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Child Domestic Servants in Latin America: Numbers, Trends, and Education

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Abstract: This paper summarizes trends in the use of child domestic servants in six Latin American countries using IPUMS-International census samples for 1960 to 2000. Child domestics are among the most vulnerable of child workers, and the most invisible. They may be treated kindly and allowed to attend school, or they may be secluded in their employers' home, overworked, verbally abused, beaten, and unable to leave or report their difficulties to kin. Estimates and imputations are based on labor force and relationship-to-head variables. Domestic service makes up a substantial fraction of girls' employment in some countries. We also analyze trends in live-in versus live-out status and school enrollment of child domestic servants. While all child workers are disadvantaged in enrollment relative to non-workers, domestics are sometimes better off than non-domestic workers. In some samples, live-ins are more likely to go to school than live-out child domestics. In others, they are substantially worse off.

I. Introduction

Counting child domestic servants seems a commonplace task. In fact, it is both complex and important. Child domestic servants are among the most vulnerable of child workers, and the most invisible. They may be treated kindly and allowed to attend school, or they may be secluded in their employers' homes, beaten, overworked, and unable to leave or report their difficulties to kin. In this article we ask how many children in six Latin American countries are employed as domestics, how many live with their employers, whether domestics make up a high proportion of child workers, and whether they are disadvantaged in school attendance, in the hope that this information will be useful to policy makers and non-governmental organizations.

We have been told that it is not possible to count child domestic servants.[1] Too many of them are "invisible": they are engaged in informal work, hidden away in residences, and sometimes identified to census and survey enumerators as relatives rather than servants. They themselves may prefer to be identified as relatives rather than servants. (The Cinderella story recounts a tale of a step-daughter who served as a maid.[2]) There are many reasons why counting and identifying trends in the use of child domestics may be difficult; we discuss these below. Still, under some conditions, we assert that we can make reasonable estimates of child domestic servants. Using census data made available via the IPUMS-International project[3], we present estimates, time trends, and descriptive information about child domestics for six Latin American countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Mexico. We know of no other large-scale attempt to count child domestics.

In this paper we will use the term "child" as it is used in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: to indicate that a person is under 18 years of age. Although we recognize that many adolescents in poor countries are effectively adults in their mid-teenage years, we will use the term "child" to refer to both younger children and adolescents. Because very few children can be useful before approximately the age of five, we initially searched for domestic workers ages five to seventeen year-olds (inclusive). Most of the child domestics we identify are between the ages of 10 and 17, so our analysis focuses on that age range.

[1] Oloko (1997: 5-6) indirectly estimates the number of young domestics in Nigeria using the number of women who were government employees; she assumes that every such woman employed one young domestic. She considers her estimate conservative, since some women working in the informal sector would also employ young domestics.

[2] As the story goes: "Now began a bad time for the poor step-child….They took her pretty clothes away from her, put an old grey bedgown on her, and gave her wooden shoes….and led her into the kitchen. There she had to do hard work from morning til night, get up before daybreak, carry water, light fires, cook and wash. Besides this, the [step]sisters did her every imaginable injury…. " (The Grimm Brothers, *Cinderella)*

[3] Minnesota Population Center (2008). See www.ipums.org .

II. The Vulnerability of Child Domestic Servants

While many differences exist in the conditions under which children perform domestic work, child domestic servants are vulnerable to several characteristic threats. For one, they may not be allowed to take breaks or may be required to work long hours. Child domestic workers may also suffer from a lack of access to education, which can contribute to social isolation and a lack of future opportunity for the child (Oyaide, 2000). UNICEF considers domestic work to be among the lowest status, least regulated, and most poorly remunerated of all occupations, for either adults or children, and reports that most child domestics are live-in workers and under the round-the-clock control of their employer (Innocenti Digest, 1999).

When exploitation of the child worker is extreme, or conditions are akin to slavery, the ILO considers domestic service to be a "worst form" of child labor (Black, 2005). Stories of beatings and sexual abuse are not uncommon among qualitative studies of child domestic servants.[4] Due to the fact that they frequently live with their employers out of others' view, child domestic workers may be particularly vulnerable to this type of exploitation. This summary of study findings from Haiti includes features found in other studies from around the world:

> "…[servant] children living outside the home tended to have a heightened risk of treatment as second class citizens and also a heightened risk of physical and sexual abuse – though neither is inevitable. According to field interviews, the living conditions of servant children tend to be distinctly different from other children in the same household. They sleep in the least desirable places, e.g., on a section of carpet in the outside kitchen or on the floor at the foot of a bed. They eat different food. They do significantly more work than other children in the household. They may well carry the workload of adult domestic servants and more.
>
> According to direct observation by informants, such children are subject to public humiliation and corporal punishment including beatings with cooking pots, shoes, whips, or fists. They may well not go to school, or if they do, it is an inferior school and in any case a different school from those attended by other children in the household. They are subject to sexual abuse by other children in the household and sometimes by adults, yet they would not be likely to be allowed to marry the sons or daughters of the household served" (Smucker and Murray 2004: 35-36).

In this paper we differentiate between live-in and live-out domestic servants, as way of taking account of these heightened risks. We are, however, unable to compare actual conditions of employment, either within the domestic service occupation or in comparison to other sectors of employment. What evidence exists comes from small-scale studies and appears to be context-specific.

[4] For example, Bourdillon (2007:60) interviewed child domestics in Zimbabwe, some of whom had been beaten. Oyaide (2000: 54) documents substantial verbal abuse and humiliation among child servants in Lusaka, Zambia. Kielland and Tovo (2006: 98) cite Onyango (1991), who interviewed prostitutes in Nairobi and Cotonou and found that the majority had been sent into domestic service at an early age. Among these, most had been sexually abused, many by a member of the employer's household.

Observers are careful to note that one should not automatically assume that child domestic work is exploitative or worse than what a child would experience if he or she were not a domestic worker. For many families, placing a child in a stable household that has a higher standard of living than the parents' household is seen as beneficial (Innocenti Digest, 1999); for the most vulnerable families and for orphans, it may be a way to ensure that a child is fed, clothed, and sheltered. Some children are sent from rural homes to be domestics in urban areas, in order to enable them to further their education. We address these issues at greater length below.

III. Defining Domestic Servant

Most authors writing about child domestic servants do not bother to include a definition of what, exactly, they mean by "domestic servant." After all, it seems obvious: a domestic servant is someone who does domestic work in someone else's home, for pay or in-kind remuneration.

But what is domestic work, and how much does one need to do it (for someone else) in order to be classified as a domestic servant? In some parts of Africa, for example, young girls labor from morning to nightfall under the direction of their mothers and female kin, yet this work is not counted as domestic service (Reynolds 1991). Girls who are fostered into a family may, similarly, spend their days in various types of domestic labor; are they servants? What about, in Brazil, when country cousins want to escape the stagnation of their rural towns and move in with distant kin in the city, in exchange for domestic services – are they servants? What about if they only do domestic work during part of each day and attend school for part of the day – do they count?

In other situations, people who are not related take care of their "patrons," doing whatever work needs to be done, including much domestic work. The rewards for doing this may be undefined and depend on the good will, resources, and networks of the patron.

The point here is that some people are not called servants by the people for whom they are performing services, and yet they may be performing exactly the same tasks as others who *are* called servants.

Another difficulty is with respect to the tasks performed. Typical tasks performed by domestic servants include cleaning the home; shopping for food; preparing food for cooking; cooking meals; serving meals; washing dishes; carrying water, washing clothing and linens; drying and ironing the laundry; putting away groceries, clean dishes, laundry, and anything else needing tidying; child care, including dressing, diapering, feeding, taking to and from school, and watching children; care for the ill or disabled or elderly, including the most intimate types of care; and so forth. This is a long list, but it is by no means all-inclusive. Some domestic servants sweep the yard, water plants, care for kitchen gardens, or even spend time working in their employers' fields. Others care for

poultry, goats, pigs, or other farm animals. How can we tell whether someone is more of a domestic servant or more of a farm hand?

Clearly there is a continuum, with one end denoting people who are very clearly domestic servants, and the other end denoting people who are very clearly not domestic servants. In between, it gets fuzzier. Yet, we have to draw an arbitrary line if we are to count child domestic servants, since we have to define each child in our census samples as either a domestic servant or not. To a great extent, the location of this line is determined by the data that was collected in the censuses of the countries we study.

IV. Changes over Time in Child Domestic Service

Using census microdata (described below), we examine trends in the usage of child domestic servants over time. Our earliest data is from 1960, but this varies by country; in some cases we can follow trends over four decades, in other cases only three decades. We expect to see changes over time for a variety of reasons, as Latin American countries have experienced a number of large-scale social and economic changes over the relevant time period. Some of the reasons imply decreases in child domestic service; other imply increases. Since many of the social changes we describe have happened (or are happening) more or less simultaneously, we do not attempt to attribute particular causes to the observed patterns.

Demographic Transition. In most of Latin America, demographic transition began early in the 20th century with declines in mortality. Population growth due to natural increase (rather than migration) peaked for Latin America overall in the early 1960s at 2.8 percent. In 1965, the percentage of the population under age 15 was extremely high, at 43 percent overall. In Argentina it was 30 percent, but in Brazil, Colombia and Costa Rica it was 44, 47, and 48 percent, respectively. This can be compared to the percentages of the population under age 15 in the year 2000, after fertility decline had been underway for some decades: Argentina 28 percent, Brazil 29 percent, Colombia 33 percent, and Costa Rica 32 percent (Brea 2003).

Demographic transition led first to an increase, then later a decrease, in the percentage of the population who were children. Correspondingly, the relative supply of potential child domestics first increased then decreased. Figure 1 uses information from the United Nations *Demographic Yearbook* to show population shares in the second half of the 20th century for the two standard age groups most likely to include child domestics: 10-14 and 15-19. Changes in the underlying population distributions are apparent, although not particularly striking. In Colombia, for example, the share of 10-14 year-olds rose from almost 12 percent in 1950 to over 14 percent in 1973 before falling to 11 percent in 2000.

Education. In the second half of the 20th century, access to education expanded in most parts of Latin America, and young people spent a greater number of years with some connection to the educational system. This probably did not affect the supply of child workers (of all kinds) as much as one might expect, because many children attended (and still attend) school in shifts, for a relatively small number of hours per day (3 to 5 hours).

Domestic service, however, may be more incompatible with school than many other jobs available to children. As norms changed, and parents desired more schooling for their children, the supply of potential child domestic workers is likely to have fallen.

Women's Labor Force Participation. As families become smaller and more nuclear, there are fewer people available to do essential household chores: marketing, cooking, cleaning, washing, child care, elder care, and so forth. Women's increasing presence in the paid labor force has exacerbated this shortage, likely increasing the demand for domestic services. We expect total demand for domestic services – by family members or servants – to be relatively inelastic. In 1950, women made up only 18 percent of Brazil's labor force, but by 2000 they comprised 29 percent of it (Brea 2003). In the 1950s, female labor force participation averaged 24 percent in Latin America but had increased to about 33 percent in the 1980s.[5] Duryea and Székely (1998) document substantial increases in adult female labor force participation rates between the 1970s and the 1990s for every Latin American country except Haiti. Duryea et al (2001) follow up for the 1990s, again showing sizeable increases. Also for the 1990s, Abramo and Valenzuela (2005) estimate an average rise of 6 percentage points for Latin American urban women: from 39 percent in 1990 to 44.7 percent in 2000.

Sectors of employment. With changes in agricultural production in the mid-20th century, the share of employment in agriculture began to decline. Industrial production increased, but so did employment in the service sector. By 2000, the service sector employed the majority of the labor force in most Latin American countries. For example, 74 percent of Argentina's labor force was employed in the service sector in 2000 (Brea 2003). How child domestic service may have been affected by these sectoral shifts is not clear. Clearly, however, demand for domestic service continued to be substantial: among employed urban women in Latin America in 2003, 15.5 percent were domestic servants (Abramo and Valenzuela 2005: 385).[6]

Human Rights. Toward the end of the 20th century, there was a substantial increase in campaigns to inform children about their human rights. Following the ratification of the Convention of the Rights of the Child by the UN Humans Rights Commission in 1989, international NGOs have worked with the UN and country governments to promote children's human rights within their countries (PLAN, 2007). It is difficult to assess the extent of these campaigns and the degree of their impact on children.

Economic Trends. Child work has been observed to be pro-cyclical: when there are more jobs for everyone, children are more likely to be working (e.g., Barros and Mendonca 1990, Guarcello et al 2006, and Parikh and Sadoulet 2005). This pattern seems contrary to the idea that children work out of "dire necessity" – unless, of course, even good labor market conditions do not reduce the poverty of such children's families very much.

[5] Psacharapoulos and Tzannatos (1992) as cited in Duryea et al 2001 (p.4).

[6] Abramo and Valenzuela (2005: 385) estimate that the following percentages of urban women were employed in domestic service in 2003: Argentina 16.7%, Brazil 20.1%, Chile 16.8%, Colombia 12.8%, Costa Rica 12.6%, and Mexico 10.5%. These figures refer to women "of working age," which is not defined in the article but may include ages 15 and older.

Manacorda and Rosati (2007) argue that previous studies have inappropriately aggregated different types of child workers with different responses to labor demand. In their study of Brazil, they find that children aged 10-12 decrease their labor force work when local labor demand is strong; older children, in contrast, behave more like adults and increase their labor force activity when local demand is strong. Children from better-off households reduce their work, while rural and poorer children increase it.

If Manacorda and Rosati's results hold more widely, then the supply of child domestic servants could be affected in off-setting ways. Younger children may be less likely to start work as domestics in good economic times, while older children may be more likely to undertake such work. If child domestics are generally drawn from the poorest households, then their employment seems likely to increase overall in economic up-turns.

The relative cost of servants may also be changing over time. In particular, if absolute poverty falls, thereby reducing the supply of potential live-in servants, then we would expect to see the cost of live-in servants rising relative to other household expenses.

V. The IPUMS-International Data

The availability of integrated public use samples of census microdata makes it possible for us to investigate the presence of child domestic servants in a number of low income countries. The international samples of the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-International) are freely available to researchers at www.ipums.org . We have chosen to investigate child domestics in countries for which samples are available via IPUMS-International, and for which particular information was collected that helps us to identify domestic servants. In this paper, we focus on Latin American countries: Argentina, Portuguese-speaking Brazil, Chile, and Colombia in South America; Costa Rica in Central America; and Mexico in North America.

Data from multiple censuses per country was used in order to examine trends over time. While the years available differed depending on the country, all the censuses (and the one survey) in our sample were conducted between 1960 and 2002. Table 1 describes the years in which these censuses were conducted, as well as other characteristics of the samples.

Samples. We initially included individuals between the ages of five and 17 in our samples, excluding individuals in group quarters who were not living with relatives.[7] In general, they are unlikely to be available for domestic service. In any case, they comprise a small portion of the population in our age range (in general, less than one percent). Finding that 5-9 year olds working in domestic service were represented in our sample in

[7] In most cases, we exclude only those youth who are living in group quarters apart from family, such as those living in institutions or at boarding schools. Some children and youth living in group quarters were living with their families. For example, an entire family might live in a military barracks. These children were included in our sample. In some cases we could not discern whether or not children in group quarters were living with their families; in this case we excluded all group quarters children.

such small numbers as to make estimates problematic, our final sample focuses on 10-17 year-olds.

Table 1 describes the samples used in the analysis. For each country and census year, we indicate the sample density (column 2), enumeration rule (column 3), and ages for which labor force information – for occupation and industry in particular – was collected (column 4). The earliest age at which labor force activity was recorded has important implications for our estimates. Column 5 indicates how many 10-17 year-olds were included in the sample. The next column (6) gives our conservative estimate of the total number of 10-17 year-old domestic servants in the sample, including only those employed in the reference period. These are sample sizes; they are *not* the estimated number of domestics in the population, which are shown in Table 2. The final columns break down our sample into female and male domestics. The small number of male domestics in these samples is one reason that much of the paper focuses on female domestics.

Defining Child Domestics. The measures of child domestic service used here are based on information from two sources within Latin American census data: employment-related information, in particular the child's occupation and industry, and relationship to head of household or family (that is, to the reference person). Countries must usually include these two sources of information on domestic servants in their censuses in order to be included in this analysis.

Occupation and industry data are collected for individuals who are recognized as members of the labor force. In most Latin American censuses, it has been standard for some decades to recognize domestic service as a distinct occupational category or set of categories.

The second source of information comes from a description of how an individual is related either to the head of the household or the head of a subfamily. In Latin America, it is standard to include "domestic servant" as one possible relationship to the reference person.

In some ways, both of these sources are inadequate, insofar as the respondent may not be well-informed about the activities of the child in question or may wish to mislead the enumerator. While all the censuses in our study are based on questions posed to respondents by enumerators (rather than mail-in questionnaires), census procedures almost always rely upon a principal respondent for each household or family. Adults home at the time of the enumerator's visit typically respond on behalf of children, especially younger children. (Older adolescents, if present, may or may not be allowed to self-report.) Responding adults may not be well-informed about, for example, the number of hours worked in a week by any particular child. They may wish to stretch the truth: a distant relative living-in and doing the household's domestic work may be described as a relative rather than a servant, for example. This is especially likely for younger children. The stigma of domestic service contributes to the invisibility of child

domestics. Publicity campaigns about child labor increase misreporting, as respondents learn to be fearful of repercussions for the use of child servants.

Using the first source of information, labor force variables relating to industry and occupation of employment, we identified whether or not an individual was reported as being included in domestic service industries and/or occupations. In some cases industry and occupation variables provided identical information. In other cases, both were needed. For example, in the 1991 Argentina census, individuals were identified as domestic servants if they were labeled as being in an "other service activities" industry and a "workers in domestic services, non-specialized" occupation.[8]

One issue that arose with the use of labor force data was whether or not to include domestic workers who were unemployed at the time of the census. Because children tend to move in and out of employment more frequently than do adults, on any particular census day we would expect to find unemployed child domestics who had been employed the previous month and who would be employed again shortly (Levison et al, 2007). We do not include unemployed domestics in our conservative estimates, shown in Table 2 and Figure 2. However, because our goal is to count the numbers of children who usually work as domestics, we include the unemployed in our "best guess" counts of child domestics, shown in Table 3 and Figure 3. In any case, they make up a very small fraction of all domestics, as shown by the small number of additional estimated domestics in column (5) of Table 4, discussed below.

Using the second source of information, we identified whether or not an individual was categorized as a domestic servant by her household relationship. In a substantial number of cases, individuals recognized as being servants of the household or family head were not reported to be members of the labor force.[9] Table 4 includes estimates of the extent to which child domestics would be undercounted based only on labor force or only on household relationship information. This sensitivity analysis is discussed below.

We are unable to distinguish between full-time and part-time work in this analysis; hours of work are not known for part of our sample. Given the sporadic nature of domestic labor, estimated hours of work would, in any case, be especially likely to be mis-measured (by the child) or misreported (by employers or parents) due to ignorance, carelessness, or shame. If data were available, the distinction between full- and part-time work would be important to the extent that outcomes differed between children working different numbers of hours. Children working part-time, for instance, may be able to attend school more easily than those working full-time.

[8] Some individuals indentified in Brazil as domestic workers by household variables are categorized as being employed in agricultural industries. In these cases, the individuals were counted as domestic servants, but the rest of the individuals in that agricultural industry were not.

[9] When we compute employment trends, we count such individuals as employed members of the labor force. That is, they are included in the denominator.

V. Results

Our goal is to provide estimates useful to researchers, policy-makers, and activists. While one purpose might call for the most careful, conservative estimates, another might reasonably want to include invisible domestics, using an estimate designed to do this. We thus present several different estimates of the numbers of child domestics discernable using samples of census data. First, Table 2 includes our most conservative estimates of the numbers of child domestics: it excludes unemployed children, and it only includes ages for which we have labor force information. It is divided into two sets of columns, with columns (2) through (9) referring to ages 10-14 or a subset of that age group, depending on labor force data availability, while columns (10) through (15) refer to ages 15-17. We include estimates of numbers for labor force employment and numbers of live-in and live-out domestics, also providing the total number of children in the age group so that readers may calculate any of a number of percentages.[10] Additional columns show the percentage female for each estimated number. Figure 2, discussed below, shows percentages corresponding to Table 2 information.

It is important to keep demographic trends in mind when using Table 2. Column (10) most clearly reflects the increase in youth due to mortality decline. Brazil had 3.7 million 15-17 year-olds in 1960, but 10.7 million in 2000. It is noticeable that employment growth rates rarely keep pace with population growth rates for this age group, indicating declining labor force employment rates

Overall child employment. In some countries, the percentages of girls and boys who work in the labor force have been declining since the 1960s. This can been seen in Table 2, Columns (4) and (11), and trends for girls' employment are also show in Panel A of Figure 2. In Argentina, declines have been monotonic since the first available sample for 1970. In Brazil, the same can be said for boys (since 1960), but for girls declines have been steady only since 1980. In Chile and Costa Rica declines are monotonic on the whole, with minor exceptions Colombia's patterns are more complicated. The employment percentages do not vary substantially between 1964 and 1993 for three of the four age-sex groups. For 15-17 year-old boys, however, employment declined from 57 percent in 1964 to about 36 percent in the 1980s and 1990s. Employment also fell for 15-17 year-old girls in 1993. Mexico's employment rates bounce around a bit but do not show any substantial declines over the four decades presented here.

Columns (5) and (12) provide evidence that a higher share of boys than girls is employed, in both age groups and in every country and sample. Generally, girls make up fewer than one-third of youth employed in the labor force.

Employment as domestics. In every country, sample, and both age groups, boys who are working in the labor force are substantially less likely than girls to be employed as domestic servants (columns 7, 9, 13, 15). In fact, fewer than five percent of employed boys are typically domestics. For this reason, Figure 2 focuses on girls. Panel A figures

[10] Excel spreadsheets of the tables in this paper are available upon request to dlevison@umn.edu .

provide an understanding about overall trends in girls' employment, while Panel B figures depict the importance of domestic service among girls' employment possibilities.

Panel A of Figure 2 shows, for six countries and two age groups, the percentages of girls who are employed and the percentages of girls who are employed as domestics. Panel B shows the percentage of *employed* girls who are employed as domestic servants. (The percentages underlying Figure 2 are included in Table A2.) A key finding of this paper is that domestic service accounts for a substantial fraction of girls' labor force employment – a remarkably high fraction in some samples. Among employed girls, at least 20 percent are domestic servants in most samples. In the older samples, sometimes 60 to 80 percent of employed girls were domestics. In more recent samples, 30 percent is more common.

In Argentina and Colombia, there are close-to-monotonic declines in the percentage of employed girls who are domestic servants between the mid-1960s and the end of the century. In Brazil, Costa Rica and Mexico, the percentage of employed girls who are domestics first increases, then declines. A similar pattern can be seen when examining the estimated numbers of children who are employed as domestics – in this case, for all countries except Chile and Argentina. It should be noted that data for the 1960s is not available for Argentina; perhaps we would find a similar pattern if we had that data.

We hypothesize that as social norms changed in Latin America, the demand for child domestics was less elastic than the demand for other kinds of child workers. That is, as more and more children began to spend more and more time in school, the reduced availability of a family's own children for domestic work combined with the increase in women's labor force participation meant that many households must have felt an increased need for help in accomplishing essential household tasks and caring labor. Thus, even while the total rate of labor force employment was falling for children, the demand for child domestics was strong enough to cause increases in employment in both absolute numbers and as a percentage of all employed children. Eventually, however, a combination of other social factors – including the normative understandings that children should be in school and should not be full-time workers, smaller numbers of available children due to fertility decline, and increased labor-saving devices among the middle class – led to declines in both absolute numbers of children who are domestics and percentages of employed girls working as domestics.

While a relatively small percentage of girls were employed as domestics in the most recent census years – Figure 2, Panels A show them to be at or below five percent in most countries (with Brazil slightly higher) – Table 2 shows that the absolute numbers of child domestics were substantial in the larger countries, even by these conservative estimates: over 400 thousand in Brazil, over 180 thousand in Mexico, and over 90 thousand in Colombia.

Comparing the percentages of younger and older employed girls who are domestics (Panel A), we find that in almost every case, a higher percentage of the older girls are domestics. This could, in part, be due to parents moving girls out of work on the street as

they reach puberty. Madsian (2004: 130) writes about Brazilian children who work as peanut vendors:

> *Parents, above all, are concerned that their daughters maintain their virginity and live up to the image of the ideal woman. The street is a constant source of danger, and may even lure girls to prostitution. Regularly the girls, and occasionally also the boys, are solicited for sexual services [as they sell peanuts]. Hence, around the age of 15, girls tend to stop working on the street.*

Other girls may enter domestic service simply because it is an obvious first employment, given the training in domestic skills that most receive in their own homes.

Living-in vs. living-out. We are able to discern whether a domestic servant is "living in" – that is, residing with her employers – or "living out" by the way in which she was enumerated. Those children who were identified as domestic servants by the household relationship variable must have been "living in" (if they were correctly enumerated). Children who were enumerated with their own families but were identified by their labor force information as domestic servants were assumed to be "living out." We pay attention to this status because of its implications for the relative power and privileges of a domestic servant. Children who live with their own kin may report abuses of employers, while live-in domestics may have much more limited access to kin or others who could assist them. The place of residence of a child domestic may also have implications for her/his schooling.

School enrollment. Based on the literature, we expected domestic workers to be disadvantaged in terms of education related to other workers in their age groups as well as to non-workers, even if such service provided some children with educational advantages. Oyaide (2000), for example, found that among 159 child domestics identified in various parts of Lusaka, Zambia, only one was attending school. We do not make a causal argument here, because any association between enrollment and domestic service may be due to who becomes a servant (a selection issue). Ainsworth (1992) found that in Côte d'Ivoire, children who left rural areas to become domestics in urban areas were less likely to be in school than other children of the households in which they worked, but the child domestics were more likely to be in school than the siblings they left behind.

We use a very basic measure of education: school enrollment. Most census questions on this topic translate to something like, "Is [this person] going to school?" (See Table A1.) The hypothesis that domestic workers[11] are disadvantaged in enrollment in comparison to non-working individuals in their age group was confirmed by the analysis. The hypothesis that domestic workers are always disadvantaged in comparison to workers in other industries, though, is not confirmed by our evidence.

[11] Figure 3 domestics follow the conventions for Table 3 and our "best guess" estimates: unemployed domestics are counted among domestic workers. Cell sizes are below 50 for the following groups for Costa Rica: live-outs ages 12-17 and live-ins ages 12-14 and 17 in 1963; live-outs ages 12-14 and live-ins ages 12-13 in 1973; live-outs ages 12-13 and live-ins ages 12-14 in 1984; live-outs 12-14 and live-ins 12-17 in 2000.

Figure 3 includes vertical panels by country for many of the study countries.[12] The first vertical panel shows a pattern that is typical of Latin America: Brazil's school enrollment-by-age figures shift upwards over the decades, with peak enrollment about ages 10-11. Enrollment typically declines with age throughout the teen years, as children move into more adult roles. The top line in all of the figures gives enrollment rates for non-workers.

In Brazil, live-out domestics have an advantage in education over live-in domestics until the late teen years in decades prior to 2000. Moreover, in earlier decades, younger live-ins clearly have an advantage over other (non-domestic) workers. In 2000, however, older (age 13+) live-in domestics are substantially less likely to be enrolled in school than live-out domestics or other workers. Similarly, in Mexico, a clear live-in enrollment advantage in school enrollment in 1990 changed to a clear live-in disadvantage by 2000.

In Colombia, in 1973 and 1993, domestic workers who live with their employers are more likely to be enrolled in school than live-out domestics or other workers. This advantage does not exist in 1985, a year in which all child workers' enrollment levels were high relative to other years.

Costa Rica shows the most decided advantage for younger live-in domestics with respect to school attendance, with a slight advantage continuing at some older ages. Child domestics in Costa Rica are more likely to attend school than other child workers.

It is interesting to note that where there has been a shift over time in the degree of educational advantage of live-in versus live-out domestics, it has become more of a disadvantage to live in. Overall, however, our expectation of a decided disadvantage in enrollment to living in was not supported.

Without a better understanding of the direction of causality or potential selection issues, we cannot explain the reasons underlying these patterns. For example, it seems likely that as fewer families have felt the need to place children in live-in situations in order to ensure them regular meals, those who have remained in live-in service are from the most destitute families – that is, increasingly selected – and least able to leave employers who keep them out of school. On the other hand, it could be that as school became accessible to more children, only those children who did very poorly (for example, because of reading disorders) dropped out and became live-in domestics. In this scenario, children are selected on educational success rather than poverty (although the two are highly correlated) and causality runs from school to domestic service rather than vice-versa. Both patterns may occur within one population of child domestics.

[12] Argentina was not included in Figure 3 because of a lack of data for children below the age of 14, but its patterns are reported here: In 1970, which has labor force information for 10-17 year olds, live-in domestics had a strong advantage in school enrollment over live-out domestics and other young workers. This became a slight advantage for 14-17 year-olds in 1980, but in 1991 live-in domestics were most disadvantaged, and in 2001 this remained true for ages 15-17. Brazil 1960 was not included because of our inability to identify live-in domestics. Chile was not included because we do not have labor force information for the younger age group in most years. Colombia 1964 was not included because that census did not ask about school enrollment. We could not identify live-in domestics in Mexico 1960 (excluded) or 1970.

VI. Sensitivity Analysis

Although we have mainly discussed Table 2 above, the estimates presented in Table 3 are our "best guess" estimates of the numbers of 10-17 year-old child domestic servants in these six countries. In Table 3 we have included all the bits of information we have. In Table 2, when we had labor force information starting at age 12 (as in Costa Rica), then the entire estimate was for ages 12-14. In Table 3, we added information for 10- and 11-year-olds based on the relationship-to-head variable to the more complete data for 12-14 year-olds. Since unemployed domestic servants are likely to work again as domestics, they have also been included in these estimates. The Table 3 estimates are not substantially larger than those in Table 2, and most of the differences are for the younger age group.

Other studies of child domestic workers may have to rely only on household status information or only on labor force information. In either case, the result will be an undercount of child domestic workers. Table 4 reports the degree to which the number of child domestics estimated is sensitive to labor force or household relationship information availability, focusing on recent samples for which labor force information is available for the entire age group in question.

If we only had one source of information, how much would we underestimate the number of child domestic servants, compared to using both sources of information (conservative estimate, as in Table 2)?

Inadequate labor force measures. The labor force status of some child domestic servants is not acknowledged by the adults responding to census enumerators. How big a problem is this? According to Table 4, column (3), it is a relatively small problem in most of the countries included in this analysis. In Brazil and Chile, for example, 99 percent of domestics are identifiable using labor force information. The greatest degree of misreporting is found in Costa Rica: seven percent of 15-17 year old domestics were not identifiable using only labor force data.

Inadequate household relationship measures? Household relationship measures also did not catch some domestic servants that labor force measures did. In many cases, this is to be expected, given that live-out domestic servants are not enumerated with the households of their employers. For example, if a live-out domestic servant lives with her parents, she should be enumerated as "child" according to the household relationship variable. Table 4 (column 4) shows the percentages of child domestics that were captured using only the household relationship variables. In Colombia 80 percent of domestics were identifiable via the relationship variables only, but in the other five countries much smaller proportions were identifiable in this way. In Argentina and Brazil, over 85 percent of domestics would be overlooked if one were using only household relationship information.

Imputed live-in domestic servant status. Given the high potential for non-reporting of the true status of "Cinderellas" – especially in countries with highly-visible anti-child-

labor campaigns – we consider the extent to which we might have undercounted live-in child domestics. We do this using the household and/or family relationship variables. It is possible to identify people in the household who do not have a clearly-identified relationship to the head. Thus, "other relatives," "*agregados*" (in Brazil), and "non-relatives" have Cinderella potential. Clearly, some of them are not domestic servants. For example, Latin American censuses do not have a "girlfriend / boyfriend" category, so an unidentified adolescent may be the live-in partner of a family member. A few censuses have a category for "child of a servant." Because we suspect that children of servants are treated more like servants than like the sons and daughters of the head in households, since their parent is a live-in domestic, we consider this small group to have Cinderella potential. Since most domestics servants are girls (see Table 1), we considered only females in the arriving at an estimated number of unreported domestics. The total number of girls in this "Cinderella" group gives an upper bound for the number of hidden live-in female domestics, so it is reported in column (6) of Table 4.

The numbers of co-resident youth with Cinderella potential seem much too large – surely not all of these youth are domestic servants, even on a part-time basis. However, they put an upper bound on the number of child domestics we could be missing. In column (6) we assume that an arbitrary percentage of them – currently 25 percent – are in fact domestic servants. (We continue to search for qualitative evidence on which to base this percentage.) We expected these imputations to substantially increase our estimates of the numbers of child domestic servants. Oddly enough, they do in some countries but not in others. In Colombia, for example, the imputed domestics exceed the original estimates. For Mexico, they increase the original estimate by six percent.

Advocacy organizations could play a role in identifying hidden child domestic servants. In terms of absolute numbers, this issue is most pressing in Brazil and Colombia.

VII. Conclusion

Whether or not census data can be used to accurately identify child domestic servants depends to a great extent on the census tradition in particular countries. We encourage ministries of statistics to (1) include a servant category among the relationship-to-reference-person options; (2) specify domestic service as an occupation, unmixed with other occupations; and (3) collect labor force statistics starting no later than age 10. Higher cut-offs simply assume away child workers.

A key finding of this paper is that domestic service accounts for a substantial fraction of girls' labor force employment. Combined with information from qualitative studies about the poor conditions under which many children work as servants, this finding points to a need for a substantial emphasis on domestic service in programs aimed at reducing the negative effects of work on children.

One aim of this paper is to allow activists to determine whether many child domestics are employed in particular Latin American countries. To the extent that child domestic

service does exist on a substantial basis, we hope that any activism around this issue will consider children's alternatives. It is important to listen to the children themselves, such as this girl:

"Do you understand how you insult me, when you talk of 'combating' and 'eradicating' the work that I do? I have worked as a domestic servant since I was eight. Because of this, I have been able to go to school (which my parents in the village could not afford). I also help my parents with the money that I earn. I am proud of the work that I do! I joined the movement of working children, and I know what the Convention says about children's rights – it says that you must listen to me !"

– 13-year old Senegalese girl, Urban Childhoods Conference, Norway 1997[13]

While domestic service is unlikely to be ideal for any given child, it may be better than the child's alternatives. We have shown that sometimes children who are live-in domestic servants are more likely to be enrolled in school than other domestics or children doing other kinds of labor force work. Other times, child domestics are clearly disadvantaged relative to other child workers with respect to enrollment.

Our results indicate a need for future research to determine what percentage of "potential Cinderellas" are really hidden domestic servants. For example, Smucker and Murray (2004) document a variety of arrangements of children who live or work away from their biological parents in Haiti. A *restavèk* is "a person who lives with others and serves them, an unpaid domestic servant"; labeling someone a *restavèk* relegates him or her "to the lowest possible servile status" (page 21). Other categories are identified via terms indicating adoptive kinship (*pitit*), living with an extended family (*pitit kay*), or less pejorative terms for unpaid servant children (*timoun*). However, in all of these cases, children living away from their parents are expected to perform some domestic tasks, and unpaid servants are expected to work much harder than the children of the house. If this study had identified what proportion of children living with non-parents fall into the different categories, its results could have been used in conjunction with census data to produce better estimates of the numbers of child domestics.

Similarly, Jacquemin (2004: 384-5) describes three types of child domestics in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire: the *little niece*, who works for kin; the *hired help*, who works for strangers and whose payment goes directly to her guardian; and the *little paid maid* who also works for strangers but is paid directly, in cash. The author notes that "some paid maids consider that they only started to 'work' when they had their first [employment] placement where they received a monthly salary, while during the months or even years before that, they had been carrying out exactly the same tasks" but in the role of little niece or hired help (p. 392). This implies that standard labor force questions designed for adults may not capture all of the Cinderellas, even if they speak on their own behalf.

Maggie Black (1997) has written a handbook about how to identify and interview potential child domestic servants. She points out there is "pressure in numbers": "without

[13] Cited in Bourdillon (2009: 6).

estimates of numbers [of child domestics], we cannot make the point that this is a large group of child workers and deserves serious attention" (page 41). Michael Bourdillon (2009: 1) states that support for child domestic workers "should be a matter of urgency." He writes that that such support means respecting children who "have tried to overcome adversity by working for themselves and their families, often in painful situations" (p.13) and argues convincingly that a ban on child domestic work will not do this.[14] Programs to improve the working conditions of child domestics, such as Shoishab in Dhaka, Bangladesh (described in Black 2002: 47-49), will need funding based, to some extent, on the numbers of child domestics in the community.

We have shown that in some countries, there is a large number of potential Cinderellas, in addition to the more identifiable child domestic servants. The fact that the great majority of identifiable domestics are girls, and that they are engaged in something as seemingly mundane as housework, may render all of them invisible to policy makers. The status and well-being of all of these children, however, deserves further attention.

[14] Bourdillon writes, "child protection is meaningless if removing children from a harmful situation results in driving them into something worse; and a ban on its own does not guarantee that the [former child domestics] will be better placed. Besides, a ban will remove from many disadvantaged children opportunities to travel, learn, prepare for the future, and escape abuse, exploitation, and poverty at home" (p.11).

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Table 1. Characteristics of census samples included in the analysis (unweighted sample sizes)

Country/ Year	Sample Density (%)	Enumeration Rule	Labor Force Data Collected	Total Ages 10-17	Domestics Ages 10-17	Female Domestics Ages 10-17	Male Domestics Ages 10-17
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Argentina							
1970	2.0	de facto	age 10+	68,169	2,584	2,430	154
1980	10.0	de facto	age 14+	405,850	9,046	8,805	241
1991	10.0	de facto	age 14+	678,252	7,789	7,175	614
2001	10.0	de facto	age 14+	532,968	2,132	1,718	414
Brazil							
1960	5.0	de facto	age 10+	551,588	11,048	10,320	728
1970	5.0	de facto	age 10+	947,460	24,874	23,980	894
1980	5.0	de jure & de facto	age 10+	1,075,606	34,145	32,691	1,454
1991	5.8	de jure	age 10+	1,551,439	39,840	37,997	1,843
2000	6.0	de jure	age 10+	1,713,976	28,010	26,510	1,500
Chile							
1960	1.2	de facto	age 12+	14,922	452	408	44
1970	10.0	de facto	age 12+	168,929	2,641	2,420	221
1982	10.0	de facto	age 15+	198,837	1,988	1,865	123
1992	10.0	de facto	age 14+	189,836	1,524	1,358	166
2002	10.0	de facto	age 15+	215,419	196	179	17
Colombia							
1964	2.0	de facto	age 12+	67,187	2,604	2,177	427
1973	10.0	de facto	age 10+	433,982	12,384	11,463	921
1985	10.0	de jure	age 10+	492,643	14,082	12,173	1,909
1993	10.0	de jure	age 10+	569,168	9,374	8,433	941
Costa Rica							
1963	6.0	de jure	age 12+	15,049	381	357	24
1973	10.0	de jure	age 12+	41,011	962	936	26
1984	10.0	de jure	age 12+	43,760	641	630	11
2000	10.0	de jure	age 12+	67,093	415	374	41
Mexico							
1960	1.5	de jure	all	96,499	1,250	1,128	122
1970	1.0	de jure	age 12+	112,870	1,091	1,037	54
1990	10.0	de jure	age 12+	1,629,126	18,410	16,871	1,539
1995	0.4	de jure	age 12+	83,790	885	834	51
2000	10.6	de jure	age 12+	1,829,769	21,271	19,991	1,280

Notes: Columns (6) - (8) use the conservative definition of employment, like that used in Table 2.
Counts of domestics for Mexico 1960 include umemployed workers.

Table 2. Numbers of child domestics - conservative estimate - girls and boys by age group (weighted)
Estimates are reported here only for ages with labor force information available

	Younger Girls and Boys (ages depend on data availability)								Older Girls and Boys (ages 15-17)						
Country/Year	Ages Included	Total in Age Group	Number Employed in Labor Force*	% of (4) Female	Number of Live-out Domestics	% of (6) Female	Number of Live-in Domestics	% of (8) Female	Total in Age Group	Number Employed in Labor Force	% of (11) Female	Number of Live-out Domestics	% of (13) Female	Number of Live-in Domestics	% of (15) Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Argentina															
1970	10-14	2,167,350	179,600	36.8	20,300	92.6	26,400	87.7	1,241,100	463,000	33.3	39,350	96.2	43150	96.6
1980	14	471,992	65,190	32.5	8,244	96.8	4,898	97.6	1,398,946	452,800	32.4	43,768	98.1	26342	97.2
1991	14	518,899	78,006	36.8	6,181	89.2	2,461	97.3	1,757,208	442,433	35.7	40,188	92.6	13864	97.4
2001	14	616,050	19,360	31.5	2,250	72.9	190	63.2	1,913,430	132,660	30.6	16,330	81.7	1960	89.3
Brazil															
1960	10-14	7,297,620	1,132,180	24.3	77,380	91.5	--	--	3,734,140	1,649,080	27.5	143,580	94.4	--	--
1970	10-14	11,859,400	1,463,070	25.0	78,990	95.4	70,965	95.4	6,392,545	2,308,710	30.6	161,645	97.3	173,530	96.6
1980	10-14	14,206,675	1,833,295	29.5	174,735	93.5	79,415	96.1	8,462,760	3,397,060	33.4	286,780	96.1	165,670	97.2
1991	10-14	17,037,215	1,455,803	29.3	164,653	93.9	48,219	97.4	9,223,084	3,306,897	33.4	341,500	94.8	130,404	97.3
2000	10-14	17,337,814	1,137,008	32.5	89,689	93.6	11,593	95.7	10,716,865	2,789,062	35.7	292,643	94.7	46,217	95.5
Chile															
1960	12-14	484,637	28,220	30.3	1,743	81.0	6,474	83.3	431,434	125,828	30.7	5,146	95.2	23987	91.7
1970	12-14	656,830	22,080	30.2	4,130	88.6	--	--	573,030	112,660	29.5	22,280	92.2	--	--
1982	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	772,970	98,760	29.9	19,880	93.8	--	--
1992	14	232,770	8,090	25.2	870	74.7	690	92.8	692,610	77,630	27.7	6,660	83.8	7020	95.6
2002	none	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	756,030	65,860	38.1	1,200	87.5	760	97.4
Colombia															
1964	12-14	1,327,700	226,400	22.0	4,900	76.5	43,700	80.5	1,089,750	396,550	26.5	8,150	87.7	61,550	88.5
1973	10-14	2,891,670	233,110	26.5	6,290	87.3	39,760	89.5	1,448,150	407,050	30.1	10,500	94.8	67,290	94.5
1985	10-14	3,169,517	287,801	33.8	18,602	87.3	26,116	77.3	1,919,970	503,473	34.7	33,888	94.4	67,017	84.6
1993	10-14	3,722,040	286,290	25.4	5,400	90.9	21,250	85.3	1,969,640	482,210	28.0	13,160	94.4	53,930	90.6
Costa Rica															
1963	12-14	100,555	13,668	17.7	595	85.7	1,360	86.3	81,039	31,297	22.4	1,717	96.0	2,720	99.4
1973	12-14	161,090	15,090	19.4	880	97.7	1,360	90.4	136,270	44,270	26.0	2,930	99.0	4,350	99.3
1984	12-14	162,510	15,650	14.2	890	98.9	540	94.4	166,800	47,400	19.6	2,730	--	2,170	98.2
2000	12-14	254,720	10,470	17.8	600	90.0	200	60.0	241,060	41,030	21.9	2,610	92.7	670	95.5
Mexico															
1960	12-14	2,530,389	--	--	--	--	--	--	2,113,649	--	--	--	--	--	--
1970	12-14	3,761,500	413,800	31.1	31,200	94.9	--	--	3,159,700	956,600	31.2	77,900	95.1	--	--
1990	12-14	6,340,500	427,840	24.3	25,090	94.4	21,830	84.9	6,028,200	1,492,970	28.1	73,750	93.6	59,510	92.4
1995	12-14	6,388,286	895,416	27.9	48,712	96.1	7,103	90.2	6,122,315	2,044,995	33.1	129,752	94.3	48,144	94.0
2000	12-14	6,466,217	566,207	30.3	35,993	92.2	7,116	89.3	6,209,129	1,826,142	34.5	99,708	94.65	44,088	93.9

* Note: Includes domestic servants who were not enumerated as economically active. Dashes indicate categories for which data is not available.

Table 3. Numbers of child domestics - "best guess" estimate - girls and boys by age group (weighted)
Estimates for 10-14 year olds are based partly/only on household information for some ages in some samples

	Ages 10-14							Ages 15-17						
Country/Year	Total in Age Group	Number in Labor Force	% of (4) Female	Number of Live-out Domestics	% of (6) Female	Number of Live-in Domestics	% of (8) Female	Total in Age Group	Number in Labor Force	% of (11) Female	Number of Live-out Domestics	% of (13) Female	Number of Live-in Domestics	% of (15) Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Argentina														
1970	2,167,350	179,600	36.8	20,550	92.7	26,400	87.7	1,241,100	463,300	33.4	39,650	96.2	43150	96.6
1980	2,437,002	65,190	32.5	8,322	96.8	4,898	97.6	1,398,946	453,586	32.5	44,554	98.1	26342	97.2
1991	3,338,162	80,769	38.4	6,181	89.2	5,224	89.8	1,757,208	442,433	35.7	40,188	92.6	13864	97.4
2001	3,416,250	19,950	32.2	2,250	72.9	780	57.7	1,913,430	132,660	30.6	16,330	81.7	1960	89.3
Brazil														
1960	7,297,620	1,132,700	24.3	77,900	91.4	--	--	3,734,140	1,649,940	27.5	144,440	94.4	--	--
1970	11,859,400	1,464,205	25.1	80,125	95.5	70,965	95.4	6,392,545	2,310,665	30.7	163,600	97.3	173,530	96.6
1980	14,206,675	1,833,295	29.5	174,735	93.5	79,415	96.1	8,462,760	3,397,060	33.4	286,780	96.1	165,670	97.2
1991	17,037,215	1,455,803	29.3	164,653	93.9	48,219	97.4	9,223,084	3,306,897	33.4	341,500	94.8	130,404	97.3
2000	17,337,814	1,137,008	32.5	89,689	93.6	11,593	95.7	10,716,865	2,789,062	35.7	292,643	94.7	46,217	95.5
Chile														
1960	807,009	29,465	30.1	1,909	82.6	6,640	83.8	431,434	126,243	30.8	5,561	94.0	23,987	91.7
1970	1,116,260	22,160	30.4	4,210	88.6	--	--	573,030	113,060	29.7	22,680	92.0	--	--
1982	1,215,400	2,700	45.9	--	--	--	--	772,970	100,450	30.8	21,570	93.0	--	--
1992	1,205,750	8,160	25.9	940	76.6	690	92.8	692,610	78,280	28.2	7,310	84.3	7,020	95.6
2002	1,398,160	--	--	--	--	--	--	756,030	66,170	38.3	1,510	86.8	760	97.4
Colombia														
1964	2,269,600	243,350	25.5	5,050	76.2	55,600	78.1	1,089,750	396,800	26.6	8,400	88.1	61,550	88.5
1973	2,891,670	233,280	26.6	6,460	87.2	39,760	89.5	1,448,150	407,330	30.2	10,780	94.6	67,290	94.5
1985	3,169,517	288,239	33.9	19,040	87.5	26,116	77.3	1,919,970	504,724	34.9	35,139	94.4	67,017	84.6
1993	3,722,040	286,460	25.4	5,570	91.0	21,250	85.3	1,969,640	482,710	28.1	13,660	94.5	53,930	90.6
Costa Rica														
1963	174,794	13,923	18.1	765	75.6	1,445	83.5	81,039	31,416	22.3	1,836	90.7	2,720	99.4
1973	273,840	15,200	19.6	890	97.8	1,460	87.7	136,270	44,330	26.1	2,990	99.0	4,350	99.3
1984	270,800	15,760	14.7	920	98.9	620	90.3	166,800	47,540	19.8	2,870	100.0	2,170	98.2
2000	429,870	10,540	17.8	600	90.0	270	51.9	241,060	41,030	21.9	2,610	92.7	670	95.5
Mexico														
1960	4,278,352	--	--	31,356	87.4	--	--	2,113,649	--	--	52,394	91.9	--	--
1970	6,395,400	424,300	32.8	41,700	95.9	--	--	3,159,700	978,500	32.7	99,800	95.6	--	--
1990	10,438,310	431,760	24.7	25,090	94.4	25,750	81.5	6,028,200	1,492,970	28.1	73,750	93.6	59,510	92.4
1995	10,636,697	896,376	28.0	48,712	96.1	8,063	91.1	6,122,315	2,044,995	33.1	129,752	94.3	48,144	94.0
2000	10,883,625	566,682	30.3	35,993	92.2	7,591	87.9	6,209,129	1,826,142	34.5	99,708	94.7	44,088	93.9

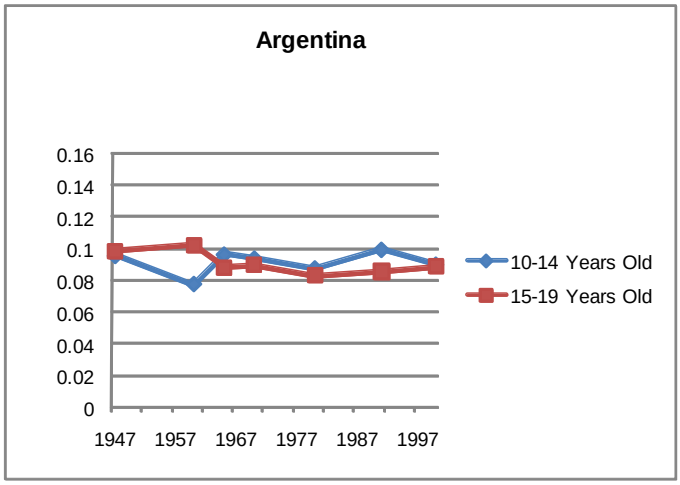
Note: "Best guess" estimates also include unemployed children whose last job was as a domestic servant, depending on data availability (see Table A.1). Dashes indicate categories for which data is not available--see Table A1.

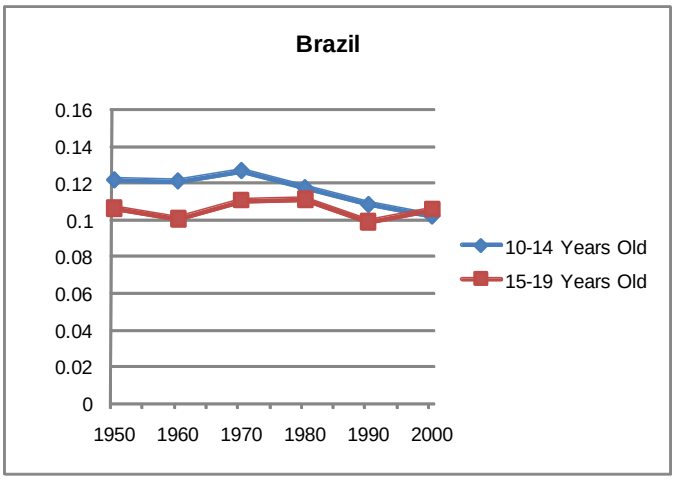
Table 4. Sensitivity of recent child domestics estimates to data availability and definitions, for 15-17 year olds. Also for 10-14 year olds when labor force information is available.

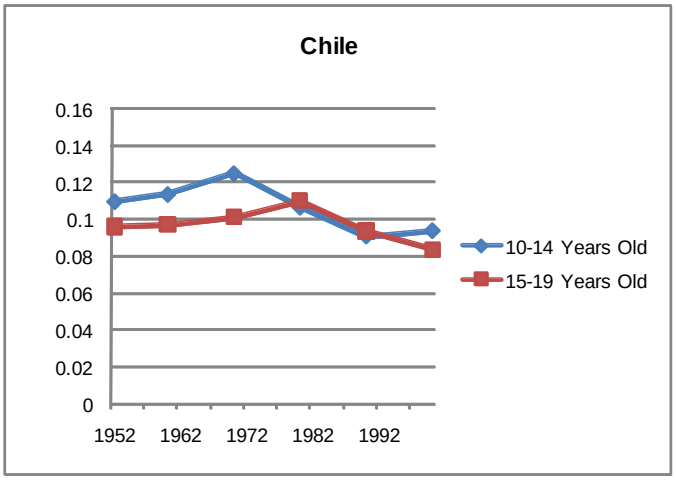
Country/Year and Age group	Conservative estimate of domestics in age group	Percent of col (2) using Emp'd LF data only	Percent of col (2) using HH data only	Additional # if using "best guess"	Other potential live-in female "Cinderellas"	Additional (imputed) # of female live-ins using 25% of col (6)	Estimate of domestics including imputed in col (7)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Argentina 2001							
15-17	18,290	0.96	0.11	100	7,030	1,720	20,010
Brazil 2000							
10-14	101,282	0.99	0.11	0	266,556	66,626	167,908
15-17	338,860	0.99	0.14	0	355,924	88,354	427,214
Chile 2002							
15-17	1,960	0.99	0.39	310	25,590	6,370	8,330
Colombia 1993							
10-14	26,650	1.00	0.80	170	45,890	11,620	38,270
15-17	67,090	1.00	0.80	500	39,280	9,830	76,920
Costa Rica 2000							
15-17	3,280	0.93	0.20	0	6,900	1,710	4,990
Mexico 2000							
15-17	143,796	0.95	0.31	0	19,831	5,059	148,855

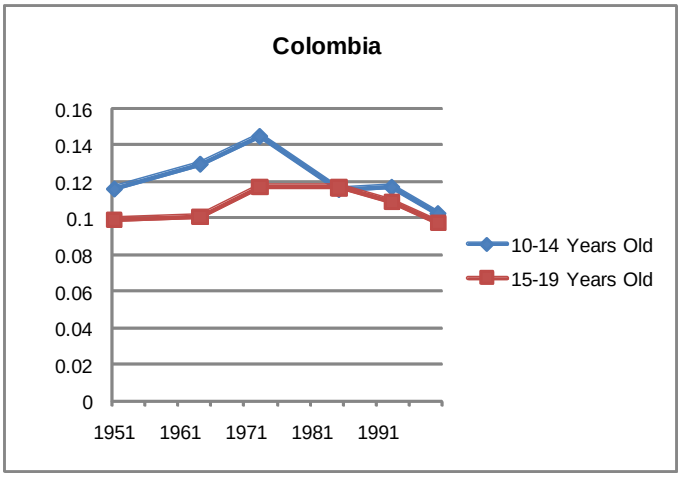
Notes: Conservative estimates in (2), (3), and (4) do not include unemployed child domestics.
Column (3) identifies domestics via their employment in labor force work.
Best guess estimates in (5) include unemployed children whose last job was as a domestic servant.
Column (6) uses the relationship variable to identify all young household members who might be domestics, including "other relatives" and "non-relatives" who are not boarders/lodgers.
Imputations in column (7) include only 25% of potential "Cinderellas" identified in column (6).

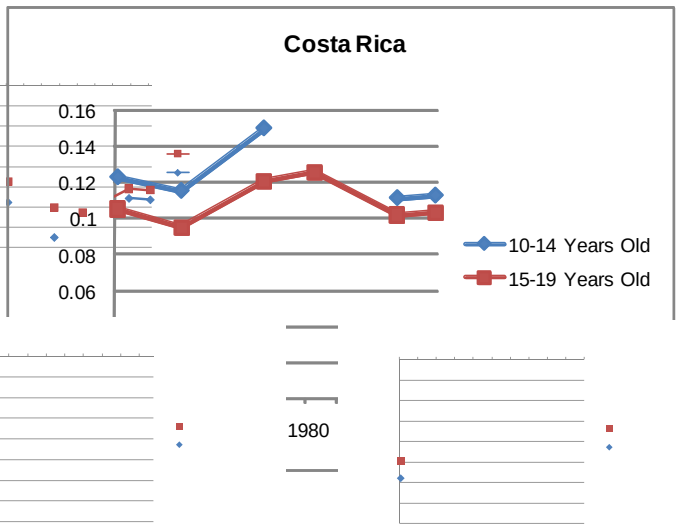
Figure 1. Children ages 10-14 and 15-19 as proportions of the total population, six Latin American countries, approximately 1950-2000, based on estimates reported in the United Nations' Demographic Yearbook.











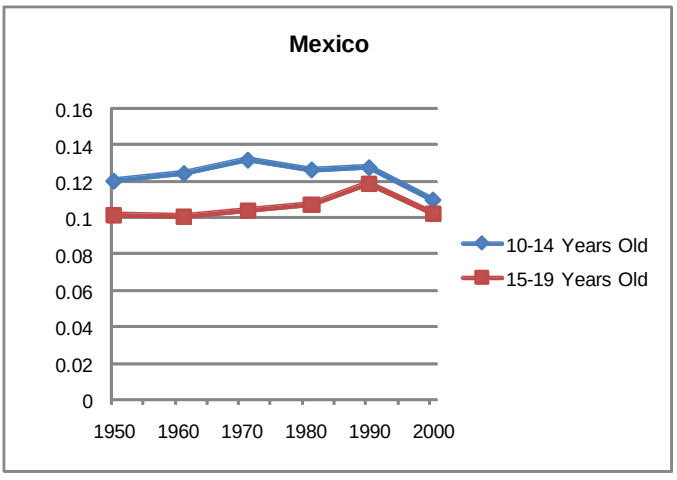


Figure 2. Panel A: Percent of Girls Ages 15-17 & 10-14 Who Are Employed, and Percent of Girls Ages 15-17 & 10-14 Who Are Employed as Domestic Servants, IPUMSi.
Panel B: Percent of Employed Girls 15-17 & 10-14 Who Are Domestic Servants, IPUMSi.

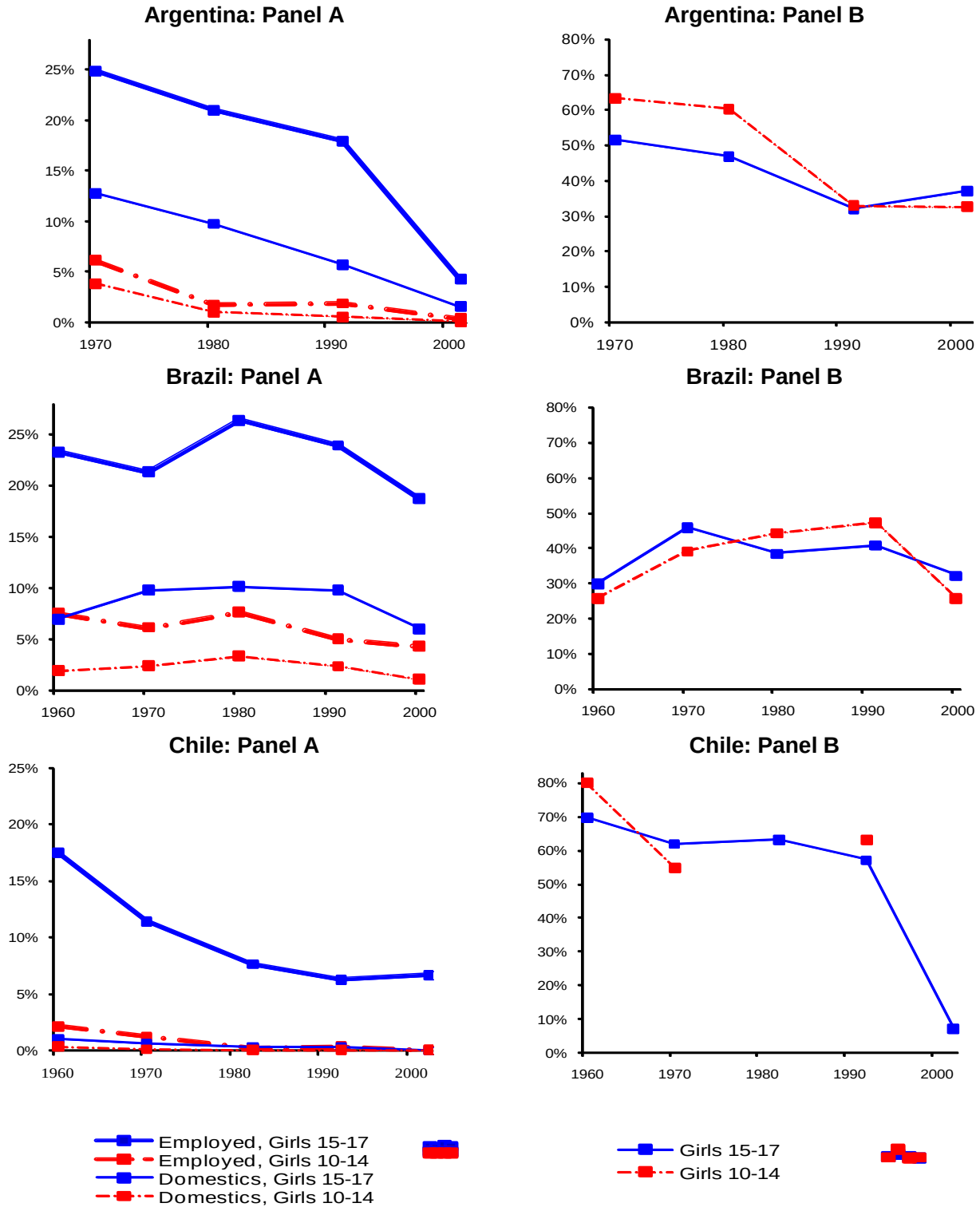


Figure 2 Con't.

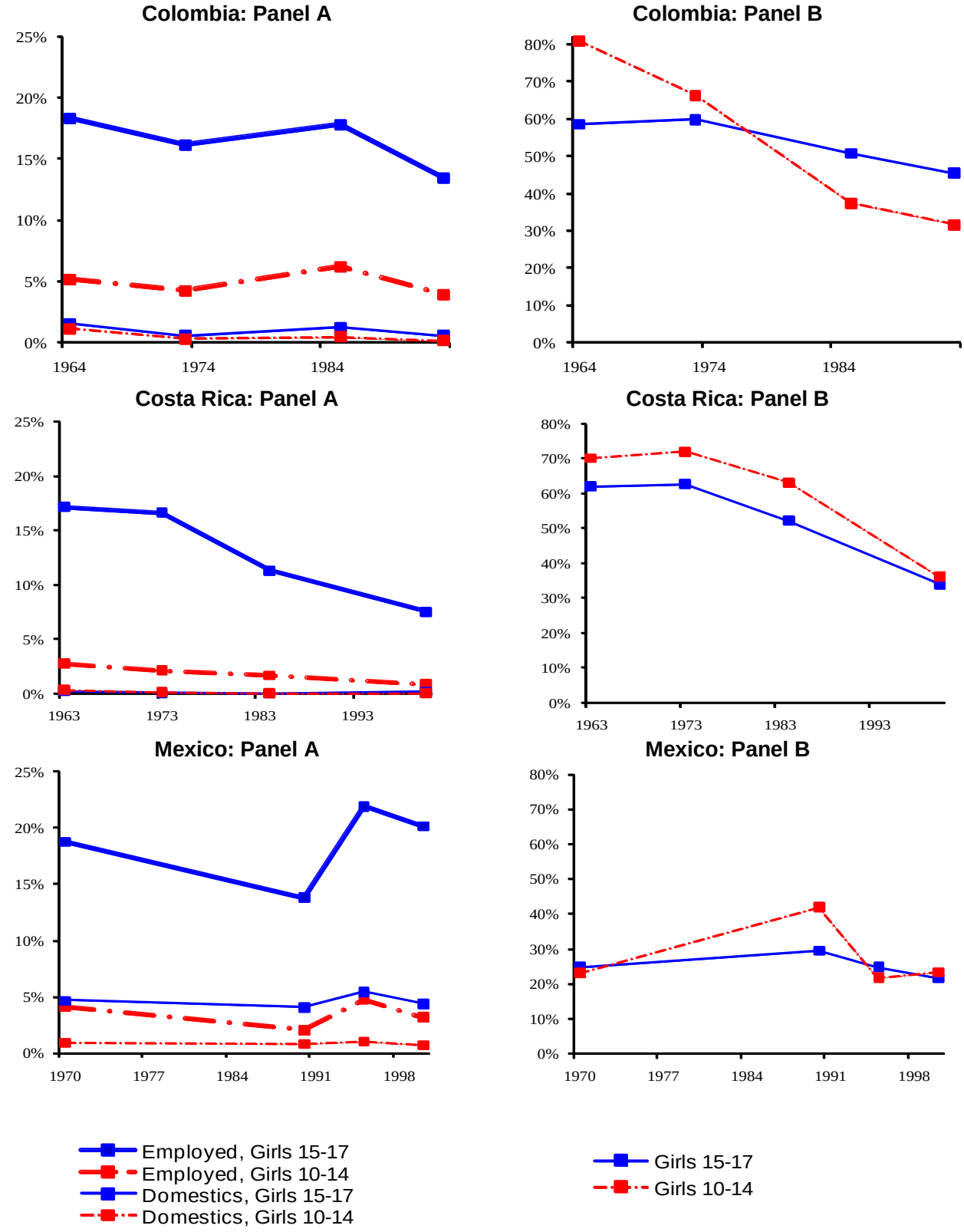


Figure 3. Percentage Enrolled in School by Country and Year, IPUMSi (weighted).

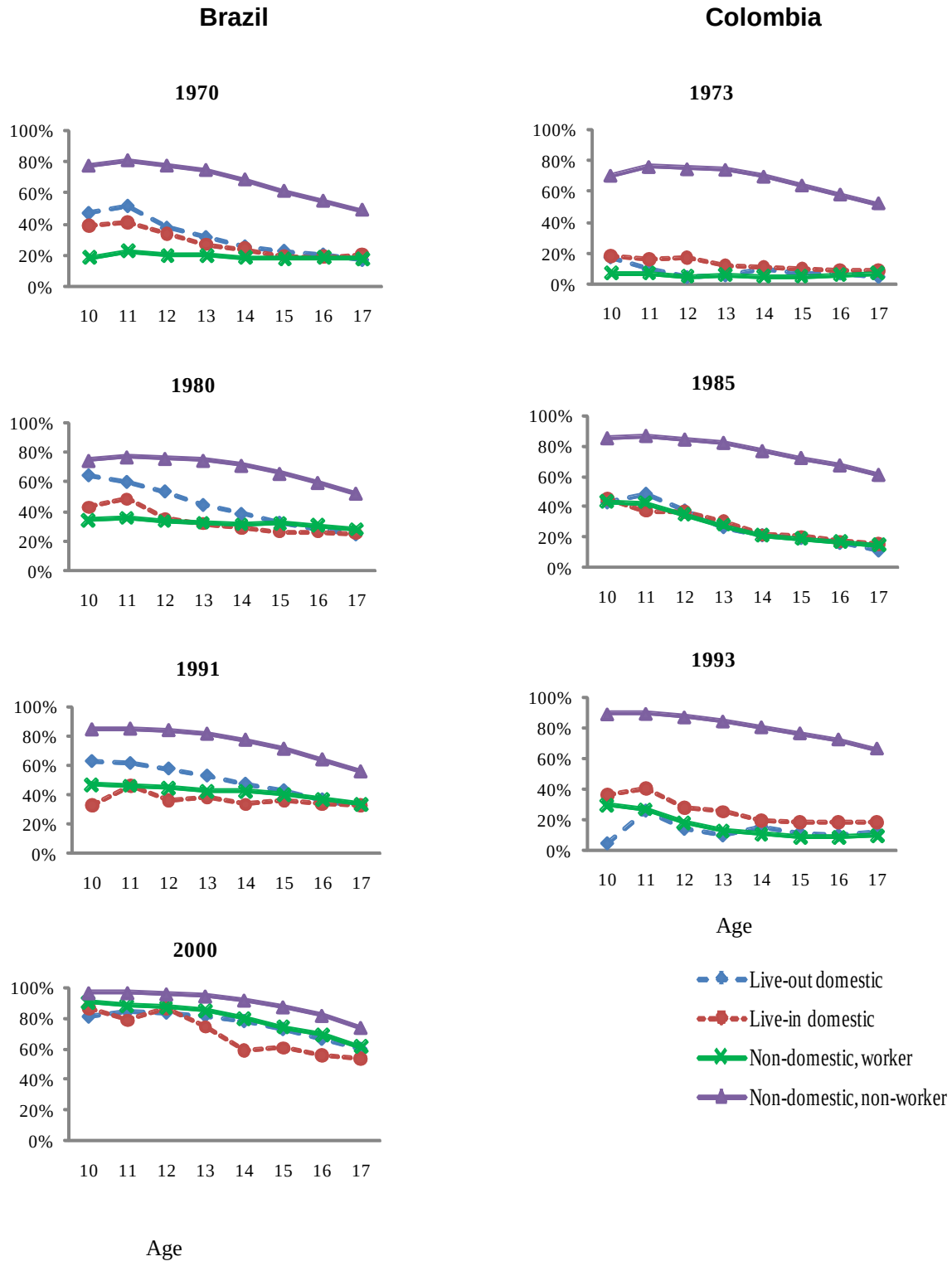
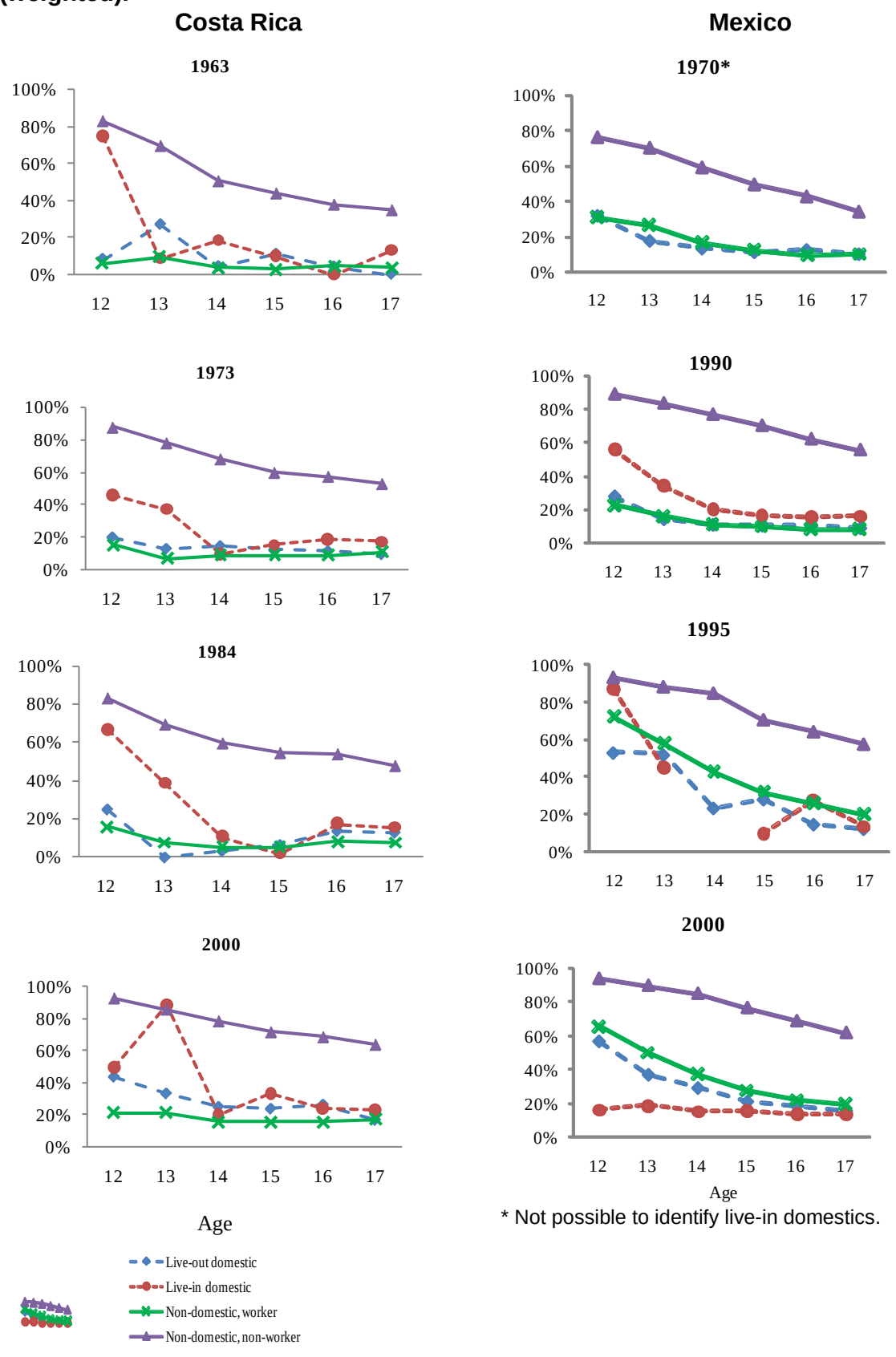


Figure 3, Con't. Percentage Enrolled in School by Country and Year, IPUMSi (weighted).



* Not possible to identify live-in domestics.

Table A1. Definitions of the census universe for labor force and current school questions, and other notes

Country/Year	Who is considered to be a member of the labor force?	Who is in the universe for the current schooling question? (approx. question in italics)	Other Notes
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Argentina		*¿Asiste a algún establecimienta educacional?*	
1970	Employed or experienced unemployed	Persons age 5+	
1980	Employed or experienced unemployed	Persons age 5+	
1991	Had a job last week	Persons age 3+	
2001	Had a job last week	Persons age 3+	
Brazil		*Freqüenta escola (ou creche)?*	
1960	In the labor force	Persons age 5+ registered for school (even if temporarily absent)	No relationship-to-head code for domestic servant
1970	In the labor force	Persons age 5+ registered for school (even if temporarily absent)	
1980	Persons who were employed	Persons age 5+ registered for school (even if temporarily absent)	
1991	Persons who were employed	Persons age 5+ registered for school (even if temporarily absent)	
2000	Persons who were employed	Persons age 5+ registered for school (even if temporarily absent)	
Chile		*¿Asiste actualmente a un establecimienta de enseñanza regular?*	
1960	Persons who ever worked	Only heads of households	
1970	Either worked, did not work but had a job, or seeking work between April 13 and 18	Persons age 5+	No relationship-to-head code for domestic servant
1982	Persons who ever worked	Persons age 5+	No relationship-to-head code for domestic servant
1992	Persons who ever worked	Question not asked	
2002	Working or seeking employment	Question not asked	
Colombia		*¿Asiste actualmente a algún establecimienta (centro) de enseñanza...?*	
1964	In the labor force	Question not asked	
1973	With a job or experienced unemployed	Persons enrolled in school age 5+	
1985		Persons age 5+ (imposed by IPUMSi)	No occupation or industry data
1993	In the labor force; not new workers	Persons enrolled in school age 5+	
Costa Rica		*¿Asiste a la escuela... / Está matriculado en algún centro de enseñanza regular?*	
1963	Employed or unemployed	Persons age 7+	
1973	Persons who ever workerd	Persons age 5+	
1984	Persons who ever workerd	Persons age 6+	
2000	Employed week prior to census	Persons age 6+	
Mexico		*¿(Actualmente) Vá a la escuela?*	
1960	Question(s) not asked	Question not asked	No relationship-to-head code for domestic servant
1970	Worked the previous year	Persons age 6+	No relationship-to-head code for domestic servant
1990	Persons who were employed	Persons age 5+	
1995	Worked the week before the census or did not work but had a job	Persons age 5+	
2000	Persons who were employed	Persons age 5+	

Table A2. Selected Employment Characteristics of Samples (weighted)

Country & Year		% Employed				% of Employed Girls who are Domestics		% of All Girls who are Domestics	
		10-14		15-17		10-14	15-17	10-14	15-17
		F	M	F	M				
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Argentina									
	1970	6.2	10.3	24.9	49.7	63.4	51.6	3.9	12.8
	1980	1.8	3.6	21.0	43.7	60.2	46.7	1.1	9.8
	1991	1.9	3.0	17.9	32.5	32.9	32.1	0.6	5.8
	2001	0.4	0.8	4.3	9.5	32.5	37.1	0.1	1.6
Brazil									
	1960	7.5	23.5	23.3	66.9	25.7	29.9	1.9	7.0
	1970	6.2	18.5	21.3	52.0	39.1	46.0	2.4	9.8
	1980	7.7	18.1	26.4	54.4	44.2	38.5	3.4	10.2
	1991	5.0	12.0	23.9	47.9	47.2	40.9	2.4	9.8
	2000	4.3	8.7	18.7	33.3	25.7	32.2	1.1	6.0
Chile									
	1960	2.2	5.1	17.5	41.3	80.0	69.7	1.7	12.2
	1970	1.2	2.8	11.4	28.2	54.9	61.8	0.7	7.0
	1982	0.2	0.2	7.7	19.8	--	63.2	0.0	4.8
	1992	0.3	1.0	6.3	14.6	63.2	57.1	0.2	3.6
	2002	0.0	0.0	6.7	10.6	--	7.1	0.0	0.5
Colombia									
	1964	5.3	15.9	18.9	57.2	78.6	56.8	4.2	10.7
	1973	4.3	11.8	16.1	41.3	66.3	59.9	2.9	9.7
	1985	6.6	12.1	19.1	35.9	35.5	47.4	2.3	9.0
	1993	4.0	11.3	13.5	35.9	31.7	45.4	1.3	6.1
Costa Rica									
	1963	2.8	13.0	17.2	60.3	70.1	62.1	2.0	10.7
	1973	2.2	8.8	16.7	48.7	72.1	62.8	1.6	10.5
	1984	1.7	9.9	11.3	44.9	63.2	52.3	1.1	6.1
	2000	0.9	3.9	7.6	26.2	36.2	34.0	0.3	2.6
Mexico									
	1960	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	1970	4.1	8.7	18.8	42.0	23.0	24.8	0.9	4.7
	1990	2.1	6.2	13.8	35.3	41.9	29.5	0.9	4.1
	1995	4.8	12.0	21.9	44.4	21.6	24.8	1.0	5.4
	2000	3.2	7.2	20.1	38.8	23.2	21.6	0.7	4.3

Dashes indicate categories for which data is not available.