Mohamed Anouar Zahraoui
University of Abou Bekr Belkaïd
PhD in Sociology
https://orcid.org/0009-0000-9470-1905
zahraoui44@outlook.fr

Soufyane Badraoui
University Centre of Maghnia
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9944-0767
s.badraoui@cu-maghnia.dz

Oussama Medjahdi
University Centre of Maghnia
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3521-7384
o.medjahdi@cu-maghnia.dz

Oussama Bekhouche
Echahid Cheikh Larbi Tebessi University
PhD in Sociology
https://orcid.org/0009-0009-9823-5548
oussama.bekhouche@univ-tebessa.dz

Child Labour in Algeria:
A Study Based on Mics6 Survey Data 2019

Abstract

Child labour remains a complex social phenomenon in Algeria, at the intersection of economic, cultural, and institutional dynamics. Despite a protective legal framework and the ratification of international conventions, empirical understanding of local determinants remains limited. This study aims to identify and quantify the socio-demographic and economic factors associated with child labour in Algeria, distinguishing economic work (outside the home) from family work (domestic work).

The methodology of our study is a secondary statistical analysis of data from the 2019 MICS6 survey. Methods used include ANOVA, Chi-two independence test, and binary logistic regression.

The analysis identifies four key structural determinants. First, age operates as a progressïve vulnerability factor: working hours differ significantly by age group ($F=35.015$, $p<0.001$), with children under 14 having an 80.3% higher likelihood of family-based work, shifting to external employment afterward. Second, gender shapes exploitation patterns: boys face 82.4% greater risk of out-of-home exploitation (95% CI: 72.4%-93.8%), while girls are 70% more likely to work within families, reflecting the invisibility of female domestic labor. Third, social class remains structurally determinant: each socioeconomic level decline increases child labor likelihood by 60%, with the "poorer" class showing a significant coefficient (-0.906, $p<0.05$). Fourth, spatial location is decisive: the Chi-square test shows a strong association between child labor and residence ($p<0.001$), with urban areas having 46.1% lower risk than rural areas.

Keywords*: Algeria, Child labour, socioeconomic determinants, gender, social class, rural-urban, MICS6*

Məhəmməd Ənuar Zəhraui
Əbu Bəkr Belkaid Universiteti
sosiologiya elmləri doktoru
https://orcid.org/0009-0000-9470-1905
zahraoui44@outlook.fr

Soufyane Badraoui
Mərkəzi Maqniya Universiteti
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9944-0767
s.badraoui@cu-maghnia.dz
Oussama Medjahdi
Mərkəzi Maqniya Universiteti
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3521-7384
o.medjahdi@cu-maghnia.dz
Oussama Bekhouche
Echahid Cheikh Larbi Tebessi Universiteti
sosiologiya elmləri doktoru
https://orcid.org/0009-0009-9823-5548
oussama.bekhouche@univ-tebessa.dz

Əlcəzairdə uşaq əməyi:
Mics6 2019 sorğu məlumatlarına əsaslanan araşdırma

Xülasə

Uşaq əməyi Əlcəzairdə iqtisadi, mədəni və institusional dinamikanın kəsişməsində mürəkkəb sosial fenomen olaraq qalır. Qoruyucu hüquqi bazaya və beynəlxalq konvensiyaların ratifikasiyasına baxmayaraq, yerli determinantların empirik anlayışı məhdud olaraq qalır. Bu tədqiqatın məqsədi Əlcəzairdə uşaq əməyi ilə əlaqəli sosial-demoqrafik və iqtisadi amilləri müəyyən etmək və kəmiyyətcə müəyyənləşdirmək, iqtisadi işi (evdən kənarda) ailə işindən (ev işi) fərqləndirməkdir.

Tədqiqatımızın metodologiyası 2019 MICS6 sorğusundan alınan məlumatların ikinci dərəcəli statistik təhlilidir. İstifadə olunan üsullara ANOVA, Chi-iki müstəqillik testi və ikili logistik reqressiya daxildir.

Təhlil dörd əsas struktur təyinedicini müəyyən edir. Birincisi, yaş mütərəqqi həssaslıq amili kimi fəaliyyət göstərir: iş saatları yaş qruplarına görə əhəmiyyətli dərəcədə fərqlənir (F=35,015, p<0,001), 14 yaşınadək uşaqların ailə əsaslı işləmə ehtimalı 80,3%-dən yüksəkdir, sonradan kənar işə keçid olur. İkincisi, gender istismar nümunələrini formalaşdırır: oğlanlar 82,4%-dən çox evdən kənar istismar riski ilə üzləşirlər (95% CI: 72,4%-93,8%), qızların isə 70%-dən çox ailələrdə işləmək ehtimalı var ki, bu da qadın ev əməyinin görünməzliyini əks etdirir. Üçüncüsü, sosial sinif struktur olaraq müəyyənedici olaraq qalır: hər bir sosial-iqtisadi səviyyənin azalması uşaq əməyindən istifadə ehtimalını 60% artırır, "kasıb" sinif əhəmiyyətli əmsal göstərir (-0,906, p<0,05). Dördüncüsü, məkanın yerləşməsi hUlledicidir: Xi-kvadrat testi uşaq əməyi ilə yaşayış yeri arasında güclü əlaqə olduğunu göstərir (p<0.001), şəhər yerləri kənd yerlərindən 46.1% daha az riskə malikdir.

Açar sözlər: Əlcəzair, uşaq əməyi, sosial-iqtisadi determinantlar, gender, sosial sinif, kənd-şəhər, MICS6

Introduction

1. Conceptual and Theoretical Framework. Child labour is a complex social phenomenon at the intersection of economy, culture, and human rights. The definition and boundary between child labor and other forms of underage involvement in the productive sphere vary across legal (Zani, 2012) and cultural frameworks, but the common challenge is to understand how and why children become early economic actors and what impact this has on their development, education, and social trajectories (ILO, 2007; ILO, UNICEF, 2021). Sociological research highlights that this phenomenon cannot be reduced to a simple question of poverty; it also reflects institutional and power structures, social norms, and family configurations that vary according to historical and geographical contexts (Bourdieu, 1984; Sen, 1999; Bahri, Gendreau, 2002). Thus, the study of child

labour requires a multidimensional approach that articulates economic, educational, and health dynamics, while questioning the mechanisms of protection and regulation.

In the conceptual framework, it is necessary to distinguish child labour from domestic work and forms of work associated with age and context (ILO, 2013). This distinction makes it possible to assess the risks and rights associated with different configurations of the activity of minors.

Theoretically, the literature mainly mobilizes several perspectives: a structural approach that emphasizes power relations and mechanisms of exploitation in global capitalism, and a functional perspective that considers certain forms of work as apprenticeships or vectors of socialization, while recognizing their costs (Hart, 1973; Benkler, 2025).

The analysis is broadly enriched with an intersectional approach that examines how gender, class, ethnicity, and place of residence moderate the effects of child labor (Crenshaw, 1989) Child rights frameworks, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Nations Unies, 1989), provide a normative framework for assessing public policies and institutional practices, and for *"effectively monitoring and evaluating progress in the implementation of the Convention, (...) also for assessing the impact of measures that affect children"* (Nations Unies, 2014). Child labour can also be read through the notions of poverty and human capital. Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction makes it possible to question the link between family economic and cultural capital and the chances of access to education and future social opportunities for working children (Bourdieu, Passeron, 1970). In addition, the public policy literature emphasizes the importance of social safety nets, inclusive education systems, and responsible supply chains to reduce the prevalence of child labor (ILO, OECD, IOM, UNICEF, 2019; ILO, UNICEF, 2022).

Historically, the premises for the protection of minors gradually appeared with industrialization and social movements demanding the prohibition of hazardous work for children and universal access to education. *"The ILO estimated in the year 2000 at about 211 million economically active children aged 5 to 14, and 141 million children aged 14 to 17 in the same state. Of these working children, 170 million are said to be in hazardous employment, and 8.4 million in "inherently reprehensible" activity (forced labour, debt bondage, prostitution, etc.) 2. The ILO revised these figures downwards in 20063. It is clear that these estimates are far from accurate – child labour is impossible to quantify with certainty since it is often carried out clandestinely and its very definition varies – but they give some indication of the extent of the phenomenon"* (La Hovary, 2009).

International comparisons show significant variations across levels of economic development, educational structures, and regulatory frameworks. While some countries have succeeded in significantly reducing child labour through holistic policies (free education, scholarships, school meal programmes, social protection), others continue to face high rates in the informal sectors and in global supply chains (ILO, OECD, IOM, UNICEF, 2019).

In addition, the literature on the subject of child labour has made it possible to highlight other dimensions of vulnerability and exploitation. Migration dynamics and transnational domestic work add additional dimensions of vulnerability, particularly for migrant girls and children (Gemenne, 2022). Although the majority of migrant children travel with their families, a significant number migrate alone, and girls are more likely to do so than boys; this probability increases markedly with age (McKenzie, 2008; Yaqub, 2009, pp. 27-28).

2. Algerian context of Child labour. Algeria presents a particular socioeconomic and demographic landscape that influences the dynamics of child labour. The Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security stated that *"The results of the surveys carried out by the services of the Labour Inspectorate at the level of the employer organizations have revealed each time that child labour in Algeria exists but at very low rates"* (MTESS, 2018).

While official data on the extent of the phenomenon remains limited and fragmented, several sources provide a useful framework for understanding local determinants, regulatory mechanisms, and trajectories of child laborers in the country (Chenini, Bettahar, Benbouziane, 2015; Ministère de la Santé, de la Population et de la Réforme Hospitalière, UNICEF, 2020; CNESE; ONPPE, s.d.).

Algeria has ratified the international conventions adopted and supported globally in this area and has initiated a dedicated strategy specifically for the fight against child labor. Algerian labour law, supplemented by the international instruments ratified by Algeria, frames the image of child labour and the associated protections. The domestic legal framework sets the minimum age for employment and defines the general conditions of safety and schooling, while aligning with international standards on the prohibition of hazardous child labor and universal access to education (Journal Official de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire, 2015).

Working age, conditions, and restrictions have been the subject of relevant legislation for a few decades in Algeria, according to Law 90-11, relating to labour relations, Article 15, clearly limits the authorized age for recruitment to child labour:

Article 15. Art. 15. – The minimum age for recruitment can in no case be less than sixteen years, except in the context of apprenticeship contracts established under the laws and regulations in force. The minor can be recruited only on presentation of an authorization issued by his legal guardian. A minor worker cannot be employed in dangerous, unhealthy, or harmful work, nor in work that could damage their morals (Journal Official de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire, 1990, p. 590).

As for child protection legislation, it is clear (like several international laws), the definition of the child, *"Art. 2. For the purposes of this law, "child" means any person who has not reached the age of eighteen (18) years,* ", and then it is important in the judicial and social process to define other dimensions of childhood life, such as *the child in danger", that he is: "the child whose health, morality, education or safety are in danger or likely to be in danger or whose living conditions, or behavior are likely to expose him to a possible danger or jeopardizing his future, or whose environment exposes his physical, psychological or educational well-being to danger"* (Journal Official de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire, 2015, p. 05).

The same legislation considered the economic exploitation of children as a form of "endangered childhood" with a tendency of criminalization: "Are considered as situations exposing the child to danger - economic exploitation of the child in particular, his employment or his obligation to work preventing him from continuing his studies or harmful to his health and physical and/or moral well-being" (Journal Official de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire, 2015, p.05).

The regulatory mechanisms are based on public agencies and social partners, with coordination efforts between the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security, the Ministry of Education, and local associations, and even international NGOs active in Algeria. This articulation aims to prevent child labour and promote access to education, in particular to prevent out-of-school enrolment and improve enrolment rates, especially in the middle education phase (the most likely and attractive age for the economic exploitation of children), while the statistics of the accounting board have identified a rate of less than 2% of out-of-school enrolment in the primary cycle, (Cour des comptes, 2024, p. 48) and an "*average school dropout rate, estimated at an average of 6% with a percentage that exceeds 10% in the fourth year. The same applies to the repetition of years, which reached an average rate of 16% over the period considered, with a predominance of the first year, which recorded a rate of 20%."* (Cour des comptes, 2024, p. 49).

On the social front, reports and studies carried out in Algeria reveal that: *"The phenomenon of child labour in Algeria is only known in appearance, it is only grasped in its most visible form. In fact, it is only one form that this phenomenon takes and which often manifests itself through the practice of selling various products, sorting household waste, guarding activity, agricultural work, but which at the same time keeps silent all other forms, especially those that are practiced intra muros and which very often resemble the exploitation of a very cheap workforce*. (Boucherf.et al., 2005, p. 08).

We also observe an interest mainly based on the forms of child labour, in family farming, small businesses, and domestic activities, but this categorization also guides us to ask questions on how to perceive child labour sociologically. Child labour categories and classifications present experiences as 'necessary' learnings or contributions to family survival, also narratives highlight the importance

of cultural norms, parental expectations, and the availability of appropriate (not just formal) educational resources to understand the trajectories of the children concerned. To this end, the volumes and statistics on child labour in Algeria are really worth reviewing, because of their non-exhaustiveness and their link to the economic aspect, while the "psychology of the Algerian child" (for example) has never been addressed in previous surveys (Chenini, Zeghoudi, 2018, p. 247).

Research

Methodology: 1. Presentation of the report. The Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS6) conducted in Algeria in 2018-2019 is part of a series of multiple indicator cluster surveys coordinated by UNICEF internationally. This sixth edition, led in Algeria by the Population Directorate of the Ministry of Health, Population and Hospital Reform (MSPRH), in partnership with UNICEF-Bureau Algiers, has the main objective of providing high-quality data on the situation of children, women and households, useful in particular for monitoring the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Ministère de la Santé, de la Population et de la Réforme Hospitalière, UNICEF, 2020, p. 23-26).

It is based on a representative sample of 31,325 households spread over 1,253 clusters across nine territorial programming areas (EPT) defined by the National Spatial Planning Scheme (SNAT, 2010). Data collection lasted nearly four months, from 25 December 2018 to 22 April 2019, using questionnaires adapted to national realities, administered by intensely trained teams (Ministère de la Santé, de la Population et de la Réforme Hospitalière, UNICEF, 2020, p. 26-31).

The tools have integrated many modules, covering the themes of health, education, protection, and living conditions. Methodological rigor is ensured by a two-stage probabilistic sampling plan and multiple quality controls, including data revisits and verifications (Ministère de la Santé, de la Population et de la Réforme Hospitalière, UNICEF, 2020, p. 26-32).

The methodology adopted allowed national and regional representativeness, including the breakdown by urban and rural areas. The 9 EFAs cover very diverse geographical and socioeconomic realities in Algeria: urban areas from the north-central to the most remote regions of the south. The survey uses pilot validated electronic (CAPI) and PAPER (PAPER) data collection and preliminary studies. The training of 171 investigators, supervisors, and technicians was intensive, with real-life scenarios and specialized training for certain measurements (anthropometry, water quality tests) (Ministère de la Santé, de la Population et de la Réforme Hospitalière, UNICEF, 2020, p. 27-31).

The questionnaires target in particular young people aged 16-24 for vocational training and adults aged 25 and over for the duration of schooling, with sociodemographic variables of sex, age, place of residence, and quintile of economic well-being. The statistical analysis of the data was carried out via the SPSS software with a weighting plan to correct sampling biases (Ministère de la Santé, de la Population et de la Réforme Hospitalière, UNICEF, 2020, p. 31).

2. Methodological note. From the multi-stage cluster analysis database, which was carried out on 31,325 families by random sampling and divided into 1,253 clusters, we will select, as part of this research paper, a cluster represented by child labour (5-17 years), where the sample size was 17,019 children.

We organized the data according to the database and tabulated it without altering the original data, taking into account the nature of the subject. With regard to the variable of weekly working hours, it was classified into domains according to what was presented in the report of the cluster survey (MICS6). As for indicators of the nature of work, they have been divided into two sections or types of work: economic work and family work. Since the nature of the data is varied between quantitative and qualitative (nature of the variables), it was necessary to use statistical analysis methods of two types: parametric for quantitative variables, such as the ANOVA 1-factor test, to know the differences between the averages of weekly working hours within groups according to age group and sex. 'ANOVA is a useful tool for examining relationships between variables when the dependent variable is numeric … many of the variables that interest us, especially if we are using public opinion surveys, are measured at the nominal or ordinal level, so ANOVA is not an

appropriate method in these cases' (Thomas, 2023, p. 281). For non-parametric methods, we used the Chi-square independence test between the nominal variables, 'chi-square is a test statistic that can be used as a measure of statistical significance. Based on the value of chi-square, we can determine if an observed relationship between two variables is different enough from what would be expected under the null hypothesis that we can reject H₀' (Thomas, 2023, p. 297).

As well as the binary logistic regression, a test to find out the impact of the independent variables on the dependent variable, 'Logistic Regression is a powerful statistical method for analyzing categorical data and is used to predict the probability of a nominal response. Nominal responses are analyzed with a straightforward extension of the logit model' (Fatemeh, Steven, Gretchen, 2019), the cause-and-effect relationship, To try to test the general hypothesis that the child has a high risk of working outside the family in hazardous conditions (according to sex and age) for the lower class, rather than working in the household (according to age).

3. Methodological limitations. Statistical analyses establish associations but do not allow for definitive conclusions about causality. Unmeasured confounding variables (educational quality, community norms, family events) can simultaneously influence multiple variables. As Chenini and Zeghoudi (2018) point out, official statistics systematically underestimate the phenomenon, particularly domestic work and hidden forms of exploitation. Standard survey methodologies struggle to capture these realities. Moreover, our study does not capture the subjective experiences of child workers, their perceptions, their agency, nor family negotiation strategies.

Results: 1. What are the conditions that motivate children to work outside their household? The one-factor ANOVA test we used to examine the null hypothesis H₀ that the average working hours of children outside the family (economic activity) are equal between age groups, that is to say:

H₀: $\mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3$, H1: $\mu_i < \mu_i$

At the 5% threshold, our sample indicates that the averages of working hours differ by age group; that is to say, the null hypothesis is rejected, and the alternative hypothesis is accepted.

Table 1 : model ANOVA 1 facteur					
Hours worked last week	Sum of squares	ddl	Mean of squares	f	Signification
Inter-groupes	4717.502	2	2358.751	35.015	.000
Intra-groupes	83126.268	1234	67.363		
Total	87843.770	1236			

The table was prepared by the researcher based on the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS6) database for Algeria 2018-2019 using SPSS software.

The first line, "Inter-groups," analyzes the variance of working hours between age groups. The method, therefore, calculates an estimated variance from the variances of the three study groups. The second line, "Intra-groups," is an estimate of the variance under the null hypothesis, in which we consider the three groups as part of the same population.

The estimation of the variance of working hours under H₀ corresponds to the merger of all groups into a single group, and the null hypothesis is that the factor under study does not affect the dependent variable "working hours".

The ANOVA method then calculates the sum of inter- and intra-age group squares. The "mean square" column gives an estimate of the variance of working hours, and the ratio that represents it very accurately is the Fisher index "F". F = 2358.751/67.363 = 35.015.

We thus conclude that at the 5% threshold, with a significance level of 0.000 < 0.05, and with a Fisher index of (35.015), the DDL (2 and 1234) is greater than or equal to the observed value, we are then led to say that the F value is too large compared to (1).

Which indicates that there is a significant difference between the variables under study.

2. Is there an association between child labour and the place of residence? To answer this question, we use the non-parametric chi-square test that examines the independence or association of the two variables.

H₀: The variables are independent.   H1: The variables are not independent; there is an association between the variables at the 5% significance level.

Table 2: model performance chi-square values			
	Valeur	ddl	Asymptotic meaning (bilateral)
Pearson's chi-squared	91,496ᵃ	1	.000
Correction for continuity ᵇ	90.834	1	.000
Number of valid observations	17020		

a. 0 cellules (.0%) ont un effectif théorique inférieur à 5. L'effectif théorique minimum est de 327.07. b. Calculé uniquement pour un tableau 2x2
The table was prepared by the researcher based on the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS6) database for Algeria 2018-2019 using SPSS software.

The Chi-square table shows that there is a strong association between child labour and the place of residence, with a p-value of 0.000 < 0.05, so we reject the null hypothesis and accept H1. The risk estimation table shows that when the child lives in an urban residential environment.

Table 3 : Risk estimation			
		95% Confidence Interval	
	Value	Lower	Superior
Odds Ratio for working on own business, land or occupied animals (yes / no)	539	474	– 613
Number of observations	17020		

The table was prepared by the researcher based on the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS6) database for Algeria 2018-2019 using SPSS software.

Odds Ratio 0.539 compared to the child who lives in a rural environment, which multiplies the risk of performing work outside the household. In other words, we are 95% confident that the child living in a rural area has a decrease in risk between [0.526, 0.387] of being a worker. It can therefore be said that there is an association between child labour, either at a family business or on a farm, or in unsafe conditions, and the environment of residence.

3. The impact of socioeconomic and socio-demographic factors on child labour within the family. To study the impact of independent variables on the dependent variable, binary logistic

31

regression is used. We analyse the impact of explanatory variables (age, sex, social class, mother's occupation) on child labour outside their household (so-called "economic" work).

Table 4 : detailed estimates from the logistic regression model 1								
							CI for Exp(B) 95%	
	A	E.1.	Wald	ddl	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Superior
Stage 1 FSAGE			969	2	000			
FSAGE(1)	939	084	537	1	000	2 (10)	2.169	3,016
FSAGE(2)	363	079	992	1	000	1,438	1.231	1,679
windex10			868	4	000			
windex10(1)	906	106	249	1	000	404	328	497
windex10(2)	-183	.120	2,335	1	.127	833	.659	1,053
windex10(3)	-149	119	1.557	1	212	862	682	1 089
windex10(4)	162	119	1,844	1	174.	850	673	1 075
sex (1)	194.	0.066	8.602	1	0.003	824	724	938
occupancy(1)	139	121	1,312	1	252	870	686	1.104
Constantly	2,749	109	641	1	000	15,628		

a. Variable(s) entered in step 1: FSAGE, windex10, sex, occupancy.

The researcher based on the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS6) database for Algeria 2018-2019 using SPSS software prepared the table.

The null (statistical) model is significant and allows us to assert that the relevant variables to predict child labour are age, sex, and social class, with the exception of social class (average, fourth, richest), which is not significant. The model below was illustrated as follows:

Log (p/ (1-p)) = 2.749 - 0.906(windex1) + 0.939(fsage1) + 0.363(fsage2) - 0.194(sex1)

For sex, the coefficient of A (-0,194) is virtually zero, meaning that sex has an impact on child labour with a risk rate of (0.824), meaning that a boy is 82.4 times more likely than a girl to be exploited outside the home. This risk varies between a confidence interval of [72.4 - 93.8]. In other words, in the population, boys are at least 72.4% at risk of being worked at an earlier age than girls are.

Both social classes are significant (poorer and secondary) with a p-value of (0.00 < 0.05). Note that the A coefficient of the secondary class is (-0.906) with a risk rate of (0.404); this means that if the life level increases, child labour decreases.

This means that the lower the social class, the more child labour increases by 60% each time the social class decreases (1-0,404). The second logistic regression model confirms this.

P represents the probability of child labour within the family, while the independent or explanatory variables are: X1, level of well-being, X2, employment of the mother, X3, age of the child, X4, place of residence, and X5, sex.

Table 5 : detailed estimates from the logistic regression model 2								
							CI for Exp(B) 95%	
	A	E.1.	Wald	ddl	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Superior
Stage 1 windex10			97,625	4	000			
windex10(1)	296	.058	26 093	1	000	1,345	1.200	1 507
windex10(2)	081	.054	2 247	1	134.	922	830	1.025
windex10(3)	186	.052	808	1	000	831	750	919
windex10(4)	116.	.052	4,992	1	025	890	804	986
occupancy(1)	.110	057	3,704	1	.054	1.116	998	1.249
FSAGE			342	2	000			
FSAGE(1)	590	0,042	676	1	000	1,803	1 660	1,959
FSAGE(2)	016	043	129	1	719	985	905	1,072
residence (1)	372	0,040	003	1	000	690	637	746
sex (1)	-355	032.	699	1	000	701	658	746
Constantly	524	063	211	1	000	1,688		

a. Variable(s) entered in step 1: windex10, occupancy, FSAGE, residence, sex.

The researcher based on the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS6) database for Algeria 2018-2019 using SPSS software prepared the table.

The results of the binary logistic regression test show that the middle class was excluded from the model due to the lack of statistical significance of the parameter Sig=0.134 > 0.05, as well as the age group from 14 to 17 years, because the significance level of 0.719 is greater than 0.05.

Furthermore, the 14-17 age group showed a significance level of 0.719, which is above 0.05. Consequently, the model is:

Log (p/ (1-p)) = 0.524 + 0.296(windex1) - 0.186 (windex3) - 0.116 (windex4) + 0.590(fsage1) - 0.372 (Residence) - 0.355 (Sex1). In exponential terms, the wealth index parameter for the middle class is Ex (β)=1.345, meaning that each increase of one wealth index unit increases the likelihood of the child working within the family by 1.345 times. However, this does not apply to the other classes, namely the middle class, the fourth, and the rich, because the relationship between them and child labour is reversed after the exclusion of the middle class from the model, which is not statistically significant. This means that as the wealth index increases, child labour decreases.

The age parameter Ex(β)=1.803 means that each increase of one unit of age increases the likelihood of the child working by 80.3% for children under the age of 14. On the other hand, for each year after the age of 14, child labour within the family decreases by 98.5%, indicating an inverse relationship.

Finally, in exponential terms, the sex parameter is Ex(β) = 0.701 with a confidence interval (0.746 - 0.658). The relationship between sex and child labour within the family indicates that p=-0.355, but the confidence interval does not contain 1, meaning that the chances are almost equal to the previously mentioned age level between boys and girls, despite the inverse relationship. Thus, the probability of girls working within the family exceeds that of boys by 70%.

Discussion. 1. Age differentiation: The ANOVA results significantly demonstrate that working hours vary across age groups (F= 35.015, p<0.001). This progression is not surprising but reveals a critical dimension often underestimated in public policies. This pattern is in line with what Admassie (2003) describes as "education-work substitution": the older the child, the more family economic pressures and work opportunities increase, especially during the transition to adolescence. The sociology of contemporary childhood, particularly the work of Liebel (2004) on the agency of child workers, suggests that this increase also reflects a social construction of the "productive capacity" attributed to adolescents.

Algerian data (MICS) show that children under the age of 14 have an 80.3% increased probability of working within the family, while beyond this age, family work decreases by 98.5%. This dramatic reversal suggests a transition to other forms of external economic exploitation, which corroborates the observations of Basu and Van (1998) on the "luxury axiom": as soon as children reach an age where they can contribute substantially to family income, they are more mobilized in the formal or informal economy.

This progressive vulnerability coincides remarkably with the school dropout rates reported by the Court of Auditors (2024): 6% on average in the middle cycle, exceeding 10% in the fourth year. This correlation between dropping out of school and intensification of work reinforces the hypothesis of a vicious circle well documented in the literature (Edmonds, 2008). Algeria must therefore focus its prevention efforts on the period 12-15 years, a pivotal moment in the social trajectory of children.

2. Gender and exploitation: The results reveal a complex gendered asymmetry that defies simplistic readings. Boys are 82.4% more likely to be exploited outside the home, while girls are 70% more likely to work within the family. Jacquemin's (2021) recent work on girls' domestic work in West Africa shows how gender structures invisible forms of exploitation. In Algeria, girls' domestic work, although less visible in official statistics, can be equally detrimental to their development and schooling. This gender differentiation creates a social structure (Bourdieu, 1998) where patriarchal norms assign girls the private domestic space and boys the public economic space. Research by Payne and Chant (2023) on the gendered dimensions of child poverty shows that this spatial separation of child labour reproduces and reinforces the gender inequalities that will structure their adult lives. Recent work by Crivello et al. (2009; 2011; 2021) on the "care work" of

children demonstrates that this burden, borne mainly by girls, seriously compromises their academic success and their mental health.

3. Social class: a persistent structural determinant. The logistic regression confirms the decisive impact of social class: each drop in socioeconomic level increases the probability of child labour by 60%. The "poorest" class has a significant coefficient (-0.906, $p<0.05$). These results empirically validate Bourdieu and Passeron's (1970) theory of social reproduction. Child labour appears as a mechanism for perpetuating inequalities: families with limited economic and cultural capital mobilize child labour for immediate survival, thus compromising the accumulation of human capital that would allow social mobility. Contemporary research by Ranjan (2001) and Edmonds and Pavcnik (2005) demonstrates that the relationship between poverty and child labour is not linear but conditioned by access to credit, social networks, and quality education. In the Algerian context, the lack of data on these mediating variables limits our understanding of the precise mechanisms.

Interestingly, the study shows that for family work, the middle class has a positive coefficient ($Ex(\beta)=1.345$), suggesting that even outside extreme poverty, some forms of work persist. This corroborates Ray's (2000) analyses of productive cultural norms, where child labor in family businesses can be perceived as legitimate learning rather than exploitation, regardless of socioeconomic level.

4. The spatial dimension of child labour in Algeria: rural versus urban. The chi-square test reveals a strong association between child labour and residential environment ($p<0.001$), with a risk multiplied by 0.539 in urban compared to rural areas. This spatial differentiation reflects distinct economic and institutional structures. Research by Bhalotra and Heady (2003) on child agricultural labour shows that rural areas combine several risk factors: limited access to quality education, dependence on family farming, and social norms that value the productive contribution of children.

For Algeria, this spatial dimension raises questions about the differentiated effectiveness of education policies. Data from the Court of Auditors (2024) on school enrolment rates are not geographically disaggregated in the documents analyzed, but international literature suggests that rural-urban disparities in school infrastructure and educational quality are key mediators.

The conceptual framework mentions migration dynamics as an additional vulnerability factor. The work of McKenzie (2008) and Yaqub (2009) on independent migrant children shows that geographical mobility exposes children to new forms of exploitation, particularly in urban areas where they arrive without protection networks. This dimension deserves a specific investigation in the Algerian context, particularly concerning rural exodus.

Conclusion

This study, based on the 2019 MICS survey, clarifies avenues for understanding child labour in Algeria. It confirms the structural determinants identified in the international literature while revealing important contextual specificities. Differentiation by age, gender, social class, and place of residence draws a complex map of vulnerabilities that requires nuanced and multisectoral policy responses.

Beyond the figures, it should be remembered that each statistic represents a child whose present is compromised and whose future is mortgaged. The fight against child labour is not only a question of immediate social justice, but an investment in the human capital and sustainable development of Algerian society. As Sen (1999) pointed out, development is ultimately measured by the expansion of the real freedoms that individuals enjoy – the freedom of these children to effectively be children, to play, to learn, and to fully develop.

References

1. Admassie, A. (2003). Child labour and schooling in the context of a subsistence rural economy: Can they be compatible? *International Journal of Educational Development*, 23(2), 167-185.

2. Bahri, A., Gendreau, F. (2002, December). *Le travail des enfants dans le contexte institutionnel africain*. In Colloque international de l'AIDELF Enfants d'aujourd'hui diversité des contextes, pluralité des parcours, (Vol. 2, pp. 19-31).

3. Basu, K., Van, P.H. (1998). The Economics of Child Labor. *American Economic Review*, 88(3), 412-427.

4. Benkler, Y. (2025). *Structure and Legitimation in Capitalism: Law, Power, and Justice in Market Society. Power, and Justice in Market Society*. https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5187&context=lcp

5. Bhalotra, S., Heady, C. (2003). Child Farm Labor: The Wealth Paradox. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 17(2), 197-227. https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/343821468179964730/pdf/774040JRN020030IC00Child0Farm0Labor.pdf

6. Boucherf, K., Hammouda, N., Kadri, H.A., Kennouche, T, (2005). *Etude sur Le travail des enfants en Algérie: Rapport Final*. Institut National du Travail. 132 pages. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.27412.76160

7. Bourdieu, P. (1984). Espace social et genèse des" classes". *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 52(1), 3-14. https://www.persee.fr/doc/arss_0335-5322_1984_num_52_1_3327

8. Bourdieu, P. (1998). *La domination masculine*. Seuil.

9. Chenini, M., Bettahar, S., Benbouziane, M. (2015). Les déterminants du travail des enfants en Algérie: Enquête auprès des ménages dans la wilaya de Tlemcen. *Revue Marocaine de recherche en management et marketing*, (12). https://revues.imist.ma/index.php/REMAREM/article/download/3779/2732/11079

10. Chenini, M., Zeghoudi, A., (2018). Lecture économique sur le travail des enfants en Algérie: Causes, évolution et état des lieux. *Journal of Administrative and Economic Studies*, (2), 233-247.

11. CNESE, visualiseur des données. https://tahat.cnese.dz/visualizer/Sectors#/

12. Cour des Comptes. (2024). *Rapport Anuelle, République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire, 555 pages*. https://www.ccomptes.dz/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/Rapport-Annuel-2024.F.pdf

13. Crenshaw, K. (1989). *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*. University of Chicago Legal Forum: Iss. 1, Article 8. Available at: http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8

14. Crivello, G. (2011). 'Becoming somebody': youth transitions through education and migration in Peru. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14(4), 395-411. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2010.538043

15. Crivello, G., Camfield, L., Woodhead, M. (2009). How Can Children Tell Us About Their Wellbeing? *Exploring the Potential of Participatory Research Approaches within Young Lives*. *Soc Indic Res,* (90), 51-72 https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-008-9312-x

16. Edmonds, E.V. (2008). Child labor. In T.P.Schultz, J.A.Strauss (Eds.), *Handbook of Development Economics* (Vol. 4, pp. 3607-3709). Elsevier.

17. Edmonds, E.V., Pavcnik, N. (2005). Child Labor in the Global Economy. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 19(1), 199-220. *https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/0895330053147895*

18. Fatemeh, D., Steven, A., Gretchen, A. (2019). Use of Logistic Regression to Identify Factors Influencing the Post-incident State of Occupational Injuries in Agribusiness. *Applied sciences*, 9(3449), 2. Doi:10.3390/app9173449

19. Favara, M., Crivello, G., Penny, M., Porter, C., Revathi, E., Sánchez, A., ... McKay, A. (2021). Cohort profile update: the young lives study. *International journal of epidemiology*, 50(6), 1784-1785e. https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:e27a30db-1676-4d57-aec6a0817bd8fbc0/files/sv405sb02k

20. Gemenne, F. (2022). The Impacts of Migration for Adaptation and Vulnerability. *Delmi Research Overview* (2). https://www.delmi.se/media/l4acp0cq/delmi-research-overview-2022_2-webb.pdf

21. Hart, K. (1973). Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 11(1), 61-89.

22. ILO, UNICEF. (2021). *Child Labour: Global estimates 2020, trends and the road forward, ILO and UNICEF*.

23. ILO, UNICEF. (2022). *Le rôle de la protection sociale dans l'élimination du travail des enfants Examen des données probanteset implications politiques*. https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_norm/@ipec/documents/publication/wcms_845170.pdf

24. ILO. (2007). *Travail des enfants: Les réponses politiques et législatives modernes au travail des enfants*. Centre international de formation de l'OIT à Turin. https://archive.crin.org/en/docs/2007_mod_pol_leg_resp_to_cl_fr%5B1%5D.pdf

25. ILO. (2013). *Travail domestique des enfants: estimations mondiales 2012*. https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/2025-05/2013_Domestic_Work_Global_Estimates_2012_FR.pdf

26. Jacquemin, M. (2021). The paradoxes of child domestic work in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. In G. K. Lieten (Ed.), *Hazardous Child Labour in Latin America* (pp. 145-162). Springer.

27. *Journal Officiel De La Republique Algerienne Democratique Et Populaire*. (1990). "Loi n° 90-11 du 21 avril 1990 relative aux relations de travail", (17).

28. *Journal officiel de la Republique Algerienne democratique et Populaire*. (2015). "Loi n° 15-12 du 28 Ramadhan 1436 correspondant au 15 juillet 2015 relative à la protection de l'enfant", 39(3).

29. La Hovary, C. (2009). *Les droits fondamentaux au travail*. Graduate Institute Publications. https://doi.org/10.4000/books.iheid.979

30. Liebel, M. (2004). *A will of their own: Cross-cultural perspectives on working children*. Zed Books.

31. McKenzie, D. (2008). Profile of the World's Young Developing Country Migrants. *Population and Development Review, 34(1), 115-135.

32. Ministère de la Santé, de la Population et de la Réforme Hospitalière & UNICEF. (2020). *MICS 2019, Enquête par grappes à indicateurs multiples 2019, Rapport final des résultats Décembre, 2020*. https://www.unicef.org/algeria/media/1441/file/Enqu%C3%AAte%20par%20Grappes%20%C3%A0%20Indicateurs%20Multiples%20(MICS6)%202019.pdf

33. MTESS. (2018). *M. Zemali déclare: Le travail des enfants en Algérie existe mais à des taux très faibles*. https://www.mtess.gov.dz/fr/m-zemali-declare-le-travail-des-enfants-en-algerie-existe-mais-a-des-taux-tres-faibles/

34. Nations Unies. (1989). *Convention relative aux droits de l'enfant*. https://www.ohchr.org/fr/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx

35. Nations Unies. (2014). *Examen des rapports soumis par les États parties en vertu de l'article 44 de la Convention Quatrièmes rapports périodiques des États parties attendus en 2012 -Pays-Bas, CRC/C/NLD/4*. https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g14/165/42/pdf/g1416542.pdf#page=0.80

36. OIT, OCDE, OIM, UNICEF. (2019). *Mettre fin au travail des enfants, au travail forcé et à la traite des êtres humains dans les chaînes d'approvisionnement mondiales*.

https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_norm/@ipec/documents/publication/wcms_845170.pdf

37. ONPPE. (s/d). *Le travail des enfants est en hausse*. https://network.onppe.dz/fr/articles/le-travail-des-enfants-est-en-hausse

38. Passeron, J.C., Bourdieu, P. (1970). La reproduction. Éléments d'une théorie du système d'enseignement. Collection Le sens commun, Les Editions de Minuit.

39. Payne, R., Chant, S. (2023). Exploring gender dimensions of child poverty: From girls' disadvantage to the feminization of childhood poverty? *Development and Change*, 54(3), 523-551.

40. Ranjan, P. (2001). Credit constraints and the phenomenon of child labor. *Journal of Development Economics*, 64(1), 81-102. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0304387800001255?via%3Dihub

41. Ray, R. (2000). Analysis of child labour in Peru and Pakistan: A comparative study. *Journal of Population Economics*, 13(1), 3-19. https://hdl.handle.net/102.100.100/596375

42. SNAT. (2010). Aménager l'Algérie de 2030. Un projet d'aménagement du territoire intégrant les enjeux d'un développement durable. *Dans, Journal official*, (61), 49.

43. Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Alfred A. Knopf. https://kuangaliablog.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/amartya_kumar_sen_development_as_freedombookfi.pdf

44. Thomas, M. (2023). *An Introduction to Political and Social Data Analysis (With R). online book*. Consulté le 06 12, 2025, sur https://www.dropbox.com/

45. Yaqub, S. (2009). Independent |Child Migrants in Developing Countries: Unexplored links in migration and development. *Fonds des Nations Unies pour l'enfance/ Centre de recherches Innocenti*, pp. 27-28.

46. Zani, M. (2012). *L'Organisation internationale du Travail et le travail des enfants: à propos de la Convention n°182 sur les pires formes de travail des enfants*. In Hague Yearbook of International Law. Brill | Nijhoff. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004244696_013