

# Caregiver Perceptions and their Influence on Child Education and Labour across Different Areas in Lebanon

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A CROSS-SECTIONAL SURVEY

# Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	1
List of Figures.....	3
List of Tables.....	4
Acronyms.....	5
Acknowledgments .....	6
Executive Summary .....	7
Background and Literature Review .....	9
The Lebanese Context .....	11
Research Aim and Objectives .....	12
Methodology .....	14
Study Design.....	14
Study Population and Setting.....	14
Sample Size .....	14
Sampling Strategy .....	15
Study Instrument.....	15
Data Collection and Quality Assurance .....	16
Data Analysis.....	16
Ethical Considerations .....	17
Findings.....	18
Descriptive Figures .....	18
Study Sample and Socio-Demographic Characteristics .....	18
Negative Coping Mechanisms.....	22
Parental Perceptions .....	23
Differences by Nationalities: In Terms of Socio-Economics, Outcomes and Perceptions.....	26
Outcomes of Interest: School Enrolment, Child Labour and Household Chores .....	30
School Enrolment .....	30
Child Labour .....	42
Household Chores.....	55
Associations between outcomes: (Education & Child labour) and (Education and Household Chores) .....	67
Discussion.....	69
Main Findings .....	69
Strengths and Limitations of the Study .....	71
Strengths.....	71
Limitations .....	71
Recommendations .....	73
Conclusions.....	76

References.....	78
Appendices.....	80
Appendix 1- Detailed Socio-demographic Information .....	80
Appendix 2- Types of Paid Labour.....	84
Appendix 3- Socio-demographic Descriptives by Nationality.....	85
Appendix 4- Perceptions by Nationality.....	89
Appendix 6- Perceptions by Outcomes .....	91
Education Outcomes .....	91
Child Labour Outcomes .....	94
Household Chores Outcomes .....	98

## List of Figures

Figure 1- Residence Area.....	18
Figure 2- Respondent Sex.....	18
Figure 3- Respondent and Partner's Education Level.....	19
Figure 4- Top Income Contributor.....	20
Figure 5- Total Monthly Income.....	20
Figure 6- Perceived Financial Situation.....	21
Figure 7- Negative Coping Mechanisms.....	22
Figure 8- Types of Labour.....	44

## List of Tables

Table 1- Family Structure and Outcomes of Interest.....	21
Table 2- Reasons for Withdrawal from School.....	23
Table 3- Parental Perceptions around Education.....	24
Table 4- Parental Perceptions around Child Labour .....	25
Table 5- Education enrolment by nationality.....	32
Table 6- Education enrollment and Socio-demographics: Age group 3 to 11.....	33
Table 7- Education enrollment and Socio-demographics: Age group 12 to 18.....	34
Table 8- Predicting proportion of children enrolled in formal/nonformal education for the age group 3 to 11 .....	37
Table 9- Predicting proportion of children enrolled in formal/nonformal education for the age group 12 to 18 .....	39
Table 10- Child labour involvement by nationality.....	43
Table 11- Child Labour and Socio-demographics: Age group 12 to 18 .....	45
Table 12- Predicting proportion of children involved in child labour for the age group 3 to 11.....	49
Table 13- Predicting proportion of children involved in child labour for the age group 12 to 18 ..	52
Table 14- Involvement in household chores by nationality .....	56
Table 15- Household Chores and Socio-demographics: Age group 3 to 11.....	57
Table 16- Household Chores and Socio-demographics: Age group 12 to 18.....	58
Table 17- Predicting proportion of children involved in household chores for the age group 3 to 11	62
Table 18- Predicting proportion of children involved in household chores for the age group 12 to 18	65
Table 19- Education Enrolment and Child Labour.....	67
Table 20- Education Enrolment and Household Chores .....	68

## Acronyms

<b>MEAL</b>	Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning
<b>HOH</b>	Head of Household
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
<b>WVL</b>	World Vision in Lebanon
<b>UNHCR</b>	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
<b>ODK</b>	Open Data Kit
<b>ANOVA</b>	Analysis of variance
<b>LPC</b>	Lebanon Protection Consortium
<b>IRC</b>	International Rescue Committee
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organization
<b>ECE</b>	Early Childhood Education
<b>CB ECE</b>	Community Based Early Childhood Education
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organization
<b>ALP</b>	Accelerated Learning Programme
<b>PSS</b>	Psycho-Social Support
<b>SEL</b>	Social and Emotional Learning
<b>PwD</b>	Person with Disability
<b>MEHE</b>	Ministry of Education and Higher Education
<b>MoSA</b>	Ministry of Social Affairs
<b>MOIM</b>	Ministry of Interior and Municipalities
<b>MOJ</b>	Ministry of Justice
<b>CSO</b>	Civil Society Organizations

## Acknowledgments

This report is based on a research study conducted by World Vision in Lebanon (WVL)'s – Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning (MEAL) department.

The lead author is Ms. Sarah Ghazarian (WVL/Research and Data Analyst).

The author would like to acknowledge the key contributions and valuable technical support from:

Ms. Joelle Semaan (WVL/PDQ Director)

Mr. Charbel Chidiac (WVL/Education Technical Specialist)

Mr. Mike Kirakossian (WVL/Child Protection in Humanitarian Action Technical Specialist)

Mr. Georges Abi Rizk (WVL/ Resilience & Livelihood Technical Specialist)

Ms. Grace El Asmar (WVL/ MEAL Manager)

Ms. Joumana Soueid (WVL/GAM Lead)

Ms. Marleine Harb (WVL/Information Management Coordinator).

The author would also like to thank all WVL staff who contributed to the data collection specifically to Mr. Georges El Khoury (WVL/MEL Coordinator). Profound gratitude is extended to Ms. Marleine Harb (WVL/ Information Management Coordinator) for technical support in the tool development and data quality control. A special thanks to the staff who contributed to the launching event, specifically to Ms. Josephine Haddad (Communications and Public Affairs Manager).

Finally, WVL offers gratitude to the casual workers for completing the interviews with caregivers, and for their continuous effort to maintain high quality data for this research and appreciation to all those who made this endeavour possible.

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## Executive Summary

Children are the cornerstone of any society and as such, they need to be trained and provided with adequate opportunities to ensure their development, survival and rights on the path to their future as adults. Yet most of these children are at early age exposed to dangerous and risky jobs that affect every aspect of their development. This study contributes to a small but growing body of literature that explains the determinants of child activity decisions (including schooling, child labour and household chores) and aims to explore their prevalence in the Lebanese society along with associations with different socio-demographic factors as well as parental beliefs and perceptions around child labour and education.

The study was based on a cross-sectional observational survey of parents (both Syrian and Lebanese) of school -aged children in Lebanon. Data collection was done using an interviewer-administered instrument through phone surveys from a sample of 776 parents belonging to the less privileged layers of the society and residing in three different areas across Lebanon.

The findings have shown that over three quarters of the household with children aged 3 to 18 years old had at least one child enrolled in some sort of education (formal/nonformal) while almost a quarter did not have any. The school enrolment was lower in the 3 to 11 years old age group compared to the 12 to 18 years old with no remarkable differences between boys and girls and significant differences between Syrians and Lebanese. Concerning involvement of children in child labour, 10.8% of the households reported having at least one child aged 3 to 18 years old engaged in child labour with the percentage being twice as high for the 12 to 18 years old age group compared to that of the 3 to 11 years old age group. Involvement in child labour was significantly higher for boys compared to girls and among the Syrian households compared to the Lebanese households. As for engagement in household chores, 24.6% of the households had at least one child aged 3 to 18 years old engaged in household chores and this percentage was four times higher in the 12 to 18 years old age group compared to that of the 3 to 11 years old age group. Engagement in household chores varied between boys and girls, where girls were significantly more involved compared to boys, and involvement was higher in the Syrian households compared to the Lebanese.

Results also have shown that 17.5% of parents reported agreement with perception statements around de-prioritization of and sex-stereotypes in education and 32.6% agreed with perception statements around the acceptance and benefits of child labour noting that these statements were negatively phrased reflecting false and fallacious ideas.

The findings highlighted significance differences between the Syrian and Lebanese households in terms of socio-demographics and for the three of the research outcomes: school enrolment, child labour and engagement in household chores. The prevalence of the outcomes were significantly higher in the Lebanese household compared to the Syrian households and the agreement to the perception statements, especially around the acceptance of child labour, were significantly higher in the Syrian households compared to the Lebanese households. The analyses also revealed a pattern of association of the outcomes with the economic/financial factors more stoutly in the Lebanese households compared to the Syrian households where the outcomes were more strongly associated with perceptions reflecting beliefs.

In conclusion, the results challenge the traditional view of child activity decision having mutually exclusive binary outcomes of either schooling or work. In addition to the alarming need highlighted by the prevalence rates of the outcomes, the role of beliefs and behavioural determinants is accentuated and is to be taken into consideration for further exploration and hence inclusion in policy and program design.

## Background and Literature Review

Child labour is a widespread and growing phenomenon in many developing countries. Nearly 1 in every 10 children – an estimated 152 million – are in child labour, almost half of them working under hazardous circumstances that refute them the right of a playful childhood and imperil their health (UNICEF, 2020). An exacerbation in these figures is expected especially with the economic repercussions of the pandemic, which highlighted poverties. The aforementioned is concerning as a 1 percentage point rise in poverty leads to at least a 0.7 percentage point increase in child labour (ILO & UNICEF, 2020).

When defining child labour, no universally agreed-upon definition exists. The International Labour Organization (ILO) defines child labour as “*work which deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and is harmful to their physical and mental development*”. *The worst forms of child labour involve “children being enslaved separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illnesses and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets of large cities – often at a very early age”*(United Nations International Labour Organization, 1999). In fact, the concepts and definitions of this phenomenon, even between key organizations addressing it, are diverse and sometimes haphazard (Chaubey et al., 2007). Weston, views child labour as a social concept which varies by actors, history, context and purpose (Chaubey et al., 2007; Francis, 2020; Weston & Weston, 2005). Hence, limiting such a complex phenomenon to a single definition is misleading given the fact that the exercise of defining it is rooted in multi-faceted disciplines including, but not limited to, cultural, political, scientific and economic (Chaubey et al., 2007).

As such, engagement of children in economic activities is a multifarious issue due to the intricate interaction of social, cultural and economic factors involved in its prophecy (Omokhodion & Uchendu, 2010). Besides its perplexing causal pathway, child labour has been linked to adverse health outcomes both on physical and mental levels. A recent meta-analysis exploring the evidence on the impacts of child labour on health highlighted associations with several health hazards including, but not limited to; malnutrition, poor growth, higher incidence of infectious diseases, behavioural and emotional disorders, stress and decreased coping efficacy (Ibrahim et al., 2019).

In the recent decades, there has been a growing interest in child labour among academics, professionals and the media to understand the determinants of such a phenomenon and hence inform policy-makers to ensure child welfare (Okpukpara, 2006; Ranjan, 2000; Ray, 2001). The interest in understanding the determinants of child labour has fuelled a wealth of studies attempting to design models explaining the phenomenon.

Throughout history, child activity has been viewed as a binary decision with two mutually exclusive options, meaning either engagement in economic activity (work) or school enrolment. Much of the literature on determinants of child labour does not distinguish between non-work alternatives, often treating school attendance as the only alternative to work (Jensen & Nielsen, 1997; Ranjan, 2000; Ravallion & Wodon, 2000). In some contexts, data shows, that a substantial fraction of children neither attend school nor participate in work outside the home. In some cases, these children may be engaged in substantial household chores, including taking care of younger children and/or younger adults. Ignoring these differences and options may lead active policy to have unintended consequences. For example, if school is incorrectly thought of as the only alternative to work, a policy that diminishes child work may simply

increase the pool of idle children rather than increasing school attendance, especially if schooling costs are high or perceived returns from schooling are low (Deb & Rosati, 2005). This has led the empirical literature on child labour to shift from mere quantification to econometric analysis of the determinants of child labour coinciding with a widespread realization that simply banning child labour is unlikely to eradicate the problem or may even make a household worse off (Deb & Rosati, 2005).

Understanding the process pathway of child activity decisions requires coming to grips with the relationship between child activity options. Decision making structures in regards to child activity options; child schooling versus child labour, are typically guided by parents (Deb & Rosati, 2005). Different perspectives have been used to explain the decision making process and among the most popular is the household-production framework which highlights that long-term family welfare is at the core of child activity decisions (Becker & Tomes, 1976; Buchmann, 2000). Investing in educating a child is usually taken as the first best option because of the high long run returns on this investment. However, this investment is a long-term commitment that might be interrupted by economic barriers (Aslam Chaudhary & Naheed Khan, 2002) or beliefs (cultural or personal). Additionally, since family welfare maximization is at the core of such an investment, differences in returns to schooling (sometimes rooted in social norms, guidelines or beliefs) (Chaubey et al., 2007) might guide the decision making: For example, investing in children with greater academic potential, investing in boys in a community with higher employment opportunities or pay for men (Buchmann, 2000).

There is diversified literature on the subject of child activity decision making. Most theoretical studies focusing on the economic predictors and emphasizing on the role of poverty/income/livelihoods (Aslam Chaudhary & Naheed Khan, 2002; Basu, 1999; Omokhodion & Uchendu, 2010) as one of the main predictors of household decision on child's activity options while most empirical studies are not so explicit (Deb & Rosati, 2005). The determinants of child activity options extend well beyond the aforementioned economic/financial factor to include deeper economic and social factors (Aslam Chaudhary & Naheed Khan, 2002). While economic determinants are the cornerstone of a prolific body of literature on of child labour, with poverty conventionally assumed as the primary driving factor (Goswami & Jain, 2006) research has shown the significance of non-poverty related factors in depicting child activity decisions. Very few studies focus on pointing out the social and traditional aspects of the issue (Goswami & Jain, 2006). In fact, the dynamics of child activity decisions in the community involve not only children's characteristics but also parents' as well in addition to household and community's characteristics (Goswami & Jain, 2006). A wealth of studies on child labour concentrate on children but a few focus on parents' characteristics and views (Omokhodion & Uchendu, 2010) and understanding child activity decision and its outcomes requires an examination of all the layers of the socio-ecological model.

Aside from economic considerations, cultural arguments highlight traditional norms and values in shaping educational decisions. Religious values in some contexts play a significant role. Patriarchal norms promote the preferential treatment of sons and are cited as a reason for girls' limited school participation in many countries. Sex stereotypes, such as beliefs that boys or girls have greater academic abilities or girls must get married before reaching a certain age may also lead to preferential treatments, etc... These cultural determinants affect parental perceptions and beliefs around the value of schooling and child labour and hence may shape child activity decisions.

## The Lebanese Context

Understanding parents' decision making regarding child activity requires recognizing the relationship between child activity options and the underlying enabling factors, which can vary from one context to another. Hence, it is important to understand the backcloth and enabling settings behind each of the options.

The Lebanese educational system is divided into private and public (government) sectors. Throughout the years, schools have been highly privatized across the country in an attempt to accommodate the ever-growing demand for learning. Private schools, which are in their overwhelming majority dependent on various religious communities, have a long and deeply rooted history in Lebanon. On the other hand, public schools were weak and further enervated by the influx of refugees from Syria into the country and particularly after 2019, when the government adopted an open policy of admitting all refugee children regardless of whether they have the required documentation for school enrolment (The US Department of Labour, 2020). A recent report by Save the Children highlights the educational situation in Lebanon indicating that school systems- predominantly public, across Lebanon were already weak prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. The out-of-school rate for primary education was at 11% as per the 2019 Global Education Monitoring Report (*WORKING CHILDREN IN CRISIS-HIT LEBANON: EXPLORING THE LINKAGES BETWEEN FOOD INSECURITY AND CHILD LABOUR, 2021*).

A survey, conducted by the International Labour Organization and Central Administration of Statistics of Lebanon jointly, in 2015, indicated that 90% of children aged 5-17 years in Lebanon are enrolled in schools and that attendance is lowest in the 15-17 years and highest among the 5-11 years group (*Child Labour Survey in Lebanon, 2015*). Additionally, the survey indicated that 3.6% of children 5 to 17 years old in Lebanon are working with about two-thirds of them in the 15-17 years age group. It was highlighted that children help in household activities, quite often in addition to their studies with almost 50% of the children surveyed being involved in household chores and a much higher percentage of girls compared to boys. The education figures for the refugee populations in Lebanon are more concerning, as more than 50 percent of Syrian refugee children and 35 percent of Palestinian refugee children were reported as not enrolled in formal education (The US Department of Labour, 2020). Hurdles to accessing education particularly for the Syrian refugee population, include the cost of transportation and supplies, discrimination, bullying, corporal punishment, different curriculum in Lebanon than in their country of origin and many others (The US Department of Labour, 2020).

Moreover, the proportion of working children as reported by household heads was recorded at 5% in 2018 (World Vision International, 2019). Numbers for both host and refugee populations show an inclining trend in the number of children reported to be involved in waged labour. UNICEF reported that the number of Lebanese children involved in child labour has tripled between 2009 and 2016 (World Vision International, 2019). More recent data available for the refugee population highlighted that the number of children between aged 5 to 17 years who are engaged in child labour almost doubled since 2019, reaching 4.4% in 2020 (UNICEF et al., 2020). Recent evidence indicates that, particularly after the economic and political crisis that began in 2019, the number of children on the streets has surged in addition to the number of children involved in other types of hazardous work including the forced forms, which exposes them to the range of perils (The US Department of Labour, 2020).

Ten years into the Syrian conflict, Lebanon, being a host country, has been afflicted and overwhelmed on all levels with repercussions on both populations, host and refugee. Vulnerable Lebanese households facing a tremendous decrease

in revenue are left increasingly unable to meet basic needs, including food and healthcare. Displaced Syrian households are further sinking into debt as they struggle to meet their families' needs (World Vision International, 2019). With the chain of deteriorating events in the country since the last quarter of 2019 and the economic collapse, both populations are reported to be increasingly resorting to negative coping mechanisms to make ends meet. These conditions fuel serious concerns afflicting all spheres of child wellbeing including protection and education especially with estimates suggesting an increase in the proportion of population trapped in poverty from a third in 2019 to more than a half in 2020. The increase was estimated due to the rising unemployment, currency fluctuations and the resulting inflationary effects, disproportionately affecting particularly the poor and middle class (ESCWA, 2010).

How applicable are the divergent theoretical perspectives on child activity decisions in Lebanon? Especially with the array of crises that have sparked since 2019 pushing the country to the brink on a multitude of levels and peculiarly the socio-economic one which is assumed, by many theories, to be a primary driving factor behind these decisions. Additionally, with national evidence confirming the increased resort to child labour as a negative coping mechanism to cope with the inability to provide food (*WORKING CHILDREN IN CRISIS-HIT LEBANON: EXPLORING THE LINKAGES BETWEEN FOOD INSECURITY AND CHILD LABOUR*, 2021).

## Research Aim and Objectives

The present study contributes to a small but growing literature that explains the determinants of child activity decisions, including schooling, child labour and household chores. As discussed previously, a good understanding of the key determinants to child activity decisions is essential for formulating appropriate policies and programming for better child wellbeing outcomes.

The aim of this study is to explore figures around child activity options (school enrolment, child labour and household chores) and their determinants for children aged 3 to 18 years old in Lebanon, with a focus on less privileged layers of the society. Additionally, the study sought to determine the perceptions of child education and labour among parents of school-aged children.

Throughout the course of this study, the three child activity outcomes are defined as follows:

- a- School enrolment: The enrolment status, at the time of data collection, of children in formal or non-formal education.
- b- Involvement in child labour: The involvement, at the time of data collection, of children in any form of waged labour. Acknowledging the intricate definition of child labour and for the purpose of pragmatism, this simplified definition was adopted. It is important to highlight that the adopted definition might not capture children who are forced to work without pay in return.
- c- Involvement in household chores: The involvement, at the time of data collection, of children in any form of household/domestic chores.

Additionally, the study aimed to focus on the less privileged layer of the society to better capture child labour figures. The vast body of literature stipulates that child labour is more common in these pockets of the society. To achieve this target and since the study focuses on parents of school aged children, a proxy measure combining

both approaches (being a parent of a school aged child and belonging to a less privileged pocket of the society) was used. Consequently, the selection was narrowed down to parents having at least one child attending a public or semi-private school or covered-private or not attending any school at all.

The research questions and hypotheses are the following:

1. What is the prevalence of school enrolment for school-aged children among the less privileged layers of the society in Lebanon?
2. What is the prevalence of child labour for school-aged children among the less privileged<sup>1</sup> layers of the society in Lebanon?
3. What is the prevalence of involvement in household chores for school-aged children among the less privileged layers of the society in Lebanon?
4. What are the perceptions of parents of school-aged children in Lebanon around school enrolment and child labour?
5. What are the socio-demographic characteristics associated with each of school enrolment, child labour and household chores outcomes for school-aged children among the less privileged layers of the society in Lebanon?
6. What are the parental perceptions associated with each of school enrolment, child labour and household chores outcomes for school-aged children among the less privileged layers of the society in Lebanon?
7. What are the predictors of each of school enrolment, child labour and household chores outcomes for school-aged children among the less privileged layers of the society in Lebanon?

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<sup>1</sup> The selection was narrowed down to parents having at least one child attending a public or semi-private school or covered-private or not attending any school at all. These groups are considered to be less privileged compared to caregivers of children attending private schools

## Methodology

### Study Design

The study was a cross-sectional observational survey of parents (both Syrian and Lebanese) of school-aged children in Lebanon using an interviewer-administered instrument. This design was adopted for its adequacy in terms of addressing the research questions and in terms of time- and cost-efficiency. In addition, this method allows the exploration of multiple determinants and the testing of many hypotheses. Data collection modality was reverted to remote data collection, through phone surveys, given the COVID-19 circumstances and the pertinent countrywide lockdown regulations.

### Study Population and Setting

The target population for the study included caregivers of school-aged children among the less privileged layers of the society residing in different areas in Lebanon. The definition adopted for school-aged children was according to the official educational protocols dictating the enrolment of children 3 to 18 years old in education. Targeting the less privileged layer of the society was achieved through adopting the proxy measure of interviewing caregivers with at least one child attending a public or semi-private school or covered-private or not attending any school at all. Public schools are generally low cost compared to private schools; this makes public schools a choice for financially less well-off families.

The inclusion criteria included:

- Being a caregiver aged between 19 to 64 years old.
- Residing in World Vision Lebanon's (WVL) areas of intervention: BML, Bekaa and Akkar.
- Having at least one child attending a public or semi-private school or covered-private or not attending any school at all. By this criterion, the less privileged layers of the society were targeted excluding those who can afford enrolling their children in private schools and hence are better off.
- Not working in any of the following areas: Social work, Non-profit organizations with a focus on child protection or Psychology (As working in any of the aforementioned fields might bias the assessed constructs which comprise perceptions and beliefs on education and labour which are related to child well-being and rights).

### Sample Size

The sample size for the study was calculated with absolute conservativeness accounting for the presence of three outcomes of interest.

Major differences were hypothesized in terms of socio-demographics, outcomes and associations between the two nationalities (Lebanese and Syrian) making up the majority of the Lebanese society. These differences were tested and verified, but to account for these differences and be able to draw inferences at each nationality level, the sample size was calculated for each nationality separately.

Since the primary goal of this study was to estimate prevalence of child activity outcomes, the sample size was calculated according to the formula based on desired precision for binary outcomes:

$$n = P(1 - P) \left( \frac{Z}{E} \right)^2$$

Where,

n = the required sample size

$Z_{\alpha/2}$  = 1.96 using 95% confidence interval

p = 0.5 (most conservative)

E = 0.05 (to estimate the true proportion within  $\pm$  5 percentage points)

Solving the formula, the obtained sample size is 384 for Syrians and 385 for Lebanese yielding a total required sample size of 769.

### Sampling Strategy

To ensure representativeness of Lebanese and Syrian caregivers, the sample size was calculated using secondary data from the MoPH statistical bulletin for the Lebanese population in 2019<sup>2</sup> and secondary data from UNHCR for the Syrian population in 2020<sup>3</sup>. The sampling covered three geographical areas; BML, Bekaa and Akkar. South was excluded due to the unavailability of sampling lists for the data collection. A stratified probability proportional to size sampling technique was adopted at the geographical area level, yielding representative samples that reflect the spread and size of the population in each area for each nationality. The target sample is described below:

Area	Total Sample per Area	Lebanese	Syrians
Akkar	164	48	167
Bekaa	260	93	116
BML	354	244	101
<b>Total</b>	<b>769</b>	<b>385</b>	<b>384</b>

### Study Instrument

The Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning (MEAL) team in collaboration with World Vision in Lebanon (WVL) child protection and resilience, education and livelihood experts developed the research instrument. Remote data collection was adopted given the COVID-19 regulations across the country during the time of the study. The remote data collection modality was accounted for, in terms of time consumption and interviewee burden, in

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.moph.gov.lb/en/Pages/8/327/statistical-bulletins>

<sup>3</sup> <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/71>

developing the tool. The interviewer-administered tool was translated into Arabic, and was pilot tested prior to data collection.

The final general tool included a screening section to check the participant's eligibility for the study followed by the structured section that included the following segments:

Segment 1: Socio-demographics

Segment 2: Family Structure, Education, Child Labour and Negative Coping Mechanisms

Segment 3: Parental perceptions about Education

Segment 4: Parental perceptions about Child Labour

Segments 3 and 4 comprised several perception statements around education and child labour. The tool sought to explore the degree of participants' agreement to these statements, some of which reflect attitudes and others have different normative, cultural and traditional grounds. The development and the design of the statements was based on a thorough literature review of existing parental perceptions around child labour and education which were contextually verified by the research and experts' team and further fortified with additional context-specific statements. A three point Likert-type scale (agree, neutral and disagree) was used to rate the degree of agreement to these statements.

### Data Collection and Quality Assurance

Parental data was collected through phone interviews with the selected parents by a team of four enumerators. The data collection team was trained by WVVL prior to data collection to ensure their understanding of the research objective, the survey content and ethical considerations.

Phone calls were conducted during the months of January and February 2021 during two shifts, morning time (9:00 am to 2:00 pm) and afternoon time (2:00 pm to 8:00 pm) to ensure the representativeness of working and non-working parents in the sample.

The quality control process started at the coding stage. The tool was coded on ODK collect, which has several features that can help validate and control the data entered by the enumerators by establishing a logical relationship among variables and provide messages on the spot when an enumerator/data collector inputs data. It also controls skip patterns, missing data, redundant entry, & a defined set of outliers. The research and data analyst and the Information Management (IM) Coordinator supervised the data collection process. Daily follow up calls with the enumerators were performed to follow up on the progress and the number of surveys completed and to discuss challenges, if any. Further, the Information Management unit at WVVL adopted editing, cleaning and back-checking of the completed questionnaires as an additional layer of quality assurance.

### Data Analysis

Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was the software used for data analysis. Demographic data were analysed using basic descriptive statistics. Central tendency measurements (means and standard deviations for continuous variables and frequencies for categorical variables) were used to summarize the variables and their

variability. Bivariate analyses were performed to determine the association between various independent factors and the main outcomes of interest: enrolment in education, engagement in child labour and engagement in household chores. The outcome variables were measured as dichotomous variables as well as continuous variables (proportions) that further quantified each of the outcomes. Pearson's chi-square (or Fisher's exact) tests were performed to test for associations between categorical variables and the binary versions of the outcome variables. Independent T-tests, ANOVA and Welch's ANOVA tests were used to test for associations between the categorical variables and the continuous versions of the outcome variables. Finally, Pearson's correlations were used to investigate the associations between the continuous independent variables and the continuous versions of the outcome variables. To determine the predictors of the main outcomes of interest: enrolment in education, engagement in child labour and engagement in household chores, stepwise hierarchical multiple linear regression analyses were conducted separately for each type of outcome using a backward selection procedure, with significance level for removal from the model set at 0.1. All these regressions were fit using cluster-correlated robust variance estimates and demographic variables. For categorical variables, dummy variables were created to conduct multivariate analysis. A p-value of 0.05 was used as the cut-off for significance for all statistical tests conducted.

### Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations of privacy, confidentiality and informed consent were taken into account while conducting the study; the respondents' anonymity and confidentiality of shared information were ensured. The purpose of the research was explained to every participant. In addition, confidentiality was assured and each participant was informed that s/he was able to choose freely whether to participate or not in the study. Participants also understood that they had the right to skip any of the questions and withdraw from the study at any time. All participants were included in the study only if they voluntarily agreed to participate.

## Findings

### Descriptive Figures

#### Study Sample and Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Overall, the final study sample included 776 participants meeting the screening/selection criteria compared to a target sample of 769. Appendix 2 illustrates the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the study sample.

The final sample was equally distributed between Lebanese (389, 50.1%) and Syrian (387, 49.9%) respondents as targeted, to secure enough power for comparisons between the populations (as considerable differences between these two populations were hypothesized and validated later during the course of analysis). Further, the overall sample was characterized with almost equal male (391, 50.4%) and female (385, 49.6%) respondent proportions, due to the equal sex-proportion targeting and sampling strategy adopted at each population (nationality) level (Figure 2). The geographic distribution can be summarized with 162 participants (20.9%) from Akkar, 259 (33.4%) from Bekaa and 355 (45.7%) from BML. The aforementioned geographic disaggregation complies with the natural distribution of the two populations at the governorate levels yielding two representative sub-samples of each nationality in terms of natural geographic spread. Appendix 2 further narrows down the geographic distribution to Qadaa level.

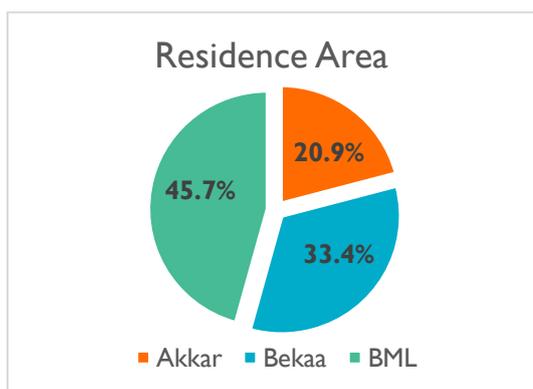


Figure 1 - Residence Area

Sixty four percent (497 out of 776) of those interviewed were the heads of the household while the majority of the remaining 279 (36.0%) in terms of their relationship to the head of the household were the spouses (Wife/Husband, 87.5%). Male-headed household were 83% (644 out of 776) of the entire sample while female-headed households were only 17.0% (132 out of 776).

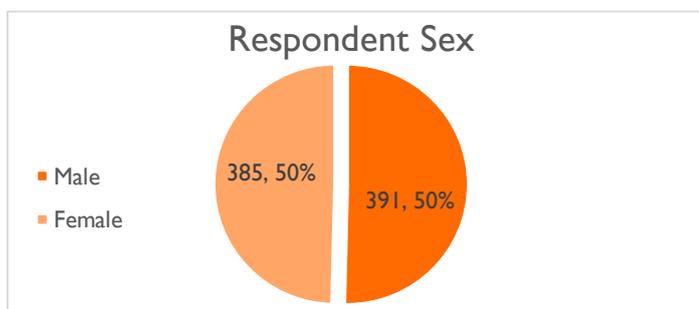


Figure 2- Respondent Sex

Respondents had equal sex-proportions (Figure 2), as mentioned previously, and the average respondent age was 41.5 years old (in a range extending from 18.2 to 64.2 years old) .

In terms of social status, a lion's share of the respondents were married (653, 84.1%) and 3.6% were single, 5.3% widowed, 4.0% separated and 2.7% divorced.

From a socio-economic lens, 80.6% of the respondents had intermediate level of education and below (11.0% no education, 37.6% primary education and 32.0% intermediate), 16.0% had secondary/university level and only 3.5% had vocational/technical education. For those married (653, 84.1%), the partners had a similar pattern of educational levels with 82.3% having intermediate level of education and below (15.0% no education, 38.1% primary education and 29.2% intermediate education), 15.3% secondary/university level and only 2.3% had vocational/technical education (Figure 3).

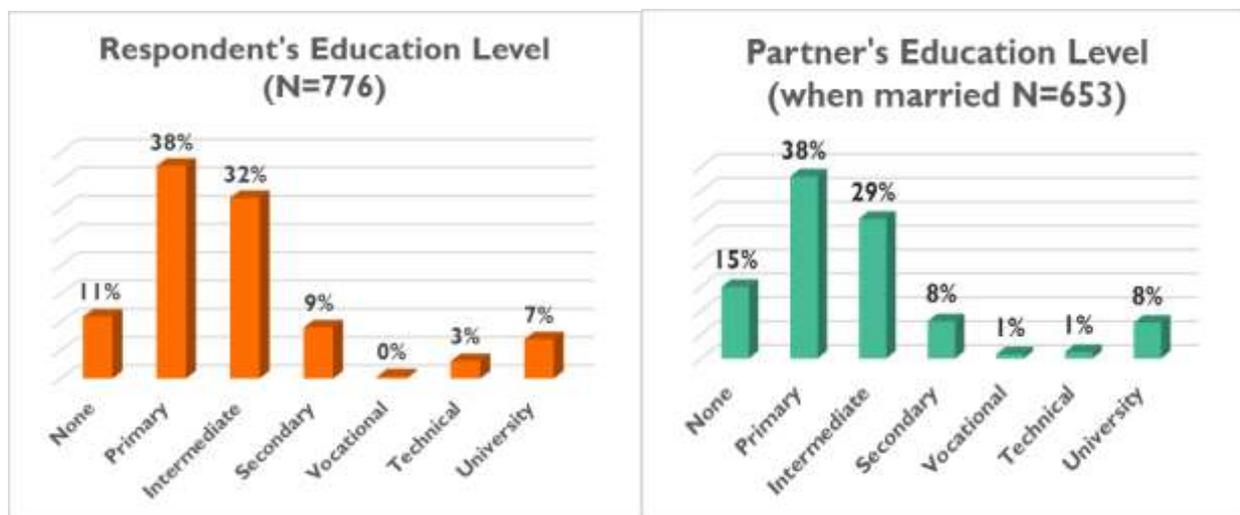


Figure 3- Respondent and Partner's Education Level

In terms of respondent occupation, a bit more than one third of the sample (32.7%) were daily workers, 28.3% were not working; out of the non-working respondents, 23.5% stated that the reason due was lack of opportunities while 4.8% were not working by choice. Of the remaining respondents, 21.6% mentioned household care as an occupation, 7.2% were full-time employees, 2.7% were part-time employees, 4.1% were freelancers, 1% were business owners, 0.4% were retired and 1.9% mentioned other occupation types of which seasonal agriculture was the most common.

Regarding income contribution dynamics, 50.8% of the respondents mentioned being income contributors themselves (out of which, 90.4% are heads of the households) , 29.5% mentioned spouse/parent, 9.8% adult children, 4.1% children below 18, 3.2% extended family and 13.8% mentioned others, of which the overwhelming majority specified assistance and debt. The respondent was mentioned to be the top income contributor in 48.8% of the

households interviewed, spouse/parent by 26.5%, adult children by 7.9%, Children under 18 by 1.9%, extended family by 1.9% (Figure 4).

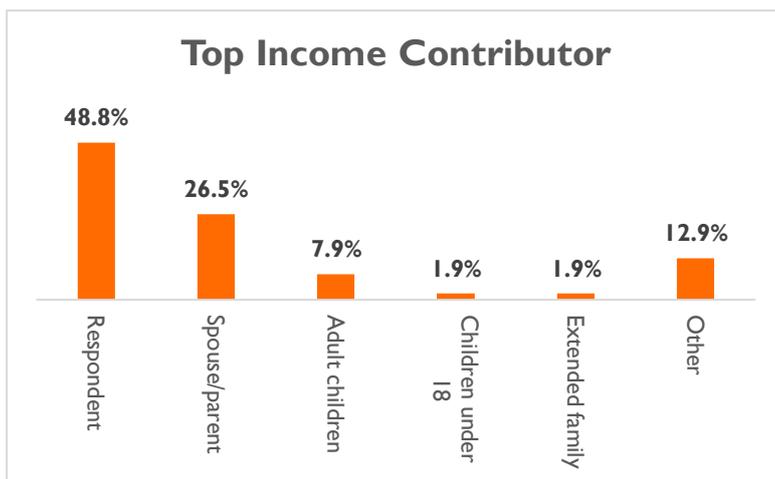


Figure 4- Top Income Contributor

The majority of the respondents (80.7%) earn an income below one million LBP (Figure 5), 10.1% earn an income between one million to one million and three hundred thousand LBP and only 9.3% earn above the aforementioned. It is noteworthy to mention that given the aforementioned figures, 96.6% of the sample earn an income below 1,600,000 LBP.

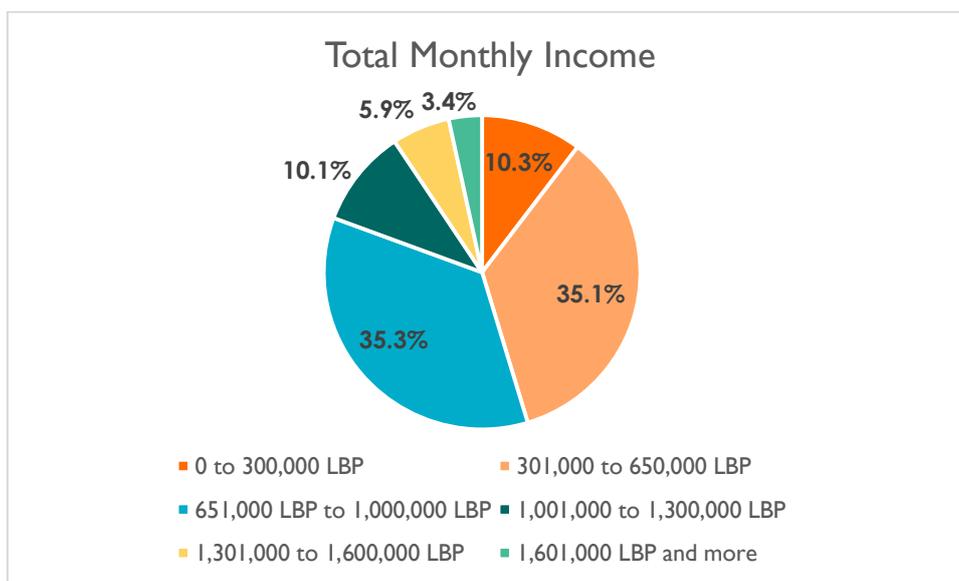


Figure 5- Total Monthly Income

Concerning perceived financial situation (Figure 6), respondents were asked to rate their perception of their financial situation through picking one of the four options describing the degree to which the household needs were met in the past year. More than half of the respondents (56.8%) mentioned that most of their needs are not met. Over quarter of the households (26.7%) mentioned that some of their needs met, 15.2% mentioned that most needs are met but cannot save money for the future plans and only 1.3% mentioned that their needs are met and they managed to save money for the future plans.

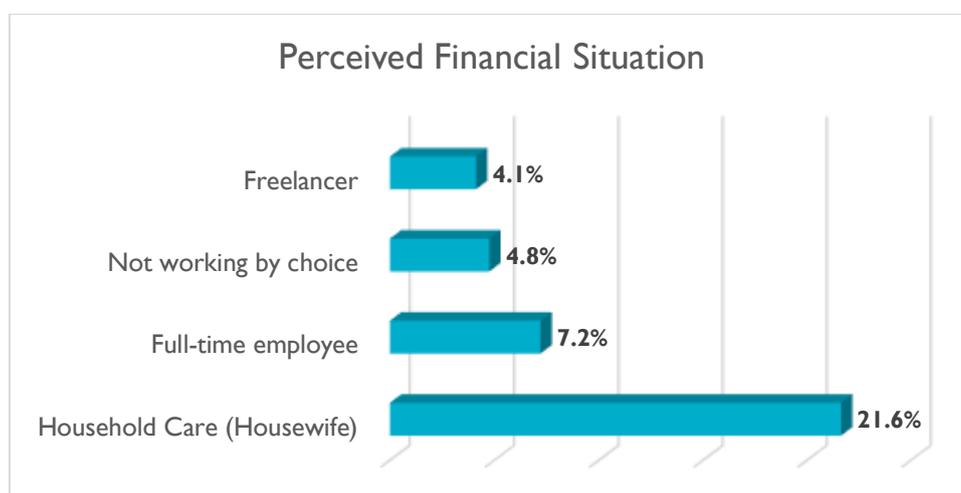


Figure 6- Perceived Financial Situation

Descriptives on family structure are elaborated in Table 1 below. **The mean number of total members is 5.75 and the mean number of children 3 to 18 years old is 2.58.** Breaking down the children by age groups, the proportion of households with children 3 to 11 years old is 76.9%, in which the average number was 2.0 children in this age-group and 50.8% are boys compared to 49.2% girls reflecting an almost equal sex-ratio. The proportion of households with children 12 to 18 years old is 60.1%, in which the average number was almost 2 (mean:1.7) children in this age-group and 51.3% are boys compared to 48.7% girls, again reflecting an almost equal sex-ratio for children in this age group.

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Total number of members	776	2.0	23.0	5.753	2.423
Total number of children (3-18)	776	1.000	10.000	2.582	1.577
Proportion of households with children 3 to 11 years old	597	Percentage (out of 776)			76.9
Proportion of boys 3-11 years old in the household	597	0.000	1.000	0.508	0.406
Proportion of girls 3-11 years old in the household	597	0.000	1.000	0.492	0.406
Total number of children 3-11 years old in the household	597	1.000	9.000	2.015	1.159
Proportion of households with children 12 to 18 years old	466	Percentage (out of 776)			60.1
Proportion of boys 12 to 18 years old in the household	466	0.000	1.000	0.513	0.428
Proportion of girls 12 to 18 years old in the household	466	0.000	1.000	0.487	0.428
Total number of children 12 to 18 years old in the household	466	1.000	5.000	1.719	0.809

Table 1- Family Structure and Outcomes of Interest

## NEGATIVE COPING MECHANISMS

To fortify the economic/financial lens of the study, engagement in negative coping mechanisms was explored. This supports in understanding the income and perceived financial situation figures. When unable to make ends meet with the income, household adopt a variety of strategies to cope with the deficiencies in their needs. To explore the extent of adoption of negative coping strategies, respondents were provided with a list of these negative strategies and asked to identify the ones they have engaged in during the past year. More than three-quarters (77.4%) of the respondents reported opting to purchase food on credit as one of the coping mechanisms while more than two-thirds (66.9%) borrowed money. Selling household assets and/or goods, spending savings and selling productive assets or means of transport were reported by 44.2%, 11.6% and 6.2% of the respondents respectively. Withdrawing children from school was reported by 7.7% of the respondents while 1.4% moved children from private to public schools. Only 6.4% of the respondents reported not opting for any coping mechanism. (Figure 7)

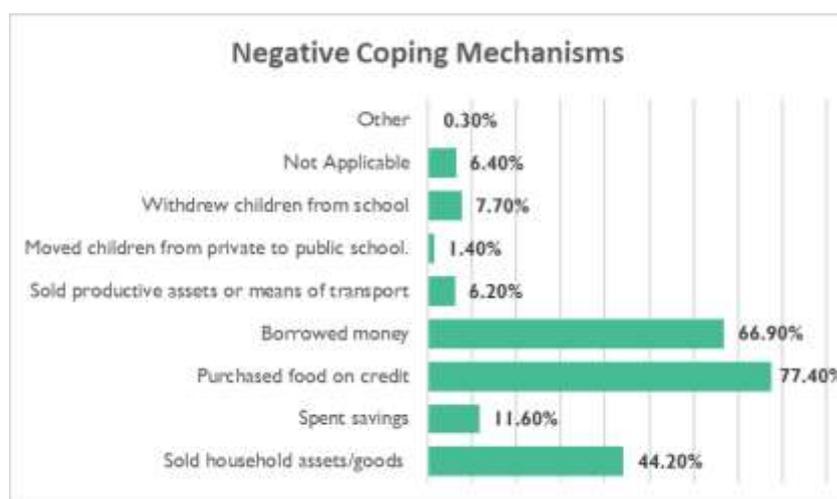


Figure 7- Negative Coping Mechanisms

Among those who have withdrawn their children from school (7.7%, 60 households), the sex-proportions of the withdrawn children were the same (70% for both males and females). The most prevalent reason for withdrawal was inability to pay school fees which was mentioned by 75.0% (n=45) of the respondents while fear of COVID-19 was a reason reported by 18.1% of the respondents. Logistical obstacles to online learning (absence of hardware, limited access to internet, limited access to electricity) was mentioned by 15.0% of the respondents who withdrew their children from school. It is noteworthy to highlight that 5 respondents (8.5%) mentioned the need to engage the child in income earning activities as a reason for withdrawing the children from school. Table 2 reflects a more detailed presentation of the reasons for withdrawal from school.

Reasons for withdrawal from school	N (%)
Inability to pay school fees and expenses (Tuition fees, transportation, stationary... )	45 (75.0%)
Unwillingness to pay school fees	0 (0.0%)
Poor educational performance of withdrawn child	3 (5.0%)
Fear of COVID-19	11 (18.3%)
Ineffectiveness of the current educational year due to COVID-19 measures (irregular attendance of classes within school premises and in-school measures...)	4 (6.7%)

Ineffectiveness of distant learning (online learning)	2 (3.3%)
Logistical obstacles to online learning (absence of hardware, limited access to internet, limited access to electricity)	9 (15.0%)
Inability of caregivers to support children with online learning (unfamiliarity with online platforms, education level of caregivers...)	3 (5.0%)
The need to engage the child in income earning activities	5 (8.3%)
Health issues of withdrawn child	2 (3.3%)
Educational level achieved is enough	0 (0.0%)
Violence and/or bullying	0 (0.0%)
Other	9 (15.0%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>

Table 2- Reasons for Withdrawal from School

## PARENTAL PERCEPTIONS

To explore parental perceptions around education and child labour, respondents were requested to identify their degree of agreement, on a three point Likert-type scale (agree, neutral and disagree) to a set of statements reflecting different perceptions in the society. Parental perceptions around education (in terms of perceived value and sex-stereotypes) and perceptions around child labour practices are abridged in tables 3 and 4 respectively.

	<b>Perception</b>	<b>Agreement Level</b>	<b>N (%)</b>
<b>Education Perceptions</b>	Educating children is a way to secure financial support and economic welfare in the future.	disagree	16 (2.1%)
		neutral	6 (0.8%)
		agree	754 (97.2%)
	Education is not worth the money it costs.	disagree	734 (94.6%)
		neutral	5 (0.6%)
		agree	37 (4.8%)
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.	disagree	745 (96.0%)
		neutral	14 (1.8%)
		agree	17 (2.2%)
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children	disagree	745 (96.0%)
		neutral	12 (1.5%)
		agree	19 (2.4%)
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth for securing family's welfare because girls get married and leave to support husbands' household.	disagree	745 (96.0%)
		neutral	14 (1.8%)
		agree	17 (2.2%)
	Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than girls.	disagree	712 (91.8%)
		neutral	18 (2.3%)
		agree	46 (5.9%)
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than boys.	disagree	668 (86.1%)
		neutral	23 (3.0%)
		agree	85 (11.05%)

	Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are <b>NOT</b> worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead.	disagree	757 (97.6%)
		neutral	5 (0.6%)
		agree	14 (1.8%)

Table 3- Parental Perceptions around Education

The vast majority (97.2%) of the respondents agreed that educating children is a way to secure financial support and economic welfare in the future. Only 37 respondents (4.8%) agreed to the statement that education is not worth the money it costs. In terms of sex-stereotypes around education, a trivial proportion of respondents (2.2%) agreed that schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs. Similarly, only 2.4% agreed to the statement that schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home taking care of children and 2.2% agreed to schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) not being worth for securing family's welfare because girls get married and leave to support husbands' household. Further, in terms of sex-stereotypes around academic abilities, a higher proportion of respondents (11.05%) agreed with education investments for girls (daughters) being worth because they have greater academic abilities compared to those who agreed to education investments for boys (sons) being worth because they have greater academic abilities (5.9%). Regarding the value of education for boys compared to that of child labour, only 14 respondents (1.8%) agreed to the statement that education investments for boys (sons) are not worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead. Overall, 17.5% agreed or somehow agreed (neutral) to all the perception statements around education, noting that these perceptions are negatively phrased reflecting false and fallacious ideas.

	Perception	Agreement Level	N (%)
<b>Child Labour Perceptions</b>	Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice.	disagree	664 (85.6%)
		neutral	16 (2.1%)
		agree	96 (12.4%)
	Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice if the child is above 14 years old.	disagree	504 (64.9%)
		neutral	20 (2.6%)
		agree	252 (32.5%)
	Child labour is a means of preparing children to the future.	disagree	576 (74.2%)
		neutral	27 (3.5%)
		agree	173 (22.3%)
	Parent derives much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour	disagree	501 (64.6%)
		neutral	21 (2.7%)
		agree	254 (32.7%)
	The economic situation encourages child labour practices.	disagree	420 (54.1%)
		neutral	16 (2.1%)
		agree	340 (43.8%)
	Peer pressure increases the numbers of children involved in child labour	disagree	419 (54.0%)
		neutral	29 (3.7%)

	agree	328 (42.3%)
Cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour.	disagree	489 (63.0%)
	neutral	18 (2.3%)
	agree	269 (34.7%)
A working child makes a responsible adult.	disagree	506 (65.2%)
	neutral	24 (3.1%)
	agree	246 (31.7%)
Child labour practices help the child to be smart.	disagree	550 (70.9%)
	neutral	31 (4.0%)
	agree	195 (25.1%)
Involving children in paid job enhances their life skills	disagree	434 (55.9%)
	neutral	15 (1.9%)
	agree	327 (42.1%)
Children gain a vocation through child labour	disagree	436 (56.2%)
	neutral	38 (4.9%)
	agree	302 (38.9%)
Not everyone gains many opportunities by studying. It's better to work at young age and gain income	disagree	598 (77.1%)
	neutral	14 (1.8%)
	agree	164 (21.1%)
Engaging children in paid work keeps them out of trouble	disagree	539 (69.5%)
	neutral	57 (7.3%)
	agree	180 (23.2%)
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys.	disagree	579 (74.6%)
	neutral	18 (2.3%)
	agree	179 (23.1%)

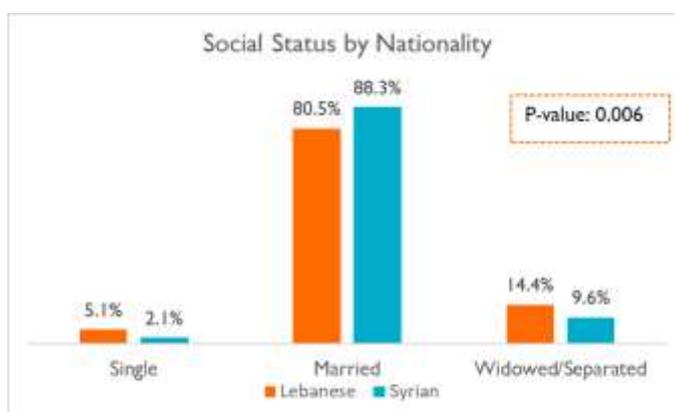
Table 4- Parental Perceptions around Child Labour

Around one eighth (12.4%) of the respondents agreed that child labour is an accepted and common form of practice and this percentage increases when the statement is narrowed down to boys, where 23.1% agreed that child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys. Moreover, a larger share (32.7%) of the participants agreed to child labour being an accepted and common form of practice when the statement is narrowed down to the age group of children above 14 years old. Regarding the perceived benefits of child labour, 22.3% agreed to child labour being a means of preparing children to the future, 32.7% believed that parent derives much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour, 31.7% believed that a working child makes a responsible adult, 25.1% believed that child labour practices help the child to be smart. Additionally, 42.1% believed that paid jobs enhance children's life skills, 38.9% believed that children gain a vocation by child labour and 23.2% believed that engaging children in paid work keeps them out of trouble. Concerning external and enabling factors, 43.8% believed that the economic situation encourages child labour practices and 42.3% perceived that peer pressure increases the numbers of children involved in child labour while 34.7% perceived that cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour. Finally, 21.1% believed that not everyone gains many opportunities by studying and it is better to work at young age

and gain income. Overall, 32.6% agreed or somehow agreed (neutral) to all the perception statements around child labour practices, noting that these perceptions are negatively phrased reflecting false and fallacious ideas.

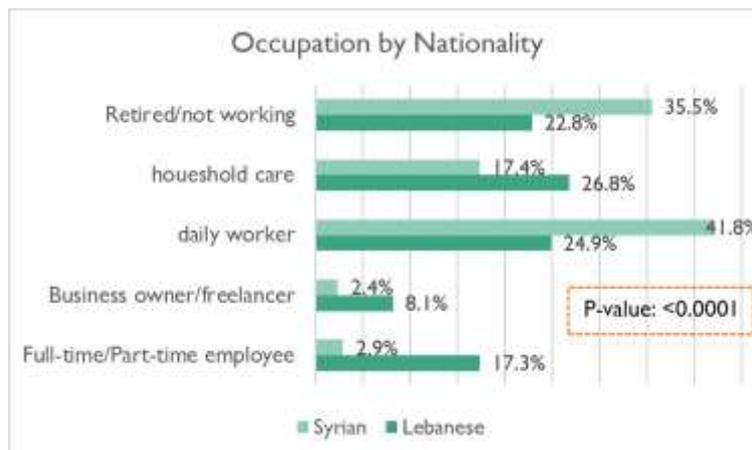
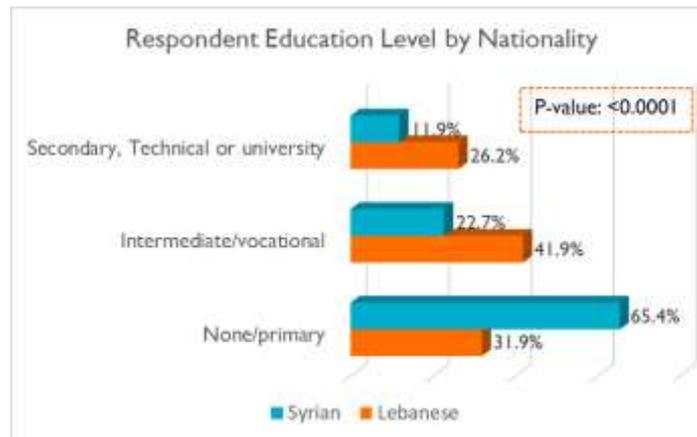
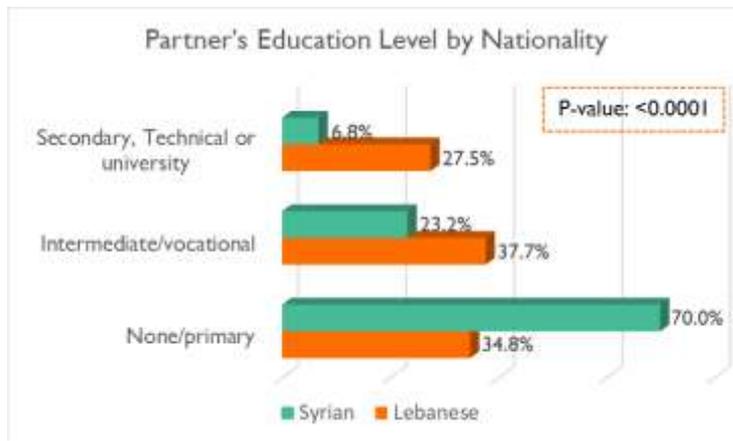
### Differences by Nationalities: In Terms of Socio-Economics, Outcomes and Perceptions

One of the hypotheses of the study design was the significant difference in characterises between the Lebanese and Syrian subsets in terms of socio-demographics, the perceptions and outcomes of interest. The hypothesis was validated with different tests and the differences between both sub-sets were proven to be significant and hence the correlational and predictive analyses were split by nationality to better explain the trends within each distinct group. The detailed descriptive figures split by nationality are available in Appendix 4.



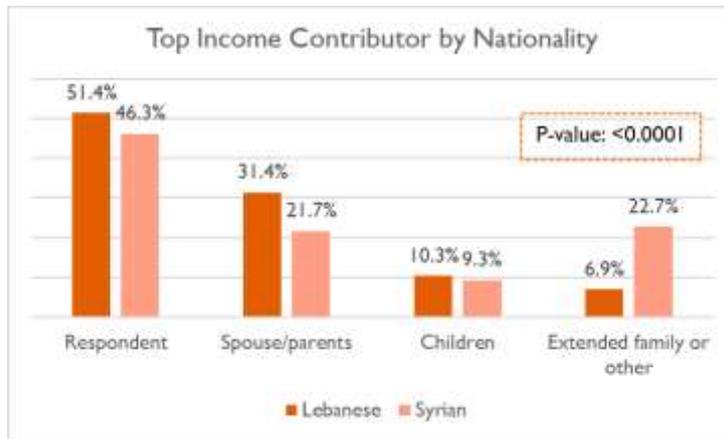
The majority of the respondents in both nationality groups were married with the percentage being higher in the Syrian population (88.3%) compared to the Lebanese (80.5%) and the differences in the social status percentages being statistically significant (P-value=0.006).

In the Lebanese population, respondents with intermediate/vocational educational represented the highest (41.9%) followed by respondents with no education or primary level (31.9%) and respondents with secondary/technical or university education level (26.2%). This pattern was different in the Syrian population where more than two thirds of the respondents (65.4%) had no or primary education followed by those having intermediate/vocational education (22.7%) and those having secondary/technical or university education level (11.9%). The difference between the two populations was statistically significant. A pattern similar to the respondent's education level is applicable to that of the partner's education level for both Syrian and Lebanese population with the difference being similarly statistically significant.



In terms of occupation, more than three-quarters of the Syrian respondents were either daily workers (41.8%) or were retired/not working (35.5%) while this pattern was statistically significantly different than the Lebanese population which was almost equally split between four occupation groups; daily worker, household care, retired/not working and a combination of full-time/part-time employee and business owner/freelancer.

The mean age of the Lebanese respondents was 46.0 years old while it was 36.9 years old for Syrian respondents and this difference was statistically significant.

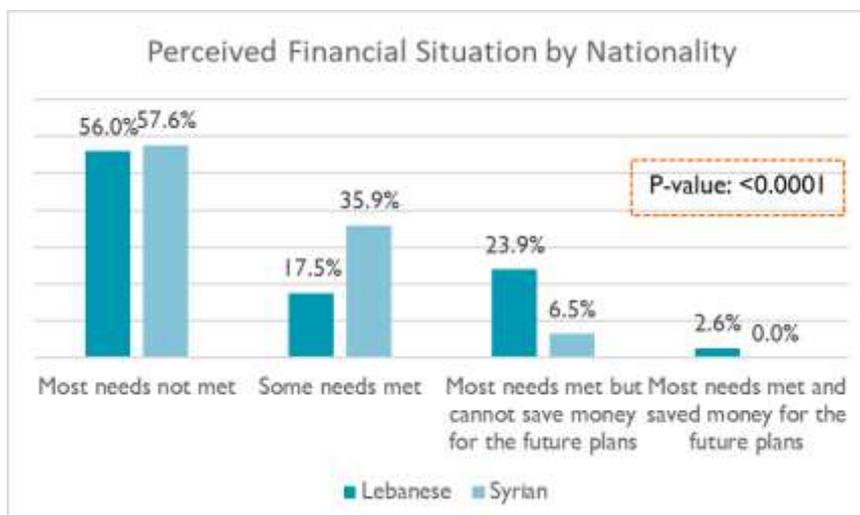


The difference in top income contributors' distribution between both populations was statistically significant and can be attributed to the higher percentage of Syrians relying on assistance as a source of income.



Similarly, the difference in the total monthly income was significant between both populations, where the majority of Lebanese respondents (86.2%) earned a total monthly income ranging up to 1,300,000 LBP while the majority of Syrian respondents (86.9%) earned a total income ranging up to 1,000,000 LBP.

Finally, Syrians reported worse perceived financial situation compared to Lebanese and the difference between the two populations was statistically significant. (Appendix 4)



The perceptions around education and child labour varied between both nationalities and the difference was statistically significant for almost all the perceptions except for the following education perceptions: educating children is a way to secure financial support and economic welfare in the future, education is not worth the money it costs, schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children and schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth for securing family's welfare because girls get married and leave to support husbands' household. The details on the perceptions and their mean scores by nationality are depicted in Appendix 5.

As for the three main outcomes of interest, the differences by nationalities are tackled in the following sections.

## Outcomes of Interest: School Enrolment, Child Labour and Household Chores

The descriptive figures followed by the correlational analyses and predictive analyses for the three outcomes of interest will be illustrated in the following sections. Firstly, figures for the whole target age group of children (3 to 18) are presented and then the figures are broken down by age groups into two sets; 3 to 11 years old group and 12 to 18 years old group. The aforementioned age-group breakdown was guided by the breakdown adopted throughout the data collection instrument used because the specific outcomes of interest were hypothesized to be different between those two age groups, a fact that can be noticed throughout the rest of the report when comparing the figures for both age groups.

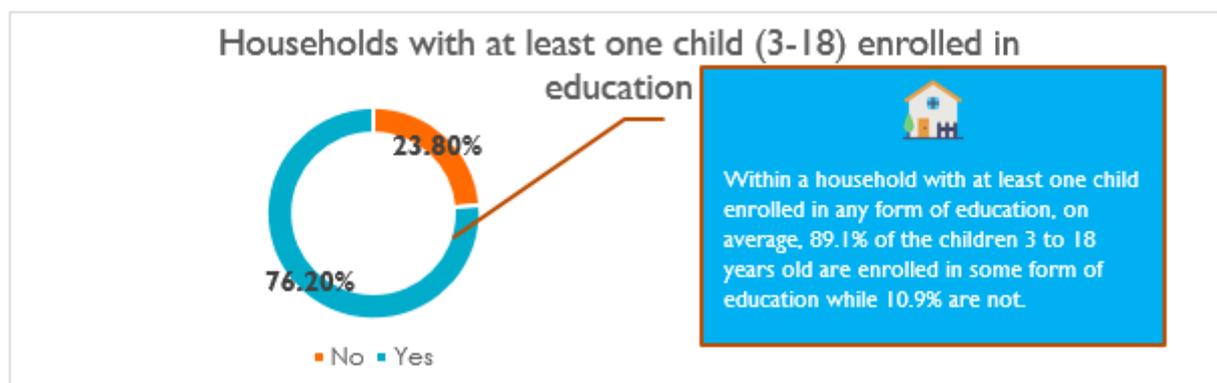
Additionally, the correlational and predictive analyses will be split by both nationality and age groups throughout the rest of the report. The split by nationality is due to the significant differences in the exploratory (independent) variables (discussed in the previous section) and the differences in the outcomes of interest between the two nationalities that necessitates studying the relationships between the variables at each nationality level alone.

### SCHOOL ENROLMENT

The following section summarizes the descriptive figures followed by the correlational analyses and predictive analyses for the school enrolment outcome; proportion of children enrolled in formal/nonformal education. Firstly, figures for the whole target age group of children (3 to 18) are presented and then the figures are broken down by nationality and age groups.

#### DESCRIPTIVE FIGURES

Throughout the sample, 76.2% (591 households) had at least one child aged 3 to 18 years old enrolled in some sort of education (formal/nonformal). Within the households, on average, 67.9% of the children 3 to 18 years old are enrolled in some form of education and 32.1% of the children (3 to 18) within the household are not enrolled in any form of education. To elaborate with an example; if total number of children in a household is 10 for example, on average 7 (67.9%) of them are enrolled in some form of education while 3 (32.1%) are not enrolled in any form.

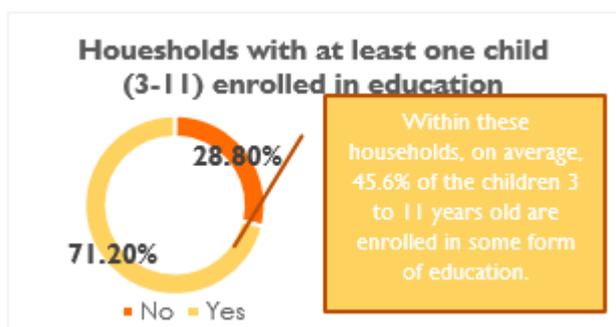


The education enrolment outcome for the entire age range of children (3 to 18 years old) varied significantly between the two nationalities, where 95.1% of the Lebanese respondents had at least one child 3 to 18 years old enrolled in any form of education while this percentage was 57.1% for Syrians ( $P\text{-value} = <0.0001$ ). Additionally, looking at another education outcome from another angle, 12.3% of the Lebanese respondents had at least one child 3 to 18 years old

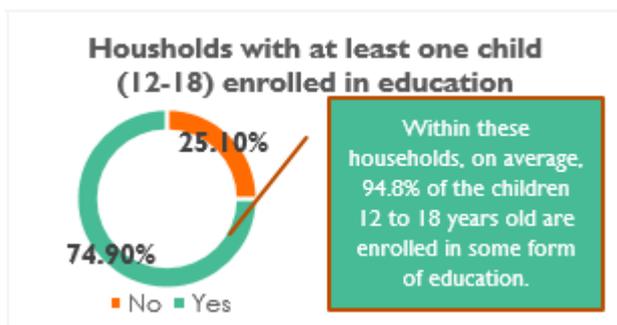
not enrolled in any form of education while this percentage was significantly ( $P\text{-value} < 0.0001$ ) higher in the Syrian sub-group at 71.6%.

Breaking down the figures by age groups:

- a- Of the households with children 3 to 11 years old, 71.2% had at least one child enrolled in some sort of education (formal/nonformal) indicating that 28.8% do not have any children enrolled in any type of education. Within the household with children 3 to 11 years old, on average, 32.5% of the children (3 to 11 years old) are enrolled in some form of education. School enrolment for the 3 to 11 years old was characterized with almost equal sex proportions (49.7% boys and 51.3% girls).



- b- Of the households with children 12 to 18 years old, 74.9% had at least one child enrolled in some sort of education (formal/nonformal). Within the households with children 12 to 18 years, on average, 71.0% of the children (12 to 18 years old) are enrolled in some form of education. School enrolment for the 12 to 18 years old was characterized with almost equal sex proportions (48.4% boys and 51.6% girls).



Breaking down the figures further by nationality, differences in school enrolment were observed when comparing the proportions between the Syrian and Lebanese populations for both age groups. Within the household with children 3 to 11 years old, on average, 47% of the children (3 to 11 years old) are enrolled in some form of education in the Lebanese population compared to 23% in the Syrian population ( $P\text{-value} < 0.001$ ). Similarly, Within the household with children 12 to 18 years old, on average, 89% of the children (12 to 18 years old) are enrolled in some form of education in the Lebanese population compared to 44% in the Syrian population ( $P\text{-value} < 0.001$ ). The sex-split enrolment figures did not significantly vary between the two populations, meaning that the proportion of boys enrolled in education did not vary by nationality and similarly the proportion of girls. (Table 5)

Outcome	Nationality	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Proportion of children 3-11 years old enrolled in <b>formal/nonformal education</b>	Lebanese	0.47	0.43	<0.0001*
	Syrian	0.23	0.36	
Proportion of boys 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Lebanese	0.50	0.43	0.893
	Syrian	0.49	0.43	
Proportion of girls 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Lebanese	0.50	0.43	0.893
	Syrian	0.51	0.43	
Proportion of children 12to18 years old enrolled in <b>formal/nonformal education</b>	Lebanese	0.89	0.29	<0.0001*
	Syrian	0.44	0.46	
Proportion of boys 12to18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Lebanese	0.49	0.45	0.693
	Syrian	0.47	0.43	
Proportion of girls 12to18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Lebanese	0.51	0.45	0.693
	Syrian	0.53	0.43	

Table 5- Education enrolment by nationality

Barriers to education like the unwillingness of schools to admit Syrian children leaves Syrian caregivers with options to register children in schools that are farther from their areas of residence hence the hurdle of transportation and its fees further demotivating caregivers to register their children and they end up dropping out. The aforementioned could contribute to lower figures in the Syrian population.

The lower proportions in specifically the younger age group for the Lebanese sub-population may be explained by culturally rooted neglect or lower perceived importance of formal education for the younger children below 6 years old. Until the 1990s, public schools have not paid much attention to the preschool phase and have required students to be five-years-old to be accepted in kindergarten, while private schools have always had a preschool phase accepting students as young as three-years-old. The lower figures for the Syrian population in this specific age group can be explained by the fact that the Lebanese children can be automatically accepted in elementary school while Syrians cannot. For Syrians, the transition to elementary school should be preceded by a certificate stating that they attended CB ECE or at least preparatory ECE (which is the one year alternative to CB ECE provided by the Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE)) and the only service providers of ECE are Non- Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

## EDUCATION/SCHOOL ENROLMENT AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS: CORRELATIONAL ANALYSIS

### Age group: 3 to 11 years old

A significant weak and positive association between respondent age and proportion of children 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education in Syrian sub-set was observed. That is, as Syrian respondent's age increased, the enrolment of children 3 to 11 years old in education increased. No significant association was captured for the Lebanese subset. Associations did not differ by sex proportion of children.

A Significant association between residence area and proportion of children 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education was observed in Syrian sub-set, where the highest proportion was in BML, followed by Bekaa and Akkar (Table 6). No significant association in the Lebanese sub-set and associations did not differ by sex proportion of children.

Proportion of children enrolled in formal/nonformal education						
Age group	Nationality/Area		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig.
3 to 11	Syrian	Akkar	109	<b>0.15</b>	0.30	<b>0.001*</b> <b>Welch</b>
		Bekaa	157	<b>0.24</b>	0.35	
		BML	97	<b>0.30</b>	0.40	
		Total	363	<b>0.23</b>	0.36	

Table 6- Education enrollment and Socio-demographics: Age group 3 to 11

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

No significant associations between education outcomes for both nationalities were captured with each of respondent sex. Social status, respondent's educational level, respondent's occupation, partner's educational level, top income contributor, perceived financial situation and total monthly income.

#### Age group: 12 to 18 years old

Proportion of children enrolled in formal/nonformal education						
Age group	Nationality/Area		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig.
Area	Syrian	Akkar	40	<b>0.25</b>	0.43	<b>&lt;0.0001*</b>
		Bekaa	94	<b>0.41</b>	0.45	
		BML	54	<b>0.62</b>	0.46	
		Total	188	<b>0.44</b>	0.46	
Partner's education Level	Lebanese	None/primary	85	<b>0.84</b>	0.36	<b>0.002*</b>
		Intermediate/vocational	91	<b>0.93</b>	0.24	
		Secondary, Technical or university	51	<b>1.00</b>	0.00	
		Total	227	0.91	0.27	
	Syrian	None/primary	113	<b>0.38</b>	0.46	<b>0.024*</b>
		Intermediate/vocational	36	<b>0.50</b>	0.47	
		Secondary, Technical or university	5	<b>0.90</b>	0.22	
		Total	154	0.43	0.46	
Top income contributor	Syrian	Respondent	84	<b>0.49</b>	0.49	<b>0.002*</b>
		Spouse/parents	31	<b>0.51</b>	0.48	
		Children	33	<b>0.22</b>	0.30	
		Extended family or other	40	<b>0.44</b>	0.49	
		Total	188	0.44	0.46	
Syrian	Most needs not met	104	<b>0.43</b>	0.46	<b>0.034*</b>	
	Some needs met	71	<b>0.39</b>	0.46		

<b>Perceived financial situation</b>		Most needs met but cannot save money for the future plans	13	<b>0.75</b>	0.41	
		Total	188	0.44	0.46	

Table 7- Education enrollment and Socio-demographics: Age group 12 to 18

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

A significant association between residence area and proportion of children 12-18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education in the Syrian sub-set, where the highest proportion was in BML, followed by Bekaa and Akkar. No significant association in Lebanese sub-set was captured and associations did not differ by sex proportion of children.

Partner's education level and proportion of children 12-18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education were significantly associated in both Syrian and Lebanese sub-sets, where enrolment increased with the increase in partner's education level for both nationalities (Table 7). These associations did not differ by sex proportion of children. No significant association between partner's education level and proportion of children 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education in both nationalities.

A significant association between top income contributor and proportion of children 12-18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education in Syrian sub-set was captured, where the lowest mean for the proportion of children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in education is captured when the top income contributors are reported to be children (Table 7). The aforementioned provides a ground basis for the hypothesized relationship between school enrolment and child labour. The association did not differ by sex proportion of children and no significant association was captured in the Lebanese subset. Moreover, no significant association between top income contributor and proportion of children 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education in both nationalities.

Perceived financial situation was significantly associated with the proportion of children 12-18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education in the Syrian sub-set, where the highest enrolment mean was reported by those disclosing that most of their needs are met compared to those whose some needs are met or most needs are not met (Table 7). The association did not differ by sex proportion of children and no significant association was observed in the Lebanese subset. In addition, no significant association between perceived financial situation and proportion of children 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education was observed in both nationalities.

No significant associations between education outcomes for both nationalities were captured with each of respondent sex, social status, respondent's educational level, respondent's occupation and total monthly income.

## EDUCATION/SCHOOL ENROLMENT AND PERCEPTIONS

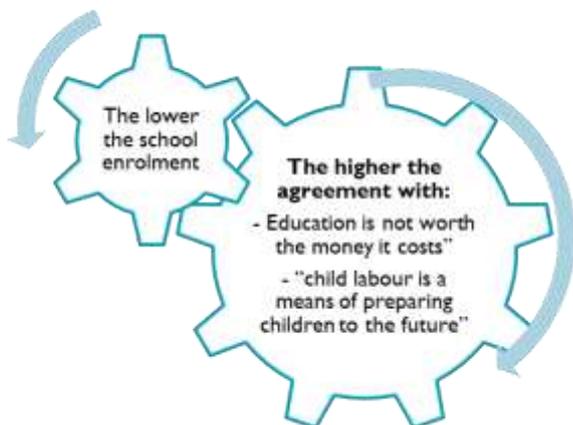
### Age group 3 to 11

Perceptions were weakly to very weakly associated (Pearson coefficient <0.2) with school enrolment in this age group.

### Age group 12 to 18:

Associations that are more prominent were observed in the older age group (12 to 18 years old). These associations were negative, implying that the stronger the belief in a perception, the lower the school enrolment.

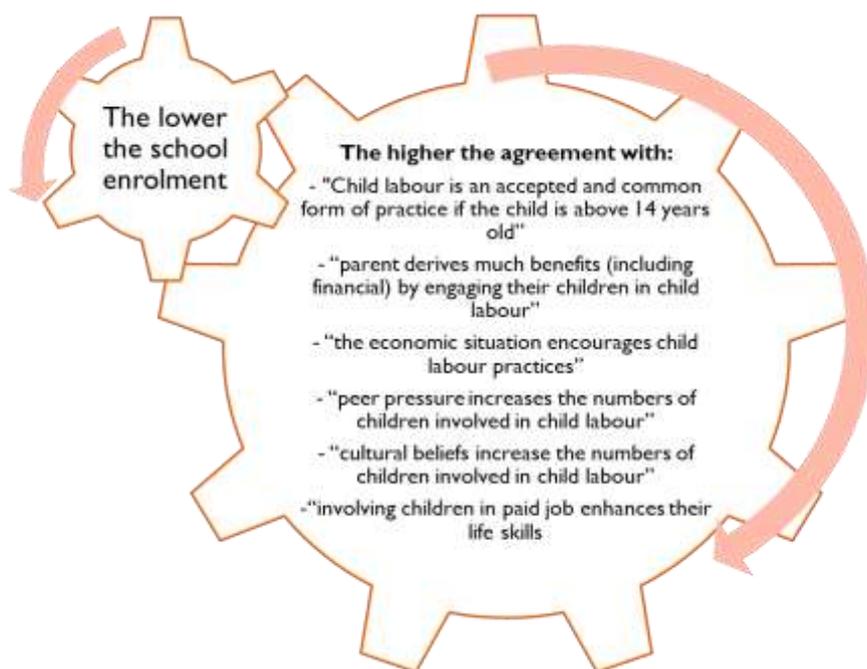
#### In the Lebanese subset:



“Education is not worth the money it costs” and “child labour is a means of preparing children to the future” were notably negatively correlated with the proportion of school enrolment in the Lebanese sub-group (that is, the stronger the belief in the perception, the lower the school enrolment).

#### In the Syrian subset:

School enrolment was notable negatively correlated with the following perceptions: “child labour is an accepted and common form of practice if the child is above 14 years old”, “parent derives much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour”, “the economic situation encourages child labour practices” and “peer pressure increases the numbers of children involved in child labour”, “cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour” and “involving children in paid job enhances their life skills”.



The detailed associations are depicted in Appendix 6.

## PREDICTING PROPORTION OF CHILDREN ENROLLED IN FORMAL/NONFORMAL EDUCATION

### Age Group: 3 to 11 years old

Age Group	Nationality		Unstandardized Coefficients (B)	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
3 to 11	Lebanese	<b>Residence area= Akkar</b> Reference: BML	0.569	<b>0.002</b>	0.203	0.935
		<b>Residence area= Bekaa</b> Reference: BML	0.295	<b>0.002</b>	0.114	0.477
		<b>Perceived financial situation=Most needs not met</b> Reference: Some needs met	0.158	<b>0.024</b>	0.021	0.295
		Total_monthly_income=1,601,000 LBP and above Reference: 301,000 to 650,000 LBP	0.207	0.085	-0.029	0.444
		Perception: Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than boys.	-0.139	0.074	-0.292	0.014
		<b>Perception: Parent derives much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour</b>	0.222	<b>0.017</b>	0.041	0.403
		<b>Perception: Cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour.</b>	-0.169	<b>0.027</b>	-0.319	-0.019
		<b>Perception: child labour enhances life skills</b>	-0.220	<b>0.004</b>	-0.370	-0.070
		<b>Proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in household chores</b>	-0.698	<b>&lt;0.0001*</b>	-1.085	-0.310
	Syrian	<b>Age</b>	0.011	<b>&lt;0.0001*</b>	0.006	0.015
		Occupation= Retired/not working Reference: Daily Worker	0.056	0.186	-0.027	0.139
		<b>Perception: Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.</b>	-0.120	<b>0.023</b>	-0.223	-0.016
		<b>Perception: Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than boys.</b>	0.051	<b>0.038</b>	0.003	0.100
		Perception: The economic situation encourages child labour practices.	-0.086	<b>0.007</b>	-0.149	-0.023
<b>Perception: A working child makes a responsible adult</b>		0.060	<b>0.018</b>	0.010	0.109	

		Perception: Children gain a vocation by child labour	-0.048	0.096	-0.104	0.009
		Proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in household chores	-0.098	0.224	-0.257	0.060
		Proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in child labour	-0.129	0.244	-0.347	0.088
Model characteristics:	Lebanese:	R square: 0.149 Sig: <0.0001*				
	Syrian:	R-square: 0.145 Sig: <0.0001*				

Table 8- Predicting proportion of children enrolled in formal/nonformal education for the age group 3 to 11

### Lebanese children 3 to 11:

The linear regression model for predicting education enrolment in Lebanese children 3 to 11 years old, depicted in Table 8, indicated that almost 15% of the variance ( $R^2=0.149$ ) in the proportion of Lebanese children 3-11 years old enrolled in education is explained by the independent variables in the table.

#### Positive predictors of school enrolment:

- The proportion of Lebanese children 3-11 years old enrolled in education is higher by 56.9% for caregivers residing in Akkar and 29.5% for caregivers residing in Bekaa compared to those residing in BML when controlling for all other variables.
- The proportion of Lebanese children 3-11 years old enrolled in education is higher by 15.8% higher for caregivers who perceive that most of their needs are met compared to those who perceive that some of their needs are met when controlling for all other variables.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 3-11 years old enrolled in education increases by 22.2% with the increase in agreement to the perception that parent derive much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour.

#### Negative predictors of school enrolment:

- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 3-11 years old enrolled in education decreases by 16.9% with the increase in agreement level to the perception that Cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 3-11 years old enrolled in education decreases by 22.0% with the increase in agreement level to the perception that child labour enhances life skills.

- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 3-11 years old enrolled in education decreases by 69.8% when comparing households with no children involved in household chores to those with all children involved in household chores.

### **Syrian children 3 to 11:**

The linear regression model for predicting education enrolment in Syrian children 3 to 11 years old, depicted in Table 8, indicated that almost 15% of the variance ( $R^2=0.145$ ) in the proportion of Syrian children 3-11 years old enrolled in education is explained by the independent variables in the table.

#### Positive predictors of school enrolment:

- The proportion of Syrian children 3-11 years old enrolled in education increases by 1% as caregiver's age increases by 1 year when controlling for all other variables.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3-11 years old enrolled in education increases by 5.1% with the increase in agreement to the perception that it's worth educating girls because they have greater academic abilities.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3-11 years old enrolled in education increases by 6.0% with the increase in agreement to the perception that child labour makes a responsible adult.

#### Negative predictors of school enrolment:

- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3-11 years old enrolled in education decreases by 12.0% with the increase in agreement level to the perception that educating girls is not worth because women have lower paying jobs.

### Age Group: 12 to 18 years old

Age Group	Nationality		Unstandardized Coefficients (B)	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
12 to 18	Lebanese	<b>Occupation=Retired/not working</b> Reference: Daily Worker	-0.381	<b>0.008</b>	-0.663	-0.099
		<b>Top income contributor =Extended family or other</b> Reference: Respondent	-0.630	<b>0.007</b>	-1.084	-0.176
		<b>Perceptions: Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than girls.</b>	-0.271	<b>0.053</b>	-0.546	0.003
		<b>Perceptions: Peer pressure increases the numbers of children involved in child labour</b>	0.317	<b>0.003</b>	0.109	0.525
		<b>Perceptions: Engaging children in paid work keeps them out of trouble</b>	-0.260	<b>0.029</b>	-0.493	-0.027
		Perceptions: Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys.	0.586	0.083	-0.078	1.250
		<b>Proportion of children 12to18 years old involved in child labour</b>	-1.010	<b>0.015</b>	-1.825	-0.195
		Proportion of children 12to18 years old involved in household chores	0.001	0.995	-0.262	0.264
	Syrian	<b>Perceptions: Cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour.</b>	-0.288	<b>0.001</b>	-0.453	-0.122
		<b>Perceptions: Child labour practices help the child to be smart.</b>	0.153	<b>0.048</b>	0.002	0.305
		Proportion of children 12to18 years old involved in child labour	-0.368	0.071	-0.768	0.032
		Proportion of children 12to18 years old involved in household chores	0.011	0.951	-0.341	0.363
Model characteristics:		Lebanese:	R square: 0.151 Sig: <0.0001*			
		Syrian:	R-square: 0.120 Sig: 0.001*			

Table 9- Predicting proportion of children enrolled in formal/nonformal education for the age group 12 to 18

### **Lebanese Children 12 to 18:**

The linear regression model for predicting education enrolment in Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old, depicted in Table 9, indicated that almost 15% of the variance ( $R^2=0.151$ ) in the proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in education is explained by the independent variables in the table.

#### Positive predictors of school enrolment:

- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in education increases by 31.7% with the increase in agreement to the perception that peer pressure increases the numbers of children involved in child labour.

#### Negative predictors of school enrolment:

- The proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in education is lower by 38.1% for caregivers who are retired or not working compared to daily workers when controlling for all other variables.
- The proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in education is 63.0% lower for households where the top income contributor is the extended family or other compared to those where the top income contributor is the respondent when controlling for all other variables.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in education decreases by 27.1% with the increase in agreement to the perception that it's worth educating boys because they have greater academic abilities.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in education decreases by 26.0% with the increase in agreement to the perception that child labour keeps children out of trouble.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in education decreases by 101% when comparing households with no children involved in child labour to those with all children involved in child labour.

### **Syrian Children 12 to 18:**

The linear regression model for predicting education enrolment in Syrian children 12 to 18 years old, depicted in Table 9, indicated that almost 12% of the variance ( $R^2=0.120$ ) in the proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in education is explained by the independent variables in the table.

#### Positive predictors of school enrolment:

- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in education increases by 15.3% with the increase in agreement to the perception that Child labour practices help the child to be smart.

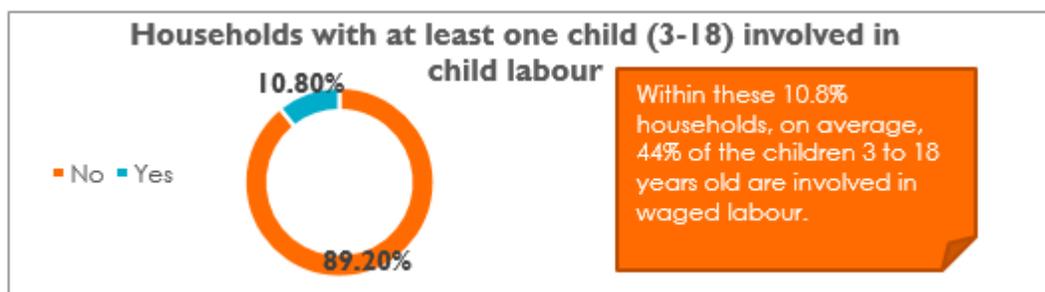
#### Negative predictors of school enrolment:

- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in education decreases by 28.8% with the increase in agreement to the perception that cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour

## CHILD LABOUR

### DESCRIPTIVE FIGURES

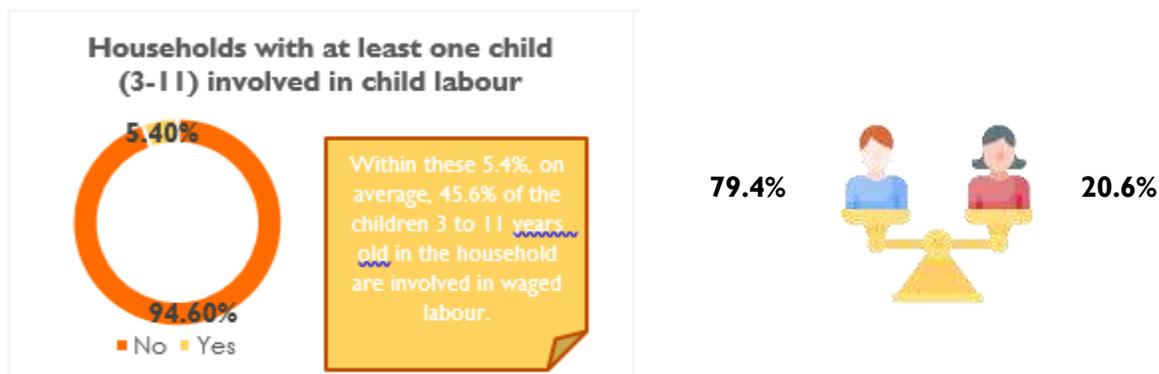
When asked about involvement of children in child labour, 10.8% (84 households) had at least one child aged 3 to 18 years old engaged in child labour. Within the assessed households, on average, 4.8% of the children 3 to 18 years old are engaged in child labour.



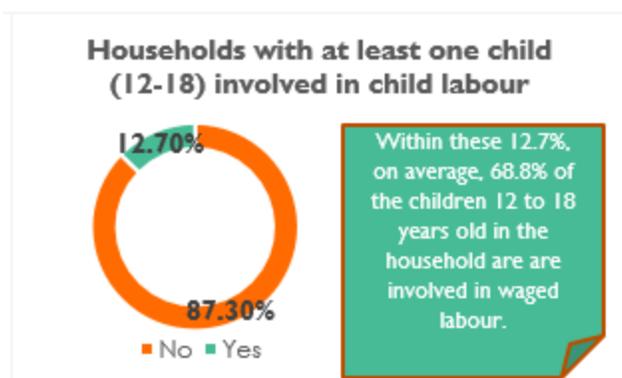
The child labour outcome for the entire age range of children (3 to 18 years old) varied significantly between the two nationalities, where 1.5% of Lebanese respondents had at least one child 3 to 18 years old engaged in child labour while this percentage is significantly ( $p\text{-value} < 0.0001$ ) higher in Syrian respondents at 20.2%.

Breaking down the figures by age groups:

- a- Of the households with children 3 to 11 years old, 5.4% had at least one child involved in child labour. Within the households with children 3 to 11 years old, on average, 3.1% of the children (3 to 11 years old) are involved in child labour. The sex proportion for children 3 to 11 involved in child labour was 79.4% boys and 20.6% girls.



- b- Of the households with children 12 to 18 years old, 12.7% had at least one child involved in child labour. Within the households with children 12 to 18 years, on average, 8.7% of the children (12 to 18 years old) are involved in child labour. The sex proportion for children 12 to 18 involved in child labour was 77.4% boys and 22.6% girls.



Breaking down the figures further by nationality, differences in involvement in child labour were observed when comparing the proportions between the Syrian and Lebanese populations for both age groups. Within the household with children 3 to 11 years old, on average, none of the children (3 to 11 years old) are involved in child labour in the Lebanese population compared to 5% in the Syrian population (P-value <0.001). Similarly, Within the household with children 12 to 18 years old, on average, 2% of the children (12 to 18 years old) are involved in child labour in the Lebanese population compared to 19% in the Syrian population (P-value <0.001). The sex-split figures did not significantly vary between the two populations, meaning that the proportion of boys involved in child labour did not vary by nationality and similarly the proportion of girls. (Table 10)

Outcome	Nationality	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in <b>child labour</b>	Lebanese	0.00	0.00	<0.0001*
	Syrian	0.05	0.19	
Proportion of boys 3-11 years old involved in child labour	Lebanese	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Syrian	0.79	0.36	
Proportion of girls 3-11 years old involved in child labour	Lebanese	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Syrian	0.21	0.36	
Proportion of children 12to18 years old involved in <b>child labour</b>	Lebanese	0.02	0.12	<0.0001*
	Syrian	0.19	0.34	
Proportion of boys 12to18 years old involved in child labour	Lebanese	0.83	0.41	0.694
	Syrian	0.77	0.39	
Proportion of girls 12to18 years old involved in child labour	Lebanese	0.17	0.41	0.694
	Syrian	0.23	0.39	

Table 10- Child labour involvement by nationality

In terms of the type of labour the children 3 to 11 are engaged in, more than third (37.5%) sell items (vending), 28.1% are scrappers and 12.5% are involved in farming. For the older age group, 12 to 18, engaged in child labour, 28.1% are skilled labour, 23.4% work in the farming field, 9.4% are daily workers and 7.8% are scrappers. The labour types mentioned are summarized in Appendix 3.

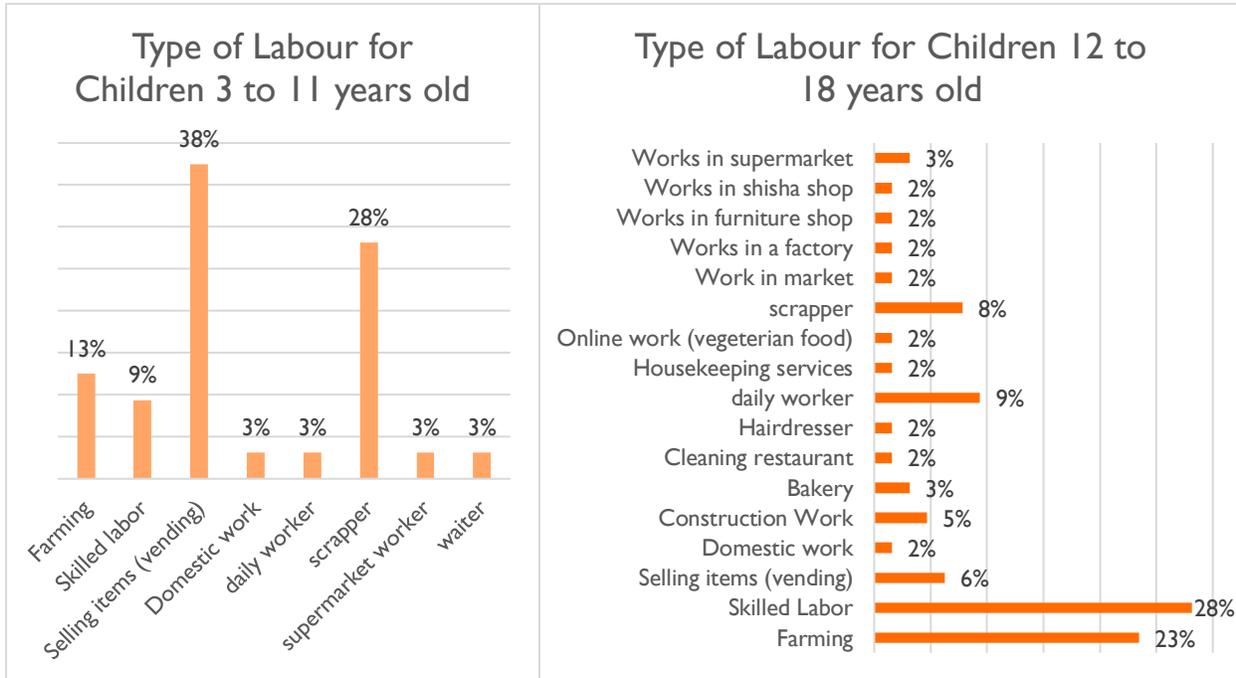


Figure 8- Types of Labour

## CHILD LABOUR AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS: CORRELATIONAL ANALYSIS

### Age group: 3 to 11 years old

Very weak to no significant associations were captured between socio-demographics and child labour outcome for this age-group for both nationalities.

### Age group: 12 to 18 years old

A significant association between respondent's education level and proportion of children 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour was observed in the Syrian sub-set. The mean of the proportion was the highest among those with no/primary education compared to those with intermediate or secondary education (Table 11). The association did not differ by sex proportion of children and no significant association were observed in the Lebanese subset.

Proportion of children involved in child labour						
Age group	Nationality	Respondent education level	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig.
Respondent education level	Syrian	None/primary	128	<b>0.24</b>	0.38	<b>0.007*</b> (Welch)
		Intermediate/vocational	47	<b>0.09</b>	0.23	
		Secondary, Technical or university	13	<b>0.10</b>	0.20	
		Total	188	0.19	0.34	
Occupation	Syrian	Full-time/Part-time employee	8	<b>0.04</b>	0.12	<b>0.038*</b>
		Business owner/freelancer	5	<b>0.40</b>	0.55	
		daily worker	73	<b>0.15</b>	0.30	
		household care	35	<b>0.14</b>	0.27	
		Retired/not working	65	<b>0.27</b>	0.41	
		Total	186	0.19	0.34	
Top income contributor	Syrian	Respondent	84	<b>0.14</b>	0.29	<b>0.001*</b>
		Spouse/parents	31	<b>0.16</b>	0.33	
		Children	33	<b>0.46</b>	0.42	
		Extended family or other	40	<b>0.10</b>	0.28	
		Total	188	0.19	0.34	
Total monthly income	Syrian	0 to 300,000 LBP	18	<b>0.03</b>	0.12	<b>0.011*</b> (Welch)
		301,000 to 650,000 LBP	63	<b>0.21</b>	0.36	
		651,000 LBP to 1,000,000 LBP	65	<b>0.21</b>	0.37	
		1,001,000 to 1,600,000 LBP	39	<b>0.21</b>	0.34	
		1,601,000 LBP and above	3	<b>0.17</b>	0.29	
		Total	188	0.19	0.34	
Perceived financial situation	Syrian	Most needs not met	104	<b>0.18</b>	0.34	<b>0.042*</b>
		Some needs met	71	<b>0.23</b>	0.38	
		Most needs met but cannot save money for the future plans	13	<b>0.07</b>	0.15	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>0.19</b>	<b>0.34</b>	

Table 11- Child Labour and Socio-demographics: Age group 12 to 18

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Respondent occupation and the proportion of children 12-18 years old involved in child labour in Syrian sub-set were significantly associated, where the highest mean was reported by business owners/freelancers (Table 11), a possible reason could be the business owners' desire to teach their child their own business. The association did not differ by sex proportion of children and no significant association in was detected in the Lebanese subset.

Top income contributor and proportion of children 12-18 years old involved in child labour in Syrian sub-set were significantly associated where the highest mean was observed for respondents reporting children to be the top income contributors (Table 11). The aforementioned is expected, as involvement in child labour is a prerequisite for a child below 18 to be the top income contributors and this also aligns with the observed relationship between the top income contributor and education outcome previously discussed further supporting the hypothesized negative relationship between child labour and education. The association do not differ by sex proportion of children and no significant association was observed in the Lebanese subset.

The proportion of children 12-18 years old involved in child labour was significantly associated with the total monthly income in the Syrian sub-set, where the lowest mean was observed among those earning less than 300,000 LBP compared to others (Table 11). The aforementioned raises question marks around household with working children being better off, specially that an association test does not capture the direction of the association. These associations did not differ by sex proportion of children and no significant association in Lebanese subset was detected.

A significant association between perceived financial situation and proportion of children 12-18 years old involved in child labour was observed in the Syrian sub-set, where the lowest mean was observed in those reporting that most of their needs are met compared to those whose most needs are not met and some needs met (Table 11). This association, similarly to the association with total monthly income discussed previously, raises question marks around household with working children being better off, specially that an association test does not capture the direction of the association. The associations did not differ by sex proportion of children and no significant association in the Lebanese subset was observed.

No significant associations between child labour outcomes for both age groups and nationalities were captured with each of respondent age, respondent sex, social status and partner's educational level.

## **CHILD LABOUR AND PERCEPTIONS**

### Age group: 3 to 11

Regarding the child labour outcome, there were no child labour cases for children 3 to 11 years old in the Lebanese sub-group.

**In the Syrian subset,** “child labour is an accepted and common form of practice” was notably positively correlated with the proportion of children 3 to 11 years old involved in child labour. That is, the stronger the belief in the perception, the higher the involvement in child labour.



### Age group: 12 to 18

**In the Lebanese subset:**



“Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs” and “schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are not worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead” were notably positively correlated with the child labour outcome for the Lebanese sub-group but not significant with the sex-

split proportion.

**For the Syrian subset:**

The perceptions “child labour is an accepted and common form of practice if the child is above 14 years old”, “parent derives much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour” and “cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour” were positively correlated with the proportion of children 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour.



However, these correlations were notably negative when tested with the proportion of boys 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour (sex-split) meaning that an increased belief in these perceptions decreases the proportion of boys 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour but increases the proportion of girls 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour (being a boy or a girl being mutually exclusive outcomes).

The detailed associations are depicted in Appendix 6.

## PREDICTING PROPORTION OF CHILDREN INVOLVED IN CHILD LABOUR

### Age group: 3 to 11 years old

Regression analysis could not be conducted for the Lebanese sub-group for children aged 3 to 11 years old since there were no cases of child labour for Lebanese in this age group.

Age Group	Nationality		Unstandardized Coefficients (B)	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
3 to 11	Syrian	Perceptions: Education is not worth the money it costs.	0.049	<b>0.016</b>	0.009	0.088
		Perceptions: Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.	-0.101	<b>0.014</b>	-0.181	-0.020
		Perceptions: Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children.	0.085	<b>0.027</b>	0.010	0.160
		Perceptions: Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are NOT worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead.	0.082	<b>0.018</b>	0.014	0.151
		Perceptions: Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice.	0.025	<b>0.031</b>	0.002	0.049
		Perceptions: The economic situation encourages child labour practices.	0.051	<b>0.000</b>	0.023	0.080
		Perceptions: Children gain a vocation by child labour	-0.055	<b>0.000</b>	-0.080	-0.031
		Proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in household chores	-0.095	<b>0.021</b>	-0.175	-0.015
		Proportion of children 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	-0.028	0.299	-0.080	0.025
Model characteristics:		Syrian:	R-square: 0.154 Sig: <0.0001*			

Table 12- Predicting proportion of children involved in child labour for the age group 3 to 11

### **Syrian children 3 to 11:**

The linear regression model for predicting engagement in child labour in Syrian children 3 to 11 years old, depicted in Table 12, indicated that almost 15% of the variance ( $R^2=0.154$ ) in the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in child labour is explained by the independent variables in the table.

#### Positive predictors of school enrolment:

- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in child labour increases by 4.9% with the increase in agreement to the perception that education is not worth the money it costs.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in child labour increases by 8.5% with the increase in agreement to the perception that schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in child labour increases by 8.2% with the increase in agreement to the perception that schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are NOT worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in child labour increases by 2.5% with the increase in agreement to the perception that child labour is an accepted and common form of practice.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in child labour increases by 5.1% with the increase in agreement to the perception that The economic situation encourages child labour practices.

#### Negative predictors of school enrolment:

- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in child labour decreases by 10.1% with the increase in agreement to the perception that schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in child labour decreases by 5.5% with the increase in agreement to the perception that children gain a vocation by child labor.

- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3-11 years old involved in child labour decreases by 9.5% when comparing households in which all children are involved in household chores to households where none are involved.

### Age group: 12 to 18 years old

Age Group	Nationality		Unstandardized Coefficients (B)	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
12 to 18	Lebanese	<b>Respondent sex</b> Reference: Male	0.057	<b>0.008</b>	0.015	0.099
		<b>Occupation =Full-time/Part-time employee</b> Reference: Daily worker	-0.044	<b>0.064</b>	-0.090	0.003
		<b>Occupation =household care</b> Reference: Daily worker	-0.075	<b>0.006</b>	-0.129	-0.021
		<b>Occupation =Retired/not working</b> Reference :Daily worker	-0.071	<b>0.002</b>	-0.116	-0.026
		<b>Top income contributor=Children</b> Reference: Respondent	0.067	<b>0.032</b>	0.006	0.129
		Total monthly income rec=1,001,000 to 1,600,000 LBP Reference: 301,000 to 650,000 LBP	0.033	0.072	-0.003	0.070
		Perceptions: Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are NOT worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead.	0.241	<b>0.000</b>	0.162	0.319
		<b>Total number of children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education</b>	-0.026	<b>0.009</b>	-0.045	-0.007
		Proportion of children 12to18 years old involved in household chores	-0.019	0.345	-0.058	0.021
	Syrian	<b>Age</b>	0.011	<b>0.000</b>	0.006	0.015
	Occupation= Retired/not working Reference: Daily worker	0.056	0.186	-0.027	0.139	

		<b>Perception: Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.</b>	-0.120	<b>0.023</b>	-0.223	-0.016
		<b>Perception: Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than boys.</b>	0.051	<b>0.038</b>	0.003	0.100
		<b>Perception: The economic situation encourages child labour practices.</b>	-0.086	<b>0.007</b>	-0.149	-0.023
		<b>Perception: A working child makes a responsible adult.</b>	0.060	<b>0.018</b>	0.010	0.109
		Perception: child labour gain vocation	-0.048	0.096	-0.104	0.009
		Proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in household chores	-0.098	0.224	-0.257	0.060
		Proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in child labour	-0.129	0.244	-0.347	0.088
Model characteristics:		Lebanese:	R square: 0.235 Sig: <0.0001*			
		Syrian:	R-square: 0.300 Sig: <0.0001*			

Table 13- Predicting proportion of children involved in child labour for the age group 12 to 18

### Lebanese children 12 to 18:

The linear regression model for predicting engagement in child labour in Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old, depicted in Table 13, indicated that almost 23.5% of the variance ( $R^2=0.235$ ) in the proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour is explained by the independent variables in the table.

### Positive predictors of child labour involvement:

- The proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour is higher by 5.7% for female caregivers compared to male caregivers when controlling for all other variables.
- The proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour is 6.7% lower for households where the top income contributor are children compared to those where the top income contributor is the respondent when controlling for all other variables.

#### Negative predictors of child labour involvement:

- The proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour is lower by 4.4%, 7.5% and 7.1% respectively for caregivers who are full-time/part-time , involved in household care and retired or not working compared to daily workers when controlling for all other variables.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 12-18 years old involved in child labour decreases by 2.6% when comparing households with all children enrolled in education compared to those households with none enrolled.

#### **Syrian children 12 to 18:**

The linear regression model for predicting engagement in child labour in Syrian children 12 to 18 years old, depicted in Table 13, indicated that almost 30.0% of the variance ( $R^2=0.300$ ) in the proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour is explained by the independent variables in the table.

#### Positive predictors of child labour involvement:

- The proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour increases by 1.1% as caregiver's age increases by 1 year when controlling for all other variables.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour increases by 5.1% with the increase in agreement to the perception that Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than boys.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour increases by 6.0% with the increase in agreement to the perception that child labour makes a responsible adult.

#### Negative predictors of child labour involvement:

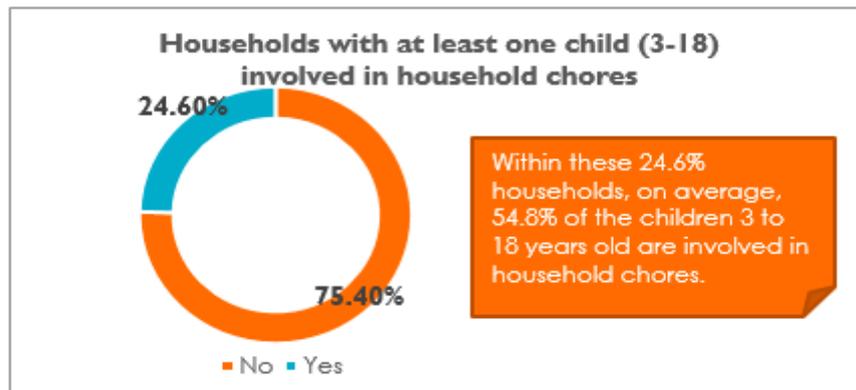
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour decreases by 12.0% with the increase in agreement to the perception that Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.

- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old involved in child labour decreases by 12.0% with the increase in agreement to the perception that the economic situation encourages child labour practices.

## HOUSEHOLD CHORES

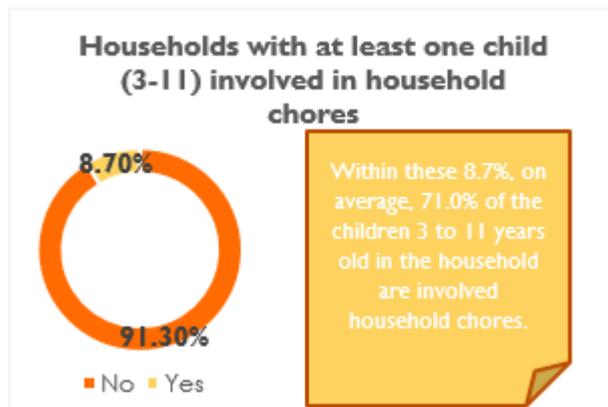
### DESCRIPTIVE FIGURES

Regarding engagement of children in household chores, 24.6% (191 households) had at least one child aged 3 to 18 years old engaged in household chores. Within the assessed households, on average, 13.5% of the children 3 to 18 years old are engaged in household chores.

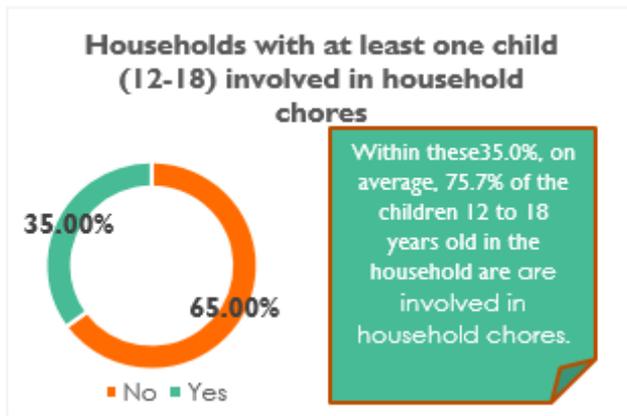


Breaking down the figures by age groups:

- a- Of the households with children 3 to 11 years old, 8.7% had at least one child involved in household chores. Within the households with children 3 to 11 years old, on average, 6.2% of the children (3 to 11 years old) are involved in household chores. The sex proportion for children 3 to 11 involved in household chores was 19.6% boys and 80.4% girls.



- b- Of the households with children 12 to 18 years old, 35.0% had at least one child involved in household chores. Within the households with children 12 to 18 years, on average, 26.5% of the children (12 to 18 years old) are involved in household chores. The sex proportion for children 12 to 18 involved in household chores was 4.7% boys and 95.3% girls.



Breaking down the figures further by nationality, differences in involvement in household chores were observed when comparing the proportions between the Syrian and Lebanese populations for both age groups. Within the household with children 3 to 11 years old, on average, 3% of the children (3 to 11 years old) are involved in household chores in the Lebanese population compared to 8% in the Syrian population (P-value <0.001). Similarly, Within the household with children 12 to 18 years old, on average, 22% of the children (12 to 18 years old) are involved in household chores in the Lebanese population compared to 33% in the Syrian population (P-value <0.001). The sex-split figures significantly varied between the two populations. For both age groups, the proportion of boys involved in child labour was higher in the Syrian population compared to the Lebanese and the proportion of girls involved in household chores was higher in the Lebanese population compared to the Syrian (all children involved in household chores are girls in the Lebanese households). (Table 14)

Outcome	Nationality	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. (2-tailed)
Proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in <b>household chores</b>	Lebanese	0.03	0.15	<0.0001*
	Syrian	0.08	0.25	
Proportion of boys 3-11 years old involved in household chores	Lebanese	0.00	0.00	<0.0001*
	Syrian	0.23	0.40	
Proportion of girls 3-11 years old involved in household chores	Lebanese	1.00	0.00	<0.0001*
	Syrian	0.77	0.40	
Proportion of children 12to18 years old involved in <b>household chores</b>	Lebanese	0.22	0.39	<0.0001*
	Syrian	0.33	0.39	
Proportion of boys 12to18 years old involved in household chores	Lebanese	0.00	0.00	0.003*
	Syrian	0.09	0.27	
Proportion of girls 12to18 years old involved in household chores	Lebanese	1.00	0.00	0.003*
	Syrian	0.91	0.27	

Table 14- Involvement in household chores by nationality

## HOUSEHOLD CHORES AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS: CORRELATIONAL ANALYSIS

### Age group: 3 to 11 years old

Proportion of children involved in household chores						
Age Groups	Nationality	Area	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig.

<b>Area</b>	Lebanese	Akkar	24	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>&lt;0.0001*</b>
		Bekaa	63	<b>0.10</b>	<b>0.27</b>	
		BML	147	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	
		Total	234	<b>0.03</b>	0.15	
	Syrian	Akkar	109	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>&lt;0.0001*</b>
		Bekaa	157	<b>0.13</b>	<b>0.29</b>	
		BML	97	<b>0.09</b>	<b>0.26</b>	
		Total	363	<b>0.08</b>	0.25	
<b>Partner's education Level</b>	Syrian	None/primary	230	<b>0.09</b>	0.26	<b>0.003*</b>
		Intermediate/vocational	74	<b>0.08</b>	0.23	
		Secondary, Technical or university	22	<b>0.02</b>	0.07	
		Total	326	0.08	0.24	
<b>Perceived financial situation</b>	Lebanese	Most needs not met	127	<b>0.00</b>	0.00	<b>0.017*</b>
		Some needs met	39	<b>0.06</b>	0.21	
		Most needs met but cannot save money for the future plans	62	<b>0.06</b>	0.23	
		Most needs met and saved money for the future plans	6	<b>0.00</b>	0.00	
		Total	234	0.03	0.15	

Table 15- Household Chores and Socio-demographics: Age group 3 to 11

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

A significant weak and negative association between respondent age and proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in household chores in Syrian sub-set was observed. That is, as Syrian respondent's age increased, the involvement of children 3 to 11 years old in household chores decreased. No significant association was captured for the Lebanese subset. Associations did not differ by sex proportion of children.

Residence area was significant associated with the proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in household chores in both Lebanese and Syrian sub-set. The highest proportions were observed in Bekaa compared to BML and Akkar. The associations did not differ by sex proportion of children A significant association between partner's education level and proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in household chores was detected in the Syrian sub-set, where the mean of this proportion decreased with higher educational level categories (Table 15). The association did not differ by sex proportion of children and no significant association was detected in Lebanese subset

An association between perceived financial situation and proportion of children 3-11 involved in household chores was significant for the Lebanese subgroup but not for the Syrian subgroup. The involvement in household chores was higher for respondents who had most needs met but were unable to save money and some met compared to those who had most not met but saved money and those who had most needs not met. No differences by sex proportion of children. (Table 15)

## Age group: 12 to 18 years old

Proportion of children involved in household chores						
Age Groups	Nationality	Area	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig.
12 to 18	Lebanese	Akkar	40	0.18	0.37	0.020*
		Bekaa	67	0.34	0.43	
		BML	171	0.19	0.37	
		Total	278	0.22	0.39	
	Syrian	Akkar	40	0.27	0.34	0.006*
		Bekaa	94	0.42	0.41	
		BML	54	0.21	0.36	
		Total	188	0.33	0.39	
Respondent education level	Syrian	None/primary	128	0.24	0.38	0.007*
		Intermediate/vocational	47	0.09	0.23	
		Secondary, Technical or university	13	0.10	0.20	
		Total	188	0.19	0.34	
Occupation	Lebanese	Full-time/Part-time employee	41	0.12	0.31	0.036*
		Business owner/freelancer	22	0.31	0.39	
		daily worker	72	0.30	0.43	
		household care	69	0.25	0.41	
		Retired/not working	67	0.15	0.35	
		Total	271	0.23	0.39	
Perceived financial situation	Lebanese	Most needs not met	149	0.11	0.30	<0.0001*
		Some needs met	55	0.23	0.40	
		Most needs met but cannot save money for the future plans	67	0.40	0.44	
		Most needs met and saved money for the future plans	7	0.86	0.24	
		Total	278	0.22	0.39	

Table 16- Household Chores and Socio-demographics: Age group 12 to 18

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Residence area was significant associated with the proportion of children 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores in both Lebanese and Syrian sub-set. The highest proportions were observed in Bekaa compared to BML and Akkar. The associations did not differ by sex proportion of children.

Respondent education level and proportion of children 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores were significantly associated in the Syrian sub-set, where the highest mean was observed in respondents with none/primary

education compared to higher levels (Table 16). The association did not differ by sex proportion of children and no significant association was detected in Lebanese subset.

Respondent occupation and proportion of children 12-18 years old involved in household chores were significantly associated in the Lebanese sub-set, where fulltime/part-time employees and those retired/not working had the lowest mean compared to other occupation types (Table 16). The association did not differ by sex proportion of children and was not significant in the Syrian subset. No Significant association between occupation and proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in household chores in both Lebanese and Syrian sub-sets.

A significant association between perceived financial situation and proportion of children 12-18 years old involved in household chores in the Lebanese sub-set was detected, where the involvement in household chores was higher for respondents who had most needs met compared to those who had some met or most not met. The association did not differ by sex proportion of children.

## HOUSEHOLD CHORES AND PERCEPTIONS

Prominent associations were not detected between the perceptions and the proportion of children involved in household chores for both age groups in the Lebanese sub-population. It is noteworthy to mention that in the Lebanese sub-population all the children involved in household chores were females (in both age groups).

### Age group 3 to 11

In the Syrian sub-group, the perceptions “Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are NOT worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead” and “child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys” were notably positively correlated with the proportion of children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores.



### Age group 12 to 18:

For the older age group, the perceptions “the economic situation encourages child labour practices”, “a working child makes a responsible adult” and “child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys” were positively correlated with the proportion of children 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores.



The detailed associations are depicted in Appendix 6.

## PREDICTING PROPORTION OF CHILDREN INVOLVED IN HOUSEHOLD CHORES

### Age group: 3 to 11 years old

Age Group	Nationality		Unstandardized Coefficients (B)	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
3 to 11	Lebanese	Age	0.002	0.124	-0.001	0.005
		<b>Residence area=Akkar</b> Reference: BML	0.133	<b>0.022</b>	0.020	0.247
		<b>Residence area=Bekaa</b> Reference: BML	0.157	<b>0.000</b>	0.105	0.209
		<b>Total monthly income =651,000 LBP to 1,000,000 LBP</b> Reference: 301,000 to 650,000 LBP	-0.064	<b>0.008</b>	-0.111	-0.017
		Total monthly income =1,001,000 to 1,600,000 LBP Reference: 301,000 to 650,000 LBP	-0.047	0.113	-0.104	0.011
		<b>Perceptions: Children gain a vocation by child labour</b>	-0.080	<b>0.000</b>	-0.120	-0.041
		<b>Proportion of children 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education</b>	-0.081	<b>0.001</b>	-0.130	-0.032
	Syrian	<b>Residence area=Akkar</b> Reference: BML	-0.090	<b>0.034</b>	-0.172	-0.007
		Occupation =Business owner/freelancer Reference: Daily worker	0.148	0.054	-0.003	0.300
		<b>Occupation =Retired/not working</b> Reference: Daily worker	0.082	<b>0.005</b>	0.025	0.139
		<b>Perceptions: Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.</b>	-0.163	<b>0.001</b>	-0.262	-0.064
		Perceptions: Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth for securing family's welfare because girls get married and leave to support husbands' household.	0.099	0.080	-0.012	0.211
		<b>Perceptions: Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are NOT worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead.</b>	0.255	<b>0.000</b>	0.170	0.341
		<b>Perceptions: Child labour is a means of preparing children to the future.</b>	-0.033	<b>0.049</b>	-0.066	0.000

		<b>Perceptions: Child labour practices help the child to be smart.</b>	0.037	<b>0.033</b>	0.003	0.070
		Perceptions: Involving children in paid job enhances their life skills	0.039	0.066	-0.003	0.081
		<b>Perceptions: Children gain a vocation by child labour</b>	-0.046	<b>0.013</b>	-0.083	-0.010
		<b>Perceptions: Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys.</b>	0.044	<b>0.026</b>	0.005	0.082
		Proportion of children 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	-0.025	0.483	-0.093	0.044
		<b>Proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in child labour</b>	-0.157	<b>0.028</b>	-0.297	-0.017
Model characteristics:		Lebanese:	R square: 0.234 Sig: <0.0001*			
		Syrian:	R-square: 0.237 Sig: <0.0001*			

Table 17- Predicting proportion of children involved in household chores for the age group 3 to 11

### Lebanese children 3 to 11:

The linear regression model for predicting engagement in household chores in Lebanese children 3 to 11 years old, depicted in Table 17, indicated that almost 23.4% of the variance ( $R^2=0.234$ ) in the proportion of Lebanese children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores is explained by the independent variables in the table.

#### Positive predictors of involvement in household chores:

- The proportion of Lebanese children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores is higher by 13.3% and 15.7% when comparing households from Akkar and Bekaa respectively to households from BML while controlling for all other variables.

#### Negative predictors of involvement in household chores:

- The proportion of Lebanese children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores is lower by 6.4% when comparing households with a total monthly income of 651,000 LBP - 1,000,000 LBP to those with total monthly income of 301,000 LBP – 650,000 LBP while controlling for all other variables.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores decreases by 8.0% with the increase in agreement to the perception that children gain a vocation by child labor.

- While holding other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores is decreases by 8.1% when comparing households where all children are enrolled in education to households with none enrolled in education.

### **Syrian children 3 to 11:**

The linear regression model for predicting engagement in household chores in Syrian children 3 to 11 years old, depicted in Table 17, indicated that almost 23.7% of the variance ( $R^2=0.237$ ) in the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores is explained by the independent variables in the table.

#### Positive predictors of involvement in household chores:

- The proportion of Lebanese children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores is higher by 8.2% when comparing households with retired/not working caregiver to households where the caregiver is a daily worker (when holding all other variables as constants).
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores increases by 25.5% with the increase in agreement to the perception that Schooling/education investments for boys are not worth and they better engage in labour.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores increases by 3.7% with the increase in agreement to the perception that child labour makes children smart.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores increases by 4.4% with the increase in agreement to the perception that child labour is common for boys.

#### Negative predictors of involvement in household chores:

- The proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores is lower by 9.0 when comparing households from Akkar to households from BML while controlling for all other variables.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores decreases by 16.3% with the decrease in agreement to the perception that Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.

- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores decreases by 3.3% with the increase in agreement to the perception that child labour prepares children for the future.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores decreases by 4.6% with the increase in agreement to the perception that children gain a vocation by child labor.
- While holding other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores decreases by 15.7% when comparing households where all children are involved in child labour to those where none are involved.

### Age group: 12 to 18 years old

Age Group	Nationality		Unstandardized Coefficients (B)	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
12 to 18	Lebanese	Residence area=Bekaa Reference: BML	0.093	0.095	-0.016	0.203
		<b>Perceived financial situation=Most needs not met</b> Reference: Some of the needs met	-0.249	<b>0.000</b>	-0.349	-0.149
		<b>Perceived financial situation=Most needs met and saved money for the future plans</b> Reference: Some of the needs met	0.527	<b>0.000</b>	0.247	0.807
		<b>Education level of partner=None/primary</b>	0.099	<b>0.043</b>	0.003	0.196
		<b>Perceptions: Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children</b>	-0.194	<b>0.044</b>	-0.384	-0.005
		<b>Perceptions: Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than girls.</b>	0.207	<b>0.007</b>	0.056	0.358
		Perceptions: Cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour.	-0.082	0.064	-0.169	0.005
		Total number of children 12to18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	0.012	0.683	-0.046	0.070
		Proportion of children 12to18 years old involved in child labour	-0.163	0.392	-0.536	0.211

Syrian	<b>Residence area=Bekaa</b> Reference: BML		0.220	<b>0.004</b>	0.073	0.366
	<b>Perceptions: Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice if the child is above 14 years old.</b>		0.103	<b>0.008</b>	0.028	0.178
	<b>Perceptions: Child labour is a means of preparing children to the future.</b>		-0.095	<b>0.014</b>	-0.171	-0.019
	Total number of children 12to18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education		0.008	0.811	-0.060	0.077
	Proportion of children 12to18 years old involved in child labour		-0.026	0.768	-0.202	0.149
Model characteristics:		Lebanese:	R square: 0.263 Sig: <0.0001*			
		Syrian:	R-square: 0.138 Sig: 0.001*			

Table 18- Predicting proportion of children involved in household chores for the age group 12 to 18

### Lebanese children 12 to 18:

The linear regression model for predicting engagement in household chores in Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old, depicted in Table 18, indicated that almost 26.3% of the variance ( $R^2=0.263$ ) in the proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores is explained by the independent variables in the table.

#### Positive predictors of involvement in household chores:

- The proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores is higher by 52.7% when comparing caregivers who perceive that most of their needs are met and they saved money to those who perceive that some of their needs are met (when holding all other variables as constants).
- The proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores is higher by 9.9% when comparing caregivers who have partners with no or primary education to those who have partners with intermediate education. (when holding all other variables as constants).
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores increases by 20.7% with the increase in agreement to the perception that schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than girls.

#### Negative predictors of involvement in household chores:

- The proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores is lower by 24.9% when comparing caregivers who perceive that most of their needs are met to those who perceive that some of their needs are met (when holding all other variables as constants).
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores decreases by 19.4% with the increase in agreement to the perception that Schooling/education investments for girls are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children.

#### **Syrian children 12 to 18:**

The linear regression model for predicting engagement in household chores in Syrian children 12 to 18 years old, depicted in Table 18, indicated that almost 13.8% of the variance ( $R^2=0.138$ ) in the proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores is explained by the independent variables in the table.

#### Positive predictors of involvement in household chores:

- The proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores is higher by 22.0% when comparing households from Bekaa to households from BML while controlling for all other variables.
- While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old involved in household increases by 10.3% with the increase in agreement to the perception that child labour is an accepted and common form of practice if the child is above 14 years old.

#### Negative predictors of involvement in household chores:

While holding all other variables constant, the proportion of Syrian children 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores decreases by 9.5% with the increase in agreement to the perception that child labour is a means of preparing children to the future

## Associations between outcomes: (Education & Child labour) and (Education and Household Chores)

The school enrolment outcome and the child labour outcome were not significantly correlated in the younger age group for Syrians while it could not be tested for Lebanese as there were no cases of child labour in this age group. Similar result was observed for the sex-split outcomes. On the other hand, a notable negative correlation was observed between the school enrolment outcome and the child labour outcome for the elder age group for both nationalities (Table 19). This implies that an increase in school enrolment decreases engagement in child labour and vice versa (keeping in mind that an association does not reveal the direction of the effect). The association was slightly stronger in the Syrian sub-group but was not significant for both nationalities when testing with the sex-split outcomes meaning there exist no significant differences by the child sex.

Correlations between Education outcome and child labour outcome					
Age groups		Nationality	Outcomes		Proportion of children involved in child labour
12 to 18	Total	Lebanese	Proportion of children 12to18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.248**</b>
				Sig. (2-tailed)	<0.0001*
				N	278
	Syrian	Proportion of children 12to18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.288**</b>	
			Sig. (2-tailed)	<0.0001*	
			N	188	

Table 19- Education Enrolment and Child Labour

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The school enrolment outcome and the household chores outcome were significantly negatively correlated in the younger age group for Lebanese while not for Syrians. Split by sex, this negative relationship of school enrolment is slightly stronger with the proportion of boys involved in household chores and the opposite can be concluded about girls. So, in the Lebanese sub-group the proportion of boys involved in household chores decreases with the increase in school enrolment while the proportion of girls involved in household chores increases. On the other hand, only with sex-splitting a notable correlation was observed between the school enrolment outcome and the household chores outcome in the elder age group for both nationalities (Table 20). The proportion of children enrolled in education

was negatively correlated with the proportion of boys involved in household chores for both nationalities. This implies that, for both nationalities in the 12 to 18 years old age group, the proportion of boys involved in household chores decreases with the increase in school enrolment while the proportion of girls involved in household chores increases.

Correlations between Education outcome and Household Chores outcome					
Age groups		Nationality	Outcomes		Proportion of involved in household chores
3 to 11	Total	Lebanese	Proportion of children 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.163*</b>
				Sig. (2-tailed)	0.012
				N	234
	Sex-split	Lebanese	Proportion of boys 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.180**</b>
				Sig. (2-tailed)	0.007
				N	223
12 to 18	Sex-split	Lebanese	Proportion of boys 12to18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.507**</b>
				Sig. (2-tailed)	<0.0001*
				N	254
		Syrian	Proportion of boys 12to18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.363**</b>
				Sig. (2-tailed)	<0.0001*
				N	95

Table 20- Education Enrolment and Household Chores

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*.. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

## Discussion

### Main Findings

The present study explored figures around three child activity outcomes; school enrolment, engagement in child labour and engagement in household chores in addition to parental perceptions around schooling and child labour. The study sought to explore characteristics of the outcomes and their associations with several hypothesized factors including socio-economic and parental perceptions.

The results reveal that, 76.2% had at least one child aged 3 to 18 years old enrolled in some sort of education (formal/nonformal). On average, within a household, 67.9% of the children 3 to 18 years old are enrolled in some form of education while 32.1% are not. The within household enrolment figure was lower for the younger age group compared to the older. The aforementioned figures are of concern taking into consideration the socio-economic figures revealed in the study, where more than majority of the respondents (80.7%) earn an income below one million LBP, which in turn raises red flags regarding the affordability of education and its related expenses. In addition to the diminished income, the inflation adds up to the financial burdens which might in turn lead to higher engagement in negative coping mechanisms. One of those mechanisms is withdrawal of children from schools and was highlighted by 7.7% of the respondents of which a lion's share (75%) stated the inability to pay school fees and expenses (Tuition fees, transportation, stationary...) to be the primary cause. The education enrolment outcome for the entire age range of children (3 to 18 years old) and when splitting to age groups varied significantly between the two nationalities, with higher enrolment proportions for the Lebanese respondents compared to the Syrians which is in line with existing figures (*Save Our Education: Protect Every Child's Right to Learn in the COVID-19 Response and Recovery* | Resource Centre, n.d.).

The proportion of Syrian children enrolled in education was significantly higher for both age groups in BML compared to Bekaa and Akkar respectively however residing in Bekaa or Akkar were positive predictors of enrolment for the Lebanese younger age group (3 to 11 years old). Involvement in household chores was a significant negative predictor of school enrolment in the younger Lebanese age group while involvement in child labour was significant for the older Lebanese age group (12 to 18 years old). Comparing Syrian versus Lebanese populations, perceptions predominantly more than socio-demographics predicted school enrolment in the Syrian population compared to the Lebanese, and this was noted with the stronger associations of the outcome with perceptions in the Syrian population. This could be a cue that education enrolment decision within Syrian households is more likely to be affected by perceptions and beliefs than by demographic and economic factors of the household.

Involvement of at least one child 3 to 18 years old in labour was reported by 10.8% of the households. Engagement of at least one child in child labour was higher for the older age group (12.7%) compared to 3 to 11 years old (5.4%), with no cases for the Lebanese younger age group and a significant greater engagement of boys compared to girls. Child labour figures were higher in the Syrian population compared to the Lebanese which is in line with evidence from other studies (*Child Labour Survey in Lebanon*, 2015; *Save Our Education: Protect Every Child's Right to Learn in the COVID-19 Response and Recovery* | Resource Centre, n.d.). A recent study conducted by IRC and LPC highlighted the association between food insecurity and child labour; one leading to the other bi-directionally which makes the child labour figures from this study more alarming given the eminently reported food-related negative coping mechanism where 77.4% of the households outlined resorting to purchasing food on credit. Perceptions and household chores were predictors of child labour involvement in the younger Syrian age group while the predictors for the older age group were socio-demographics and school enrolment in the Lebanese population and predominantly perceptions in the Syrian population. Although strong correlations between the proportion of children involved in child labour were detected for the older Syrian group, perceptions were more dominant in predicting the outcome suggesting, similarly to education enrolment, that the child activity decision for the Syrian population is more strongly guided by perceptions compared to socio-demographics. Further, the associations of child labour involvement with total monthly income and perceived financial situation in the Syrian population, raise red flags as higher involvement was observed in the middle income categories compared to the lower one and for those reporting some needs met compared to those with most needs not met.

Children help other family members with household activities, quite often along with their studies, which is in line with findings from the 2015 Child Labour Survey in Lebanon (*Child Labour Survey in Lebanon*, 2015). Almost quarter of the surveyed households had at least one child 3 to 18 years old involved in household chores, and this percentage was significantly higher for the older age group (12 to 18) at 35% compared to the younger age group at only 8.7%. Household chores figures were higher in the Syrian population compared to the Lebanese and notably higher for girls compared to boys for both nationalities which is in line with existing evidence (*Child Labour Survey in Lebanon*, 2015). In the Lebanese population, financial/economic variables were predictors of involvement in household chores, where those reporting middle income categories compared to the lower one and those reporting some needs met compared to those with most needs not met had higher involvement in household chores suggesting a possible social/cultural acceptance cause rooted in beliefs.

Bivariate analyses validated hypothesized one-on-one relationships between the outcomes and socio-demographic factors. Multivariate analyses of the outcomes of interest revealed a strong negative

predictive relationship between education enrolment and child labour in the Lebanese older age group. The proportion of Lebanese children 12 to 18 years old enrolled in education decreases by 101% when comparing households with no children involved in child labour to those with all children involved in child labour. Household chores had a strong negative predictive power on education enrolment in the younger Lebanese age group, where the proportion of Lebanese children 3-11 years old enrolled in education decreased with the increase in the proportion of children (Lebanese, 3 to 11) involved in household chores. Child labour had a strong negative predictive power on engagement in household chores in the younger Syrian age group, where the proportion of Syrian children 3-11 years old engaged in household chores decreased with the increase in the proportion of children (Syrian, 3 to 11) involved in child labour. Parental perceptions echoing individual beliefs at times and cultural norms at others had predictive power over the outcomes of interest, which highlights the role of beliefs and norms in the child activity decision-making process.

The acceptance rate of perceptions around the de-prioritization of school enrolment and the higher preference for accepting child labour practices speaks to the complexity and enormity of needs in both populations. This puts children at risk of becoming in the "best case scenario", "idle" meaning not included in any form of meaningful activity that provides them with skills and knowledge needed to acquire future livelihood opportunities. In the worst-case scenarios, children in the light of this research are prone to higher risks that affects their survival, development and rights. On a longer term and if the situation keeps evolving in this direction, depending on the context children might be further prone to exploitation and grave violations and some of them might be recruited into armed groups.

## Strengths and Limitations of the Study

### STRENGTHS

This study adds to a body of knowledge aiming to understand child activity decisions, their outcomes and determinants and specifically in Lebanon by relying and building on existing theoretical models. The representative sampling provided enough power to draw inferences at each nationality level and a representation over three geographical areas within Lebanon. Finally, the anonymity of the questionnaires reduced some potential effect of social desirability.

### LIMITATIONS

The adoption of a cross-sectional design, which is known to be a weak design for the apprehension of complex relationships and intricate causal pathways, was one of the limitations of this study in addition to

the reliance on remote data collection modality for such a sensitive topic. Moreover, perceptions can be informed by several biases for multiple purposes including social desirability and ripping off help, which can be more of a limitation in interviewer-administered cross-sectional designs. The generalizability of this study was, most likely, restricted to BML, Bekaa and Akkar excluding the South. Finally, the probability of under-reporting for a sensitive behaviour such as child labour should be kept in mind and school enrolment figures might have been affected by the status of education in the country given the pandemic and the weak preparedness plan to shift to remote education with its unprecedented considerations and burdens.

## Recommendations

- The results of the study provide a sound indication in the direction of behavioral predictors playing a notable role in child activity decision making. This paves the way and identifies the need for more in-depth studies exploring the behavioral determinants of child activity decision making. Future efforts studying the determinants should rely on existing behavioral theories and frameworks to be comparable with existing body of literature adopting these frameworks. Additionally, qualitative studies and elicitations should be considered as well to augment understanding these behavioral determinants looking at the intricate nature of the child activity decision-making process. This will help in addressing these behavioral predictors and including them in future programming efforts especially under behavior change agendas.
- The figures around school enrolment highlighted evidence on disruption of education, particularly in the refugee community, where the absence of a solid and sound system for the shift from traditional face-to-face schooling to remote learning was the main contributing factor given the weak preparedness of the educational system for such a shift during the past year. As such, efforts should be focused on:
  - enhancing the remote learning alternative in several aspects, access-wise and in its technical (content) nature. This support's WVU's advocacy asks and efforts which focus on promoting having a sound preparedness plan for the switch from face-to-face to the remote modality of learning, this could be embodied in a ready and set platform for remote learning to be utilized in cases dictating school closures (For example, the covid-19 pandemic...)
  - Building teachers' capacity to engage better with children remotely through a combination of in-service and pre-service capacity building plan and daily coaching and mentoring sessions to be able to cater for the specific needs of children, especially children with disabilities (PwDs) and learning difficulties.
- The research revealed negative association between school enrollment and both child labour and household chores. This calls to advocate with the concerned ministries (Ministry of Education and Higher Education (MEHE), The Ministry of Social Affairs (MoSA), the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities (MOIM) and the Ministry of Justice (MOJ)), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), NGOs, and the concerned sectors to develop plans to ensure the education of children through

the implementation and monitoring of "Free and Compulsory education for all" inscribed in article 49 of Legislative Decree No. 134 of 1959, as amended in 2011. Additionally, advocate to widen the current compulsory education age range for children from 6 to 14 to 3 to 15 to ensure children are delayed from being involved in child labour as a prevention measure through policy change.

- The study highlighted that 23.8% of the households had none of their children 3 to 18 years old enrolled in any form of education. This highlights the need to focus (support the sector efforts) on outreach efforts (through phone calls, door-to-door, community assessments, referrals...) to identify those children and put them in the suitable learning schemes pertinent to their profiles (formal or non-formal education opportunities).
  
- Catch-up initiatives based on learning assessments should be adopted combined with outreach activities (mentioned above) and retention support to ensure better retention of the children when enrolled in formal education.
  
- Given the high out of school figures and the fact that the ALP scheme has been halted, efforts advocating and promoting the revival of ALP should be focused on to ensure a smoother passage from non-formal education to formal education.
  
- The study highlighted that 7.7% of the interviewed household opted for withdrawing their children from schools as a coping strategy to deficiencies in basic needs. Three quarters of these household mentioned the inability to pay school fees and expenses (Tuition fees, transportation, stationary...) to be the primary cause. This in combination with the results from the Learning and Readiness Assessment by the Inter-Agency Coordination in Lebanon (*Learning Readiness Assessment Analysis Report APRIL, 2020*) foreground the need to advocate for:
  - Support in covering transportation and stationary fees which are reverted to data bundle fees in the case of remote learning.
  - Combining remote learning modalities with physical distribution of worksheet: Out of WVU experience in remote learning during the pandemic, combining distribution of education and CP worksheets/ Textbooks with the remote engagement with children was proven more efficient. This ensures that children will have the worksheets in their hands to work on while they are guided and instructed during the daily engagement with the teachers.

- Integrate Child protection programming more into education programming, through Psycho-Social Support (PSS) and Social and Emotional Learning (SEL) for children. Additionally, provide Psycho-Social Support (PSS) for caregivers who are playing the main role in educating their children and assisting them to achieve the needed learning outcomes as they are considered the “at-home teachers”.
- The study highlighted that the overall percentage of children involved in child labour and HH Chores to be at 27% for Lebanese and 65% for Syrian children. This evident increase is of a grave concern for children's health, protection and development and hence engage with donors to prioritize multi-sectoral (CP, MHPSS, Edu, Livelihood...) and multi-year funding to respond to the current needs and prevent the anticipated further increase.
- Almost one quarter (24.6%) of the households had at least 1 child between the ages (3-18) involved in HH Chores, greater for 12-18 vs. 3-11 (35% vs. 8.7%). This is concerning as girls are more involved in HH Chores than boys. This highlights the need to tailor programming through a gender sensitive lens, to accommodate and adjust for the needs of girls while focusing on all associated risks especially those within the (3-11) age bracket.
- Think carefully and assess the risks (push and pull factors) whenever planning to include a cash component in a Child labour project as this research has shown that even though when caregivers reported most of their needs were met they had higher rates of children involved in both child labour and/or household chores than caregivers who reported some of their needs were met.

## Conclusions

In summary, this research explored figures around child activity options (school enrolment, child labour and household chores) and their determinants for children aged 3 to 18 years old in Lebanon, with a focus on less privileged layers of the society. Additionally, the study sought to determine the perceptions of child education and labour among parents of school-aged children.

The study highlighted alarming socio-economic figures of the participant households where a lion's share earn an income below one million LBP which raises red flags given the intense economic crisis the country is witnessing coupled with the inflation in addition to evidence on reliance on negative coping mechanisms to make ends meet. That being said and while some negative coping mechanisms directly influence child activity decisions, the study revealed concerning figures around out-of-school children and children involved in child labour which could be worsened by any further aggravation of the economic situation. However, aside from the economic predisposition, the results hinted to behavioural determinants underlying child activity decisions and these determinants in many instances predicted school enrolment and/or child labour involvement more stoutly than economic or financial factors. The school enrolment figures were lower for the younger age group and for the refugee population, which highlighted the need for outreach activities and retention support to put children back on the educational track and enable them to catch up with the educational scheme. These efforts should be coupled enhancing the remote learning alternative in several aspects given the shift to the reliance on remote learning and the unveiled weak preparedness of the educational system for this shift. Similarly, figures around child labour and household chores were concerning and were higher in the refugee population compared to the host and for the older age group with sex differences between boys and girls (boys involved more in child labour compared to girls and vice versa for household chores) which sheds a light on the integration of a gender sensitive lens in program tailoring.

Interactions between child activity options (school enrolment/child labour/household chores) were observed with variations by age group and nationality, where child labour and household chores separately were negative predictors of school enrolment. This underlines for the need for multi-sector interventions targeting the different gears in the relationship between child activity options further highlighting the relevance and importance of the advocacy ask of widened compulsory education age range for children as a preventive measure to delay them from being involved in child labour.

Caregivers' agreement rates to false perceptions around child labour and school enrolment were remarkable reflecting strong personal and/or cultural beliefs underlying their decisions. Interestingly

behavioural perceptions predicted child activity outcomes sometimes more firmly than socio-economic factors and more prominently in the Syrian population compared to the Lebanese. This calls attention to the importance of targeting behavioural determinants of decision making in future programming efforts and this further highlights a need for additional deeper research in this field to be able to identify these determinants and hence target them through programming. Further, the lower child labour and household chores involvement in middle financial status groups compared to the lower ones calls for caution when planning to include a cash component in a Child labour projects. This is in line with previous research done by WVU highlighting that multi-purpose cash assistance in the context of Syrian Refugees did not help in reducing child labour and household chores nor contributed to an increase in school enrolment.

Finally, the results from this study and the variation in the relationship between the child activity outcomes by age groups and nationality serve in supporting a vast body of literature calling for rejecting the notion that child activity is a binary decision with two mutually exclusive options; either engagement in work (household chores or child labour) or school enrolment. This was further supported by the high tolerance to perceptions around accepting child labour practices and the high household chores involvement rates regardless of the school enrolment status. This fact accentuates the importance of tailoring future efforts on child activity outcomes on the basis of not strictly viewing child work (paid or household) and education as mutually exclusive options and additionally taking into consideration other activity alternatives like being “idle”.

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## Appendices

### Appendix I- Detailed Socio-demographic Information

Variables		N (%)	
<b>Residence Area</b>	Akkar	162 (20.9%)	
	Bekaa	259 (33.4%)	
	BML	355 (45.7%)	
	Total	776 (100.0%)	
<b>Qadaa</b>	Akkar	162 (100.0%)	
	Bekaa	Rashaya	15 (5.8%) <i>(Out of 259)</i>
		West_bekaa	80 (30.9%) <i>(Out of 259)</i>
		Zahle	107 (41.3%) <i>(Out of 259)</i>
		Baalbeck	57 (22.0%) <i>(Out of 259)</i>
		Total	259 (100.0%)
	BML	Aley	14 (3.9%) <i>(Out of 355)</i>
		Baabda	16 (4.5%) <i>(Out of 355)</i>
		Keserwan	5 (1.4%) <i>(Out of 355)</i>
		Matn	148 (41.7%) <i>(Out of 355)</i>
		Beirut	172 (48.5%) <i>(Out of 355)</i>
		Total	355 (100.0 %)
<b>Head of Household</b>	No	279 (36.0%)	
	Yes	497 (64.0%)	
	Total	776 (100.0%)	
<b>Relation to HoH (if not HoH)</b>	Wife/Husband	244 (87.5%)	
	Mother/Father	7 (2.5%)	
	Daughter/Son	21 (7.5%)	
	Brother/Sister	4 (1.4%)	
	Brotherinlaw/Sisterinlaw	1 (0.4%)	
	Grandfather/Grandmother	1 (0.4%)	
	Other	1 (0.4%)	
	Total	279 (100.0%)	
<b>Sex of HoH</b>	Male	644 (83.0%)	
	Female	132 (17.0%)	
	Total	776 (100.0%)	
<b>Respondent Sex</b>	Male	391 (50.4%)	
	Female	385 (49.6%)	

<b>Age</b>	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
	776	18.2	64.2	41.5	10.6
<b>Social Status</b>	Single				28 (3.6%)
	Married				653 (84.1%)
	Widowed				41 (5.3%)
	Separated				31 (4.0%)
	Divorced				21 (2.7%)
	Other				2 (0.3%)
	Total				776 (100.0%)
<b>Respondent Education Level</b>	None				85 (11.0%)
	Primary				292 (37.6%)
	Intermediate				248 (32.0%)
	Secondary				70 (9.0%)
	Vocational				3 (0.4%)
	Technical				24 (3.1%)
	University				54 (7.0%)
	Total				776 (100.0%)
<b>Partner Education Level (when married, out of 653)</b>	None				98 (15.0%)
	Primary				249 (38.1%)
	Intermediate				191 (29.2%)
	Secondary				51 (7.8%)
	Vocational				6 (0.9%)
	Technical				9 (1.4%)
	University				49 (7.5%)
	Total				653 (100.0%)
<b>Respondent Occupation</b>	Full-time employee				56 (7.2%)
	Part-time employee				21 (2.7%)
	Business owner				8 (1.0%)
	Freelancer				32 (4.1%)
	Daily Worker				254 (32.7%)
	Household Care (Housewife)				168 (21.6%)
	Retired				3 (0.4%)
	Not working by choice				37 (4.8%)
	Not working due to lack of opportunities				182 (23.5%)
	Other				15 (1.9%)
	Total				776 (100.0%)

<b>Income Contributors</b>	Respondent	394 (50.8%)	
	Spouse/parent	229 (29.5%)	
	Adult Children	76 (9.8%)	
	Children under 18	32 (4.1%)	
	Extended family	25 (3.2%)	
	Other	107 (13.8%)	
		Assistance	62 (7.9%) (Out of 776)
		Debt	14 (1.8%) (Out of 776)
		Debt+Assistance	3 (0.4%) (Out of 776)
		Friends/neighbours	5 (0.6%) (Out of 776)
		Income from animal products' returns (own animals)	1 (0.1%) (Out of 776)
		None	19 (2.4%) (Out of 776)
		Rent returns	1 (0.1%) (Out of 776)
		Spending savings	3 (0.4%) (Out of 776)
	<b>Total</b>	<b>776 (100.0%)</b>	
<b>Top Income Contributor</b>	Respondent	379 (48.8%)	
	Spouse/parent	206 (26.5%)	
	Adult children	61 (7.9%)	
	Children under 18	15 (1.9%)	
	Extended family	15 (1.9%)	
	Other	100 (12.9%) (Out of 776)	
		Spending Savings	1 (0.1%)
		Assistance	67 (8.6%) (Out of 776)
		Debt	12 (1.5%) (Out of 776)
		Debt+Assistance	3 (0.4%) (Out of 776)
		Income from animal products' returns (own animals)	2 (0.2%) (Out of 776)
		Neighbours	1 (0.1%) (Out of 776)
		No income	22 (2.8%) (Out of 776)
		<b>Total</b>	<b>776 (100.0%)</b>
<b>Total Monthly Income</b>	0 to 300,000 LBP	80 (10.3%)	
	301,000 to 650,000 LBP	272 (35.1%)	
	651,000 LBP to 1,000,000 LBP	274 (35.3%)	
	1,001,000 to 1,300,000 LBP	78 (10.1%)	
	1,301,000 to 1,600,000 LBP	46 (5.9%)	
	1,601,000 LBP to 2,000,000 LBP	13 (1.7%)	

	2,001,000 LBP to 2,500,000 LBP	9 (1.2%)
	2,501,000 LBP to 3,000,000 LBP	3 (0.4%)
	3,500,000 LBP to 4,000,000 LBP	1 (0.1%)
	Total	776 (100.0%)
<b>Perceived Financial Situation</b>	Most needs not met	441 (56.8%)
	Some needs met	207 (26.7%)
	Most needs met but cannot save money for the future plans	118 (15.2%)
	Most needs met and saved money for the future plans	10 (1.3%)
	Total	776 (100.0%)

## Appendix 2- Types of Paid Labour

Age Group	Type of Paid Labour	N (%)	
3 to 11	Farming	4 (12.5%)	
	Skilled labour	3 (9.4%)	
	Selling items (vending)	12 (37.5%)	
	Domestic work	1 (3.1%)	
	Other	12 (37.5%)	
		daily worker	1 (3.1%) (out of 32)
		scrapper	9 (28.1%) (out of 32)
		supermarket worker	1 (3.1%) (out of 32)
		waiter	1 (3.1%) (out of 32)
		<b>Total</b>	<b>32 (100.0%)</b>
12 to 18	Farming	15 (23.4%)	
	Skilled Labour	18 (28.1%)	
	Selling items (vending)	4 (6.3%)	
	Domestic work	1 (1.6%)	
	Construction Work	3 (4.7%)	
	Other	23 (35.9%)	
		Bakery	2 (3.1%) (out of 64)
		Cleaning restaurant	1 (1.6%) (out of 64)
		Hairdresser	1 (1.6%) (out of 64)
		Daily worker	6 (9.4%) (out of 64)
		Housekeeping services	1 (1.6%) (out of 64)
		Online work (vegetarian food)	1 (1.6%) (out of 64)
		scrapper	5 (7.8%) (out of 64)
		Work in market	1 (1.6%) (out of 64)
		Works in a factory	1 (1.6%) (out of 64)
		Works in furniture shop	1 (1.6%) (out of 64)
	Works in shisha shop	1 (1.6%) (out of 64)	
	Works in supermarket	2 (3.1%) (out of 64)	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>64 (100.0%)</b>	

### Appendix 3- Socio-demographic Descriptives by Nationality

	Nationality	Variables	N (%)	Significance (P-value)
<b>Social Status</b>	Lebanese	Single	20(5.1%)	0.006*
		Married	313 (80.5%)	
		Widowed	56 (14.4%)	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>389 (100.0%)</b>	
	Syrian	Single	8 (2.1%)	
		Married	340 (88.3%)	
		Widowed	37 (9.6%)	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>385 (100.0%)</b>	
<b>Respondent's Education Level</b>	Lebanese	None/Primary	124 (31.9%)	<0. 0001*
		Intermediate/vocational	163 (41.9%)	
		Secondary, Technical or university	102 (26.2%)	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>389 (100.0%)</b>	
	Syrian	None/Primary	253 (65.4%)	
		Intermediate/vocational	88 (22.7%)	
		Secondary, Technical or university	46 (11.9%)	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>387 (100.0%)</b>	
<b>Partner's Education Level</b>	Lebanese	None/Primary	109 (34.8%)	<0. 0001*
		Intermediate/vocational	118 (37.7%)	
		Secondary, Technical or university	86 (27.5%)	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>313 (100.0%)</b>	
	Syrian	None/Primary	238 (70.0%)	
		Intermediate/vocational	79 (23.2%)	

		Secondary, Technical or university				23 (6.8%)	
		Total				340 (100.0%)	
<b>Respondent's occupation</b>	Lebanese	Full-time/Part-time employee				66 (17.3%)	<0.0001*
		Business owner/freelancer				31 (8.1%)	
		Daily worker				95 (24.9%)	
		Household care				102 (26.8%)	
		Retired/not working				87 (22.8%)	
		<b>Total</b>				<b>381 (100.0%)</b>	
		Syrian	Full-time/Part-time employee				
	Business owner/freelancer				9 (2.4%)		
	Daily worker				159 (41.8%)		
	Household care				66 (17.4%)		
	Retired/not working				135 (35.5%)		
	<b>Total</b>				<b>380 (100.0%)</b>		
	<b>Age</b>	Lebanese	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	
389			19.2	64.2	46.0	10.1	
Syrian		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	
		387	18.2	64.2	36.9	9.1	
<b>Top Income Contributor</b>	Lebanese	Respondent				200 (51.4%)	<0.0001*
		Spouse/parent				122 (31.4%)	
		Adult children				40 (10.3%)	
		Children under 18				0 (0.0%)	
		Extended family				12 (3.1%)	
		Other				15 (3.9%) (Out of 389)	
					Spending Savings	1 (0.3%) (Out of 389)	
					Assistance	7 (1.8%) (Out of 389)	

			Debt	5 (1.3%) (Out of 389)		
			Divorce support+Assistance	1 (0.3%) (Out of 389)		
			Income from animal products' returns (own animals)	1 (0.3%) (Out of 389)		
			No income	22 (5.7%) (Out of 389)		
		<b>Total</b>		<b>389 (100.0%)</b>		
	Syrian	Respondent		179 (46.3%)		
		Spouse/parent		84 (21.7%)		
		Adult children		21 (5.4%)		
		Children under 18		15 (3.9%)		
		Extended family		3 (0.8%)		
		Other		85 (22.0%) (Out of 387)		
			Assistance	59 (15.2%) (Out of 387)		
			Debt	7 (1.8%) (Out of 387)		
			Debt+Assistance	3 (0.8%) (Out of 387)		
			Income from animal products' returns (own animals)	1 (0.3%) (Out of 387)		
			Neighbours	1 (0.3%) (Out of 387)		
			No income	20 (5.2%) (Out of 387)		
		<b>Total</b>		<b>387 (100.0%)</b>		
		<b>Total Monthly Income</b>	Lebanese	0 to 300,000 LBP		38 (9.8%)
301,000 to 650,000 LBP				105 (27.0%)		
651,000 LBP to 1,000,000 LBP				147 (37.8%)		
1,001,000 to 1,300,000 LBP				45 (11.6%)		
1,301,000 to 1,600,000 LBP				32 (8.2%)		
1,601,000 LBP to 2,000,000 LBP				10 (2.6%)		

		2,001,000 LBP to 2,500,000 LBP	8 (2.1%)	
		2,501,000 LBP to 3,000,000 LBP	3 (0.8%)	
		3,500,000 LBP to 4,000,000 LBP	1 (0.3%)	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>389 (100.0%)</b>	
	Syrian	0 to 300,000 LBP	42 (10.9%)	
		301,000 to 650,000 LBP	167 (43.2%)	
		651,000 LBP to 1,000,000 LBP	127 (32.8%)	
		1,001,000 to 1,300,000 LBP	33 (8.5%)	
		1,301,000 to 1,600,000 LBP	14 (3.6%)	
		1,601,000 LBP to 2,000,000 LBP	3 (0.8%)	
		2,001,000 LBP to 2,500,000 LBP	1 (0.3%)	
		2,501,000 LBP to 3,000,000 LBP	0 (0.0%)	
		3,500,000 LBP to 4,000,000 LBP	0 (0.0%)	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>387 (100.0%)</b>	
<b>Perceived Financial Situation</b>	Lebanese	Most needs not met	218 (56.0%)	<0.0001*
		Some needs met	68 (17.5%)	
		Most needs met but cannot save money for the future plans	93 (23.9%)	
		Most needs met and saved money for the future plans	10 (2.6%)	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>389 (100.0%)</b>	
	Syrian	Most needs not met	223 (57.6%)	
		Some needs met	139 (35.9%)	
		Most needs met but cannot save money for the future plans	25 (6.5%)	
		Most needs met and saved money for the future plans	0 (0.0%)	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>387 (100.0%)</b>	

## Appendix 4- Perceptions by Nationality

Perception	Nationality	Mean	Std. Deviation	Significance (P-value)
Educating children is a way to secure financial support and economic welfare in the future.	Lebanese	1.97	0.25	0.088
	Syrian	1.93	0.34	
Education is not worth the money it costs.	Lebanese	0.08	0.39	0.207
	Syrian	0.12	0.47	
Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.	Lebanese	0.04	0.23	<b>0.042*</b>
	Syrian	0.09	0.39	
Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children	Lebanese	0.04	0.25	0.080
	Syrian	0.09	0.39	
Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth for securing family's welfare because girls get married and leave to support husbands' household.	Lebanese	0.06	0.29	0.643
	Syrian	0.07	0.35	
Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than girls.	Lebanese	0.10	0.41	<b>0.027*</b>
	Syrian	0.18	0.56	
Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than boys.	Lebanese	0.10	0.38	<b>&lt;0.0001*</b>
	Syrian	0.40	0.79	
Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are NOT worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead.	Lebanese	0.02	0.16	<b>0.006*</b>
	Syrian	0.07	0.36	
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice.	Lebanese	0.07	0.36	<b>&lt;0.0001*</b>
	Syrian	0.46	0.83	
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice if the child is above 14 years old.	Lebanese	0.19	0.57	<b>&lt;0.0001*</b>
	Syrian	1.17	0.97	
Child labour is a means of preparing children to the future.	Lebanese	0.17	0.54	<b>&lt;0.0001*</b>
	Syrian	0.79	0.95	
Parent derives much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour	Lebanese	0.10	0.43	<b>&lt;0.0001*</b>
	Syrian	1.26	0.94	
	Lebanese	0.26	0.66	<b>&lt;0.0001*</b>

The economic situation encourages child labour practices.	Syrian	1.53	0.83	
Peer pressure increases the numbers of children involved in child labour	Lebanese	0.30	0.69	<0.0001*
	Syrian	1.47	0.86	
Cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour.	Lebanese	0.21	0.61	<0.0001*
	Syrian	1.23	0.95	
A working child makes a responsible adult.	Lebanese	0.23	0.61	<0.0001*
	Syrian	1.10	0.98	
Child labour practices help the child to be smart.	Lebanese	0.22	0.61	<0.0001*
	Syrian	0.87	0.96	
Involving children in paid job enhances their life skills	Lebanese	0.38	0.78	<0.0001*
	Syrian	1.35	0.92	
Children gain a vocation by child labor	Lebanese	0.39	0.78	<0.0001*
	Syrian	1.27	0.92	
Not everyone gains many opportunities by studying. It's better to work at young age and gain income	Lebanese	0.08	0.38	<0.0001*
	Syrian	0.80	0.97	
Engaging children in paid work keeps them out of trouble	Lebanese	0.18	0.55	<0.0001*
	Syrian	0.89	0.93	
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys.	Lebanese	0.02	0.17	<0.0001*
	Syrian	0.95	0.98	

## Appendix 6- Perceptions by Outcomes

### EDUCATION OUTCOMES

Nationality	Perceptions		Proportion of children 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Proportion of boys 3-11 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Proportion of children 12to18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education	Proportion of boys 12to18 years old enrolled in formal/nonformal education
Lebanese	Educating children is a way to secure financial support and economic welfare in the future.	Pearson Correlation	-0.008	0.000	0.075	0.021
	Education is not worth the money it costs.	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.135*</b>	-0.123	<b>-.372**</b>	0.061
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.	Pearson Correlation	0.019	0.030	-0.093	<b>.126*</b>
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children	Pearson Correlation	0.011	0.018	<b>-.165**</b>	<b>.126*</b>
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth for securing family's welfare because girls get married and leave to support husbands' household.	Pearson Correlation	-0.021	-0.019	<b>-.195**</b>	0.073
	Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than girls.	Pearson Correlation	0.033	0.027	-0.103	-0.093
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than boys.	Pearson Correlation	-0.085	-0.092	-0.012	0.010
	Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are NOT worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead.	Pearson Correlation	-0.035	-0.043	-0.101	0.002

	Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice.	Pearson Correlation	0.043	0.070	<b>-.137*</b>	0.011
	Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice if the child is above 14 years old.	Pearson Correlation	0.001	0.020	-0.107	0.086
	Child labour is a means of preparing children to the future.	Pearson Correlation	0.011	0.030	<b>-.232**</b>	0.019
	Parent derives much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour	Pearson Correlation	0.054	0.064	-0.113	0.059
	The economic situation encourages child labour practices.	Pearson Correlation	0.047	0.060	-0.075	-0.082
	Peer pressure increases the numbers of children involved in child labour	Pearson Correlation	-0.013	-0.016	-0.040	-0.068
	Cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour.	Pearson Correlation	-0.062	-0.057	-0.003	-0.062
	A working child makes a responsible adult.	Pearson Correlation	-0.043	-0.046	-0.079	-0.015
	Child labour practices help the child to be smart.	Pearson Correlation	-0.007	0.010	-0.106	0.028
	Involving children in paid job enhances their life skills	Pearson Correlation	-0.033	-0.018	-0.098	-0.026
	Children gain a vocation by child labor	Pearson Correlation	-0.032	-0.018	<b>-.147*</b>	-0.031
	Not everyone gains many opportunities by studying. It's better to work at young age and gain income	Pearson Correlation	0.038	0.059	<b>-.131*</b>	0.020
	Engaging children in paid work keeps them out of trouble	Pearson Correlation	0.049	0.066	<b>-.128*</b>	-0.097
	Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys.	Pearson Correlation	0.100	0.095	-0.035	0.012
Syrian	Educating children is a way to secure financial support and economic welfare in the future.	Pearson Correlation	-0.012	0.027	0.056	-0.134
	Education is not worth the money it costs.	Pearson Correlation	0.004	0.016	-0.099	-0.074

Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.124*</b>	<b>-.140*</b>	<b>-.201**</b>	-0.046
Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children	Pearson Correlation	-0.096	-0.082	<b>-.188**</b>	0.039
Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth for securing family's welfare because girls get married and leave to support husbands' household.	Pearson Correlation	-0.074	-0.082	-0.140	0.039
Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than girls.	Pearson Correlation	-0.045	0.044	-0.089	0.061
Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than boys.	Pearson Correlation	0.095	0.083	0.009	0.058
Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are NOT worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead.	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.122*</b>	<b>-.160*</b>	-0.111	-0.028
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice.	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.116*</b>	0.007	<b>-.191**</b>	-0.004
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice if the child is above 14 years old.	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.106*</b>	0.056	<b>-.256**</b>	-0.011
Child labour is a means of preparing children to the future.	Pearson Correlation	-0.063	0.041	-0.081	0.011
Parent derives much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.160**</b>	0.030	<b>-.285**</b>	-0.178
The economic situation encourages child labour practices.	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.175**</b>	-0.015	<b>-.308**</b>	-0.131
Peer pressure increases the numbers of children involved in child labour	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.136**</b>	0.019	<b>-.219**</b>	-0.088

Cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour.	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.165**</b>	0.064	<b>-.398**</b>	-0.038
A working child makes a responsible adult.	Pearson Correlation	-0.010	0.065	-0.133	-0.040
Child labour practices help the child to be smart.	Pearson Correlation	-0.048	0.035	-0.067	-0.035
Involving children in paid job enhances their life skills	Pearson Correlation	<b>-.105*</b>	0.013	<b>-.281**</b>	0.007
Children gain a vocation by child labor	Pearson Correlation	-0.095	-0.043	<b>-.161*</b>	0.032
Not everyone gains many opportunities by studying. It's better to work at young age and gain income	Pearson Correlation	0.023	0.006	-0.080	-0.007
Engaging children in paid work keeps them out of trouble	Pearson Correlation	-0.029	0.062	<b>-.144*</b>	0.009
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys.	Pearson Correlation	0.018	-0.009	-0.098	-0.011

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Negative numbers indicate negative correlations. Blue values indicate stronger correlations.

## CHILD LABOUR OUTCOMES

Nationality			Proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in child labour	Proportion of children 12to18 years old involved in child labour	Proportion of boys 12to18 years old involved in child labour
Lebanese	Educating children is a way to secure financial support and economic welfare in the future.	Pearson Correlation	<b>N/A (No child Labour cases for Lebanese 3-11 years old)</b>	0.019	. <sup>a</sup>
	Education is not worth the money it costs.	Pearson Correlation		<b>.131*</b>	0.293

Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.	Pearson Correlation		<b>.232**</b>	0.200
Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children	Pearson Correlation		<b>.205**</b>	0.200
Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth for securing family's welfare because girls get married and leave to support husbands' household.	Pearson Correlation		<b>.165**</b>	0.200
Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than girls.	Pearson Correlation		0.112	0.200
Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than boys.	Pearson Correlation		0.110	0.200
Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are NOT worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead.	Pearson Correlation		<b>.333**</b>	0.200
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice.	Pearson Correlation		0.021	0.200
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice if the child is above 14 years old.	Pearson Correlation		-0.014	0.200
Child labour is a means of preparing children to the future.	Pearson Correlation		0.048	0.293
Parent derives much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour	Pearson Correlation		0.017	0.200
The economic situation encourages child labour practices.	Pearson Correlation		0.002	0.293
Peer pressure increases the numbers of children involved in child labour	Pearson Correlation		-0.063	, <sup>a</sup>

	Cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour.	Pearson Correlation		-0.019	0.200
	A working child makes a responsible adult.	Pearson Correlation		-0.022	0.200
	Child labour practices help the child to be smart.	Pearson Correlation		-0.021	0.200
	Involving children in paid job enhances their life skills	Pearson Correlation		-0.008	0.293
	Children gain a vocation by child labor	Pearson Correlation		0.030	0.316
	Not everyone gains many opportunities by studying. It's better to work at young age and gain income	Pearson Correlation		-0.030	. <sup>a</sup>
	Engaging children in paid work keeps them out of trouble	Pearson Correlation		-0.015	0.200
	Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys.	Pearson Correlation		0.057	0.200
Syrian	Educating children is a way to secure financial support and economic welfare in the future.	Pearson Correlation	-0.028	0.044	0.049
	Education is not worth the money it costs.	Pearson Correlation	<b>.110*</b>	0.009	-0.103
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.	Pearson Correlation	0.086	0.068	0.100
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children	Pearson Correlation	<b>.168**</b>	0.037	0.191
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth for securing family's welfare because girls get married and leave to support husbands' household.	Pearson Correlation	<b>.168**</b>	0.021	0.164
	Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than girls.	Pearson Correlation	<b>.116*</b>	0.084	-0.075

Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than boys.	Pearson Correlation	-0.040	-0.018	0.127
Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are NOT worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead.	Pearson Correlation	<b>.116*</b>	-0.017	0.164
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice.	Pearson Correlation	<b>.226**</b>	<b>.156*</b>	-0.166
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice if the child is above 14 years old.	Pearson Correlation	<b>.119*</b>	<b>.192**</b>	<b>-.317*</b>
Child labour is a means of preparing children to the future.	Pearson Correlation	-0.018	0.049	0.136
Parent derives much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour	Pearson Correlation	0.078	<b>.216**</b>	<b>-.300*</b>
The economic situation encourages child labour practices.	Pearson Correlation	<b>.122*</b>	<b>.204**</b>	-0.233
Peer pressure increases the numbers of children involved in child labour	Pearson Correlation	0.040	<b>.166*</b>	-0.196
Cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour.	Pearson Correlation	<b>.145**</b>	<b>.245**</b>	<b>-.286*</b>
A working child makes a responsible adult.	Pearson Correlation	-0.008	0.136	0.041
Child labour practices help the child to be smart.	Pearson Correlation	-0.037	0.066	-0.038
Involving children in paid job enhances their life skills	Pearson Correlation	0.035	<b>.155*</b>	-0.187
Children gain a vocation by child labor	Pearson Correlation	-0.100	0.139	-0.148
Not everyone gains many opportunities by studying. It's better to work at young age and gain income	Pearson Correlation	-0.048	0.095	0.149
Engaging children in paid work keeps them out of trouble	Pearson Correlation	0.060	<b>.143*</b>	-0.080

	Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys.	Pearson Correlation	-0.097	0.001	0.019
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\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Negative numbers indicate negative correlations. Blue values indicate stronger correlations.

### HOUSEHOLD CHORES OUTCOMES

Nationality			Proportion of children 3-11 years old involved in household chores	Proportion of boys 3-11 years old involved in household chores	Proportion of children 12to18 years old involved in household chores	Proportion of boys 12to18 years old involved in household chores
Lebanese	Educating children is a way to secure financial support and economic welfare in the future.	Pearson Correlation	0.021	<b>N/A (No Lebanese boys 3 to 11 years old involved in household chores)</b>	0.031	<b>N/A (No Lebanese boys 12 to 18 years old involved in household chores)</b>
	Education is not worth the money it costs.	Pearson Correlation	-0.031		-0.010	
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.	Pearson Correlation	-0.030		-0.055	
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children	Pearson Correlation	-0.032		-0.065	
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth for	Pearson Correlation	-0.034		-0.072	

securing family's welfare because girls get married and leave to support husbands' household.				
Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than girls.	Pearson Correlation	-0.047		0.051
Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than boys.	Pearson Correlation	-0.046		-0.002
Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are NOT worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead.	Pearson Correlation	-0.020		-0.006
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice.	Pearson Correlation	-0.029		0.018
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice if the child is above 14 years old.	Pearson Correlation	-0.058		-0.074
Child labour is a means of preparing children to the future.	Pearson Correlation	-0.059		-0.053
Parent derives much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour	Pearson Correlation	-0.046		-0.067
The economic situation encourages child labour practices.	Pearson Correlation	-0.069		-0.052
Peer pressure increases the numbers of children involved in child labour	Pearson Correlation	-0.080		-0.092
Cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour.	Pearson Correlation	-0.063		-0.095
A working child makes a responsible adult.	Pearson Correlation	-0.064		-0.086
Child labour practices help the child to be smart.	Pearson Correlation	-0.066		<b>-.133*</b>

	Involving children in paid job enhances their life skills	Pearson Correlation	-0.089		<b>-.129*</b>	
	Children gain a vocation by child labor	Pearson Correlation	-0.087		<b>-.137*</b>	
	Not everyone gains many opportunities by studying. It's better to work at young age and gain income	Pearson Correlation	-0.039		<b>-.124*</b>	
	Engaging children in paid work keeps them out of trouble	Pearson Correlation	-0.061		-0.050	
	Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys.	Pearson Correlation	-0.019		-0.057	
Syrian	Educating children is a way to secure financial support and economic welfare in the future.	Pearson Correlation	-0.026	-0.010	-0.033	-0.157
	Education is not worth the money it costs.	Pearson Correlation	0.087	0.060	-0.018	-0.069
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because women have lower paying jobs.	Pearson Correlation	0.074	-0.185	-0.022	-0.103
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth because eventually they will get married and stay home to take care of children	Pearson Correlation	0.060	-0.158	-0.011	-0.110
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are not worth for securing family's welfare because girls get married and leave to support husbands' household.	Pearson Correlation	0.090	-0.158	0.035	-0.103
	Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are worth because they have greater academic abilities than girls.	Pearson Correlation	-0.069	-0.128	0.071	-0.059
	Schooling/education investments for girls (daughters) are worth because	Pearson Correlation	<b>.155**</b>	0.147	0.038	0.078

they have greater academic abilities than boys.					
Schooling/education investments for boys (sons) are NOT worth because it is better for them to be engaged in workforce instead.	Pearson Correlation	<b>.266**</b>	-0.119	0.124	-0.024
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice.	Pearson Correlation	-0.003	0.164	0.025	-0.033
Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice if the child is above 14 years old.	Pearson Correlation	0.078	0.127	<b>.201**</b>	0.053
Child labour is a means of preparing children to the future.	Pearson Correlation	0.085	-0.214	0.033	0.030
Parent derives much benefits (including financial) by engaging their children in child labour	Pearson Correlation	0.036	-0.143	<b>.184*</b>	0.038
The economic situation encourages child labour practices.	Pearson Correlation	0.053	-0.083	<b>.226**</b>	-0.167
Peer pressure increases the numbers of children involved in child labour	Pearson Correlation	0.099	0.250	<b>.186*</b>	0.056
Cultural beliefs increase the numbers of children involved in child labour.	Pearson Correlation	0.000	-0.203	0.055	-0.205
A working child makes a responsible adult.	Pearson Correlation	<b>.163**</b>	0.028	<b>.227**</b>	0.106
Child labour practices help the child to be smart.	Pearson Correlation	<b>.190**</b>	0.065	0.138	0.108
Involving children in paid job enhances their life skills	Pearson Correlation	<b>.117*</b>	0.176	<b>.152*</b>	-0.010
Children gain a vocation by child labor	Pearson Correlation	0.074	-0.079	<b>.184*</b>	0.067
Not everyone gains many opportunities by studying. It's better to work at young age and gain income	Pearson Correlation	<b>.194**</b>	-0.006	0.136	0.150
Engaging children in paid work keeps them out of trouble	Pearson Correlation	0.100	-0.063	0.060	0.067

	Child labour is an accepted and common form of practice for boys.	Pearson Correlation	<b>.254**</b>	0.255	<b>.222**</b>	0.126
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\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Negative numbers indicate negative correlations. Blue values indicate stronger correlations.

