, economic and demographic changes it has undergone, including the hosting of Iraqi and Syrian refugees. This has become a burden on employment and education opportunities and has increased competition for jobs and for the assistance and support provided to poor and needy families by international organizations and national and local projects. In general, the causes of school dropout identified in Jordanian government studies are as follows:

First: Social, Cultural, Environmental and Economic Factors

1. The increase in manifestations of family disintegration and their effect on the spread of begging in the streets, the rising proportion of children who abuse drugs, the increasing number of children committing misdemeanours and crimes, and the absence of educational care for them. All these phenomena are problems that act as factors repelling children from school rather than attracting them to it, resulting in interruption, deprivation or permanent dropout from school.
2. The low social value attached to education by families, who do not regard it as sufficiently important. This results from the pressures of reality, namely families' limited income, as well as the low educational level of the parents and the lack of the necessary cultural awareness among many

³⁴The causes set out in this study reflect the views of the respondents and of the participants in the focus group discussions.

families, who do not realize the harm that will later result from their children's interruption of schooling.

3. The deterioration of health conditions and the spread of various diseases among children, such as diseases of the nervous system and various types of disability and congenital deformities, all of which are factors that push towards interruption of schooling as a step towards permanent dropout.
4. Low and very limited family income, which drives many families to rely on their children and push them into the labour market, given the ease with which employers hire children, in order to benefit from the additional income generated.

Table No. (1) shows the family, social and economic reasons that led the working child to leave school and enter the labour market:

Answer	Number	Percentage
Is your family aware that you have stopped studying and started working?		
Yes	149	96.8
No	1	0.6
Not specified	4	2.6
Do you know that basic education (ten years) is compulsory in Jordan?		
Yes	42	27.3
No	111	72.1
Not specified	1	0.6
Was your feeling that you have no goal in life and that education is unimportant a reason for leaving school?		
No	58	37.7
Yes	91	59.1
Not specified	5	3.2
To what extent do you contribute to your family's expenses?		
Full contribution	81	52.6
Partial contribution	52	33.8
I do not contribute	19	12.3
Not specified	2	1.3
Was your family's wish for you to marry the reason you left school? (females only)		
Yes	7	4.5
Not specified	147	95.5
Was your family's inability to provide (daily allowance, stationery and clothing) a reason for leaving school?		
Yes	114	74.0
No	36	23.4
Not specified	4	2.6
Was your feeling that you were unable to understand the school subjects a reason for leaving school?		
Yes	108	70.1
No	43	27.9

Answer	Number	Percentage
Not specified	3	1.9

The results of the study revealed that the most common social, economic and personal reasons leading to school dropout and child labour are the feeling of having no goal in life and that education is unimportant, at 74.1 [sic], followed by the child's family's ignorance of the compulsory nature of basic education, at 72.1, followed by difficulty in understanding the school curriculum, at 70.1, in addition to the wish to contribute to the family's expenses, at 52.6.

Second: Educational Factors

1. The non-conformity of school buildings with standards; the failure to adopt a mechanism for the proper evaluation and correction of the effectiveness of school curricula; and the distance between the school and the students' places of residence.
2. The inability of the education system, for example, to accommodate Syrian students of school age within school capacity, in addition to the difficulty reported by some working students of Syrian nationality in comprehending the Jordanian school curricula and their inability to adapt to the school environment. Other factors include physiological factors, such as difficulties in learning to read and write, and the mental and physical disabilities of some students³⁵; teachers' teaching and classroom management methods; the failure of school principals and educational counsellors to follow up on dropout students and to communicate with their families; and the neglect of the pupil until a dead end is sometimes reached, as a result of the frustration experienced after failed attempts to help the pupil and persuade him to return to school: the crisis is not addressed in time, so that it drags on for years and the student reaches a dead end.
3. The lack of connection between curricula and the needs of society and their failure to meet children's inclinations and interests; the weak competence of teachers in terms of preparation and training; the weak competence of educational administration; shortcomings in supervision and guidance; reliance on traditional teaching methods based on rote memorization; and shortcomings in educational resources in terms of buildings, equipment and opportunities for various activities.
4. Lack of respect for the pupil's personality and his various inclinations and interests; weak attention to the study of individual differences between pupils and to adapting the curriculum and teaching methods accordingly; and failure to use extracurricular school activities to attract pupils to school.
5. Repeated failure and the lack of follow-up by the school administration or the pupils' families, which weakens the pupil's self-confidence and conviction of the benefit of being at school and undermines his motivation to continue studying.

³⁵See Articles 13 and 14: General comments adopted by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on the right to education (35): School programmes in many countries today recognize that persons with disabilities can best be educated within the general education system. Thus, the Standard Rules provide that "States should recognize the principle of equal primary, secondary and tertiary educational opportunities for children, youth and adults with disabilities, in integrated settings". In order to implement such an approach, States should ensure that teachers are trained to educate children with disabilities within regular schools and that the necessary equipment and support are available to bring persons with disabilities up to the same level of education as their non-disabled peers. In the case of deaf children, for example, sign language should be recognized as a separate language to which the children should have access and whose importance should be acknowledged in their overall social environment.

6. The absence or weakness of joint work between the school and the pupil's family, which wastes the opportunity to identify the problems pupils face on a day-to-day basis and to address them in good time; their later accumulation becomes an obstacle to the pupil's continued schooling.
5. [sic] The distance of schools from students' places of residence, which is one of the basic obstacles to pupils' easy movement to and from school, increases the student's psychological burdens and intensifies fears of abduction, and constitutes a further burden that increases the family's concern and worry about the safety of its children, which contributes to parents' refusal to send their children to school.
7. The absence of a genuine role for the educational counsellor in addressing issues related to encouraging [the student] to study³⁶: the absence of any role for educational counsellors in encouraging students to study and in communicating with their families was among the reasons that encouraged them to drop out of school. Other factors that encouraged the respondents to leave school include the lack of close follow-up by the student counsellor, weak coordination between the student counsellor, the school administration and the home, the scarcity of programmes to prepare and rehabilitate students with limited learning abilities or who lack the desire and readiness to learn and are unable to adapt to the school environment, and the resulting feeling of indifference towards education and repeated failure in class.

Table No. (2) shows the educational reasons that led the working child to leave school and enter the labour market:

Answer	Number	Percentage
Was being punished at school a reason for leaving school?		
Yes	93	60.4
No	60	39.0
Not specified	1	0.6
Was being ridiculed by your classmates a reason for leaving school?		
Yes	63	40.9
No	87	56.5
Not specified	4	2.6
Was difficulty in being admitted to Ministry of Education schools a reason for not enrolling in school and resorting to work? (question for refugees)		
Yes	44	28.6
No	25	16.2
Not specified	85	55.2
Reason for non-admission to Ministry of Education schools (refugees)		
No identity documents	21	13.6
Insufficient school places	12	7.8
Nationality	6	3.9
Not specified	115	74.7

³⁶[T.N.: The text of this footnote is not provided in the original.]

Answer	Number	Percentage
Did the school principal or educational counsellor contact your family to bring you back to school?		
Yes	9	5.8
No	124	80.5
I don't know	18	11.7
Not specified	3	1.9
Did the school principal or educational counsellor contact your family to bring you back to school? [T.N.: repeated in the original]		
Yes	9	5.8
No	124	80.5
I don't know	18	11.7
Not specified	3	1.9
Did your family try to send you back to school?		
Yes	26	16.9
No	119	77.3
Not specified	9	5.8
Did any of the teachers or the school administration guide you towards completing your studies up to the tenth grade and then choosing a specialization suited to your vocational abilities?		
Yes	4	2.6
No	138	89.6
Not specified	12	7.8

The results showed that the educational reasons that led the working child to leave school and enter the labour market are attributable to several causes, foremost among which is the absence of any guidance from teachers and principals urging students to complete at least the compulsory education period, at 89.3 [sic], followed by the failure of the school principal or educational counsellor to communicate with the student to persuade him to return to school, at 80.5, and the failure of the student's family to attempt to return the student to school, at 77.3, followed by the student's exposure to punishment at school, at 60.4.

The Psychological, Social and Health Effects of Child Labour and School Dropout

No one disputes that the effects of school dropout harm the child and the family and extend to all segments of society. However, the element most harmed in this process is the child, a fact evident from the recognition that children's bodies are still growing, which makes them the group most exposed to the dangers of work and to work accidents. As soon as a child leaves education or is deprived of it, society quickly snatches him up and pushes him into the labour market or – in the case of girls – into early marriage, or he falls prey to bad companions and the contagion of social problems and crimes begins, as follows:

1. **The child's physical and psychological growth and bodily coordination are affected:** this results from the child's sense of indifference to the importance of work and education, so that he loses his self-respect, and the likelihood increases of his being exposed to wounds, fractures and

various injuries such as burns, skin inflammations and eye irritation as a result of exposure to intense heat, as well as to stress, lack of concentration and negative effects on the nervous system as a result of loud noise³⁷.

2. **Children working in the agricultural sector are exposed to malaria, bilharzia and anaemia** as a result of their exposure to and direct or indirect handling of agricultural pesticides³⁸ – by ingestion or inhalation – and their eating vegetables and fruit in the work environment without washing them, in addition to their exposure, like other children working in other sectors, to sunlight and various weather conditions.
3. **Decline in the capacity for cognitive development:** as soon as the child enters the labour market, his capacity for reading, writing and creativity declines.
4. **School dropout is both a cause and a consequence of family disintegration:** as a result of working long hours, the child loses his connection with his family and parental supervision is absent, which exposes him to violence either from the employer or from his colleagues at work, whether of the same age or older.
5. In the focus groups held for this study, the participants indicated that work may benefit the child by helping to strengthen his personality and to mix with older people, but in their view this occurs in certain occupations that require parental supervision of the child. Nevertheless, in the participants' view, the matter is not free of negative effects, since the work environment is a breeding ground for crime among children and an environment that encourages them to abuse drugs and cigarettes and to use obscene language. In addition, there are the negative effects that may fall on the child himself, as work affects his physical health and bodily harmony and causes him insomnia, anxiety and psychological and nervous disorders.

Table No. (3) shows the effects of child labour in numbers and percentages:

Answer	Number	Percentage
Does your employer treat you well?		
No	78	50.6
Yes	17	11.0
Not specified	59	38.3
Type of abuse		
Verbal insults	12	7.8
Harassment	2	1.3
Beating	11	7.1
Not specified	129	83.8
Do you suffer from exhaustion, fatigue and health problems because the nature of your work does not suit your physical abilities?		
Yes	80	51.9

³⁷These effects were observed among the working children interviewed in the industrial cities, the Hisbeh (wholesale vegetable market), the popular markets and the bus complex (second-hand clothes market) in both governorates.

³⁸The types of agricultural pesticides and their effects on human health may be consulted in the Agricultural Pesticides Guide – the National Agricultural Extension Guide issued by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1994.

Answer	Number	Percentage
No	71	46.1
Not specified	3	1.9
Nature of work		
Loading and unloading	39	25.3
Assistant	5	3.2
Buying and selling	91	59.1
Agriculture	12	7.8
Not specified	7	4.5
Have you suffered any work injury in the course of your work?		
No	24	15.6
Yes	128	83.1
Not specified	2	1.3
Type of injury		
Fractures	12	7.8
Fall on the head	1	0.6
Bruises	140	90.9
Not specified	1	0.6
Have you been detained or pursued by the security services because of your work?		
Yes	11	7.1
No	142	92.2
Not specified	1	0.6
Reason for detention		
Fight	7	4.5
Not specified	147	95.5
Do you smoke cigarettes or inhale chemical substances (glue and thinner)?		
Yes	48	31.2
No	105	68.2
Not specified	1	0.6
Where do you spend your time after work?		
With family	129	83.8
With friends	22	14.3
Places of entertainment	2	1.3
Not specified	1	0.6
Total	154	100.0

The results of the study showed that the most common effects of work on the child are exposure to work injuries, at 90.9, followed by smoking cigarettes and inhaling chemical substances, at 68.2 [sic], followed by exposure to fatigue, exhaustion and health problems, at 51.9, and poor treatment by the employer, at 50.6.

Recommendations

First: Legislative Recommendations

1. Establishing legal guarantees and mechanisms to give effect to the principle of compulsory and free education, through a legal provision imposing penalties on guardians who do not send their children to school.
2. Enacting additional legislation to protect working children in the informal sector.

Second: Recommendations relating to the Development of Programmes and Policies

1. Activating educational guidance and counselling programmes for students and their families, by raising awareness of the role of the educational counsellor in schools and of the assistance he provides to the school administration and to parents with various problems, and establishing parents' councils in schools.
2. Increasing societal responsibility by involving the relevant civil society institutions in combating child labour, withdrawing working children from the labour market and ensuring their return to school within the framework of the National Framework for Combating Child Labour.
3. Intensifying inspection campaigns by the labour inspectors of the Ministry of Labour.

Third: Recommendations relating to Awareness and Culture

1. Activating the media role of the Vocational Training Corporation's programmes so as to raise the awareness of schoolchildren, especially in the preparatory and secondary stages, and to promote the value of work, in addition to increasing the programmes directed at children's parents and emphasizing the need to return their children to school.
2. Intensifying media campaigns for Syrian children and families on the Labour Law and the minimum age for employment, and integrating Syrian children aged 15–18 into the programmes of the Vocational Training Corporation.
3. Raising parents' awareness of the role of the administrative governor in withdrawing working children from the labour market and returning them to school.

Annex (1): Case Studies

Cases interviewed:

1. **(R./M.)**, 15 years old, Jordanian national, works in a car mechanics workshop in the industrial area of Irbid Governorate and has not completed the sixth grade. He left school two years ago owing to poor academic achievement and cannot read or write at all. His parents have been separated for five years, and he lives with his mother. He has received no training in the trade he works in. In addition to his parents, his family consists of four brothers and five sisters, most of whom dropped out of school between the seventh and ninth grades. When asked whether he would like to return to school if given the opportunity, he replied that he would not ("What do I want with school? I'm a man now and I earn my own money").
2. **(N./A.)**, 14 years old, Jordanian national, has worked for 3 years as a stall vendor in the second-hand clothes market in Irbid. He has a family of six brothers and dropped out of school in the fourth grade; his father is deceased. He earns 4 dinars a day and works from five in the morning until six in the evening, except for one day a week. When asked why he works and whether he would like to return to school, he replied: ("I work to give my mother money to pay the rent, and I don't want to go back to school because it's not important").
3. **(Z./A.)**, 13 years old, Syrian national, works as a labourer in the popular vegetable market (Hisbeh) in Mafrq. He dropped out of school in the third grade and has five brothers who live with his mother in two rooms. He works all week and earns five dinars a day. When asked why he does not go to school, he replied: ("I love school, but the situation is as you see; I don't have time, and my brother is the same. No one in my family works except me; I am the only one supporting the household, and my father is in Syria").
4. **(W./K.)**, 14 years old, Syrian national, works as a vendor in the popular vegetable market (Hisbeh) in Mafrq Governorate. He dropped out of school in the third grade after the circumstances of war forced him to seek refuge in Jordan. He has seven brothers who live with his mother in two rooms. He works all week and earns five dinars a day. When asked why he does not go to school, he replied: ("Because I am harassed at school, and I want to earn money to help my mother pay the rent").
5. **(N./A.)**, 12 years old, Syrian national, works on a farm in the Northern Ghor in Irbid Governorate. He dropped out of school two years ago and began working as a labourer. He has five brothers, none of whom goes to school. When asked why he works, he replied: "We love work more than studying, because it helps us earn a living".
6. **(K./N.)**, 16 years old, Syrian national, works in the popular second-hand clothes market (Baleh) in Irbid Governorate. He dropped out of school four years ago. He has seven brothers, four of whom work, and he is the youngest of them. The researchers noted signs of fear and anxiety in him. He stated that he does not wish to return to school because it is unimportant, saying: "Why should I go to school when it doesn't earn me any money?".

Annex (2): International Labour Organization Conventions relating to Child Labour³⁹

No.	Convention	Provision on child labour
1	Convention No. (5) concerning the Minimum Age (Industry), 1919	Art. 2: Children under the age of fourteen years shall not be employed or work in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed.
2	Convention No. 6 concerning the Night Work of Young Persons (Industry), 1919	1. Young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be employed during the night in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof.
3	Convention No. 7 concerning the Minimum Age (Sea), 1920	Art. 2: Children under the age of fourteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels, other than vessels upon which only members of the same family are employed.
4	Convention No. 10 concerning the Minimum Age (Agriculture), 1921	Art. 1: Children under the age of fourteen years may not be employed or work in any public or private agricultural undertaking, or in any branch thereof.
5	Convention No. 15 concerning the Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers), 1921	Art. 1: Young persons under the age of eighteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels as trimmers or stokers.
6	Convention No. 16 concerning the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Sea), 1921	Art. 2: No children or young persons under the age of eighteen years shall be employed on board any vessel [T.N.: text as abridged in the original].
7	Convention No. 33 concerning the Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment), 1932	Art. 2: Children under fourteen years of age, or children over fourteen years of age who are still required by national laws or regulations to attend primary school, shall not be employed.
8	Convention No. 58 concerning the Minimum Age (Sea) (Revised)	Art. 2: Children under the age of fifteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels.
9	Convention No. (59) concerning the Minimum Age (Industry) (Revised), 1937	Art. 2: Children under the age of fifteen years shall not be employed or work in any industrial undertaking.
10	Convention No. 77 concerning the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry), 1946	Art. 2: Children and young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be admitted to employment by an industrial undertaking unless they have been found fit for the work on which they are to be employed by a thorough medical examination.
11	Convention No. 79 concerning the Night Work of Young Persons (Non-Industrial Occupations), 1946	Art. 2: Children under fourteen years of age who are admissible for full-time or part-time employment, and children over fourteen years of age who are still subject to full-time compulsory school attendance, shall not be employed or work at night during a period of at least fourteen consecutive hours, including the interval between eight o'clock in the evening and eight o'clock in the morning.

³⁹For further details of each convention, see the website of the University of Minnesota Human Rights Library: <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/arabic/ilo.html>