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**The voice of those absent -
An empirical analysis of the impact of migration on
child labor in Ecuador in 2017-2019**

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Appendices</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>vii</i>
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 Context of Ecuador	3
Child labour in Ecuador -some background-	4
Internal migration	7
External migration (Immigration)	7
Chapter 3 Theoretical framework and Empirical Evidence (Literature Review)	8
What is the relationship between migration and child labor?	8
What are the main determinants of child labor?	11
Child labor and school enrolment (Household influence)	12
What are the differences between natives and immigrants?	13
Adults	13
Children	14
Chapter 4 Methodology	15
Econometric model	15
Data	16
Chapter 5 Results	23
Effect of internal migration	23
Effect of internal migration and immigration	23
Effect of living in a household with at least 1 immigrant	24
Possible effect of immigration	25
Chapter 6 Discussion of results	27
Working	27
School enrolment	28
Hourly Wage	29
Other variables	29
Possible effect of immigration	30
Chapter 7 Conclusion and Policy Recommendations	34
References	41
Notes	45

<i>Appendices</i>	35
<i>References</i>	<i>¡Error! Marcador no definido.</i>
<i>Notes</i>	45

List of Tables

Table 1 Relevant concepts	16
Table 2 Comparison between locals and internal migrants children	17
Table 3 Comparison between any type of migrants vs locals children under 18 years old	18
Table 4 Comparison between children in Ecuadorian households and households with at least one immigrant	20
Table 5 Comparison between immigrants and Ecuadorians children under 18 years old	21
Table 6 Effect of internal migration on children under 18 years old.	23
Table 7. Effect of internal migration and immigration on children under 18 years old.	24
Table 8. Effect of being in a household with at least 1 immigrant member on children under 18 years old.	24
Table 9 Possible effect of immigration on children under 18 years old.	25

List of Figures

Figure 1 Child labor decreases	10
Figure 2 Child labor increases	10

List of Appendices

Appendix A Internal migrant children under 18 years old that are working	35
Appendix B Reasons of internal migration for all ages.....	35
Appendix C Reasons of internal migration for child workers under 18 years old.....	35
Appendix D Reasons for not being enrolled in school for internal migrant workers children under 18 years old.....	36
Appendix E Reasons of migration for immigrant people for all ages	36
Appendix F Reason of migration for immigrant workers children under 18 years old	36
Appendix G Reason for not being enrolled in school for immigrant workers children under 18 years old	36
Appendix H Nationalities of immigrant children that are working.....	37
Appendix I Economic sector of immigrant children under 18 years old.....	37
Appendix J Economic sector of children workers under 18 years old	37
Appendix K Economic sector of internal migrant children under 18 years old that are working.....	38
Appendix L	38
Appendix M.....	39
Appendix N	39

Appendix O Semistructural interview for complementary data regarding immigrant children in Ecuador.....	40
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List of Acronyms

ISS	Institute of Social Studies
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
INEC	National Institute of Statistics
ENEMDU	Encuesta Nacional Empleo, Desempleo y Subempleo
INEC	Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (National Institute of Statistics and Census in Ecuador)
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
ILO / OIT	International Labor Organization
DINAPEN	Dirección Nacional de Policía Especializada para Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes (National Police Department Specialized for Children in Ecuador)
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
HIAS	Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
LSMS	Living Standards Measurement Survey
UN	United Nations
SENESCYT	Secretaría de Educación Superior, Ciencia, Tecnología e Innovación (Secretary of Superior Education, Science, Technology and Innovation in Ecuador)
ECD	Early Childhood Development

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze whether migrant child laborers are more vulnerable within child labor than local children. We use data from the National Employment and Unemployment Survey of Ecuador (ENEMDU) of the National Institute of Statistics (INEC) from 2017 to 2019. We find a significant negative effect of internal migration on child labor for children under 18 years old through a province-level fixed effects model. Another vulnerability that we found is the negative effect on school enrollment. This may be a sign of two situations, the first segregation of migrant population, or an underreporting of child labor situation, as a result of the difficulty of tracking people in human mobility, what can make them invisible. Surprisingly, the hourly wage of migrant children is higher than local child laborers. Although we are unaware of studies that analyse this specific situation within children, we assume that the research that has been done for adult migrants, in which has been said that incentives are the explanation of this differentiation, it also explains the situation of children migrants. However, a more in-depth analysis of the issue is required.

Relevance to Development Studies

Internal and external migration is a common phenomenon that has been increasing in the last decades, but the destination if it is international migration, it is not only from developed to developing countries. Migration is a complex phenomenon that also includes migration to developing countries. The conditions of the place of arrival influence the living conditions of the children of migrant families. In this way, children involved in the labor force, local and immigrants, will be impacted. Child labor has been addressed through many perspectives, but the migration variable has been little explored. Knowing the situation of children in situations of both internal and external mobility will allow developing adequate public policies that improve the living conditions of children and promote their integral development, which can imply a long-term return within Development Studies.

Keywords

Child labor, migration, immigration, internal migration

Chapter 1

Introduction

We commonly see statistics on children who work in developing countries, and the sectors where they work, but it is difficult to find statistics at the national level that tell us where they (the children) are from. Ecuador is no exception on this issue. Although Ecuador has been working towards the abolition of child labor before 14 years old, the implementation of regulations that can protect children that work since 15 years old, and its regulations are aligning with this goal, data on child labor at the national level has not been updated since 2012. Ecuadorian regulations¹ prohibit labor for those under 15 years of age, and for those between 15 and 18 years of age, it is permitted, but under some conditions. For example, the circumstances of the place of destination can determine the level of risk for a child to be involved in forced labor (van de Glind, 2010) (Khoudour Castéras, 2009). In addition, whether children are accompanied by their families or migrate on their own may be another factor that increases the risk of child labor for migrant children (van de Glind, 2010).

In this context, Genicot, et al. (2016) developed a theoretical model that analyzes the impact of internal migration on child labor outcomes. They study how the labor market adjusts to the demand for internal displacement and immigration. In their empirical analysis, they compare adult migrants with child laborers. However, we argue that migrant children (internal or external) face different situations than local child laborers. Therefore, the main objective of this study is to analyze whether migrant working children are more vulnerable in child labor compared to local ones. However, hardly any studies have been conducted on migration in relation to child labor, and in the context of developing countries. This paper aims to contribute to fill the gap in the literature on the comparison of local children with migrant children within child labor. The vulnerabilities within child labor that we want to analyze are the probability of working, working hours and hourly wages of migrant children compared to local children. Furthermore, assuming that education is a proxy for child labor, as presented by Genicot, et.al (2016) in their model, we would also analyze the impact of migration on migrant children compared to local children in relation to school enrollment.

Further analysis on migrant children is required, with special attention to the children of irregular migrants, because if we saw vulnerabilities among internal migrant children, the vulnerabilities of irregular migrant children might be stronger. Due to the lack of data on this vulnerable population, we could not comment in depth on their situation. However, what we could learn from the experience is the need to raise the voice of this vulnerable population, not only through statistics at the national level, but also through a deep connection that can understand their most vulnerable rights and the need to create channels that can integrate them into the new place of arrival. Although the Constitution of Ecuador seems to be openly friendly with immigrant population, through the qualitative data, we could understand the situations that migrants face. Therefore, connections are required through local governments to enforce those legal frameworks, but also to sensibiliser society in general regarding the many cultural differences that people from a diverse origin place can have. What we do through this analysis is to sensitize civil society, and the government about the situation that this population is facing.

¹ Art. 46 Constitution of Ecuador (2008), Childhood and Adolescence Code, Labor Code among others.

The lack of data on some specific characteristics of the analysis population limited the depth of the analysis. For example, our data do not provide observations on the duration of life in the new place of arrival in all quarters of data retrieved. In addition, the sample size of our secondary data does not take into account the irregular population in human mobility in Ecuador. Finally, the survey does not take into account the "population residing in collective dwellings, floating dwellings and sectors with indigent population" (INEC, 2012).

Chapter 2

Context of Ecuador

The following section will introduce some information on the Ecuadorian context regarding child labour and migration, both internal and external. In the Ecuadorian legislation, child labour is prohibited for children under 15 years old, and allowed for adolescents between 16 and 18 years old under certain conditions. Below through some data we will describe child labour in the country. At this point is important to mention that the last national survey that collected information about child labour was conducted on 2012. Since then, there are only local studies concentrated in the capital city. However, the information collected from those studies will provide some insights of the phenomena. Afterwards, we will present some data to describe the internal and external immigration in the country.

Ecuador has been part of the International Program for the Eradication of Child Labor (IPEC) since 1997 (United States) (Frausto, 2017), which compromise to the country to reduce child labor. The Permanent Mission of Ecuador to the United Nations presented in October 2015 its voluntary pledges and commitments for the promotion and protection of human rights, one of them is to reduce and prevent hazardous child labor, through policies, programs, and activities that address causes and effects, understanding that there is a share in the responsibility to reconstitute rights to children and youth (Art. No. 30) (Permanent Mission of Ecuador, 2015). Moreover, Ecuador is a member of the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138), by which the country agreed to abolish effectively child labor and raise the minimum age for admission to employment or work to an age compatible with the physical and mental development of adolescents progressively. It establishes as the minimum age for hazardous work to 18 years old. In the Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, 1999 (No. 182) It is establishing that a child is a person under 18 years old. (International Labour Organization (ILO), 1973).

Following this, within the National Regulations of Ecuador for child labor, the work of children under fifteen years old is prohibited according to Art. 46 of the Constitution of 2008. Under this regulations the work of adolescents is exceptional and it must not prevent them from continue going to school and it should protect them from harmful or dangerous situations that can affect their health or personal development. Their work in safe activities, is respected recognized, and supported under the national legislation. It is important to highlight that the regulations for child labor include household services. In Ecuador adolescents from 15 years old must receive the remuneration directly and are allow to sign contracts with any authorization.

Even though the Ecuadorian Constitution of 2008, the Childhood and Adolescence Code, the Labor Code, and the international regulations to which the country has committed itself - the Convention on the Rights of the Child, ILO Convention 138, among several others, establish that young people between 15 and 17 years old can work, it is allowed under some conditions. Their education must not be interrupted, the labor standards for hiring should be respected, it is not allowed to exploit young people in any form, and their health should not be at risk. Besides, they should be affiliated with national social security. In addition, under the law in Ecuador adolescents can work up to 6 hours per day for a maximum period of five days per week. Moreover, the parents, employers and people that take care of them are responsible for the completion of the child's basic education. Regarding the activities that children are allow to join in, it is forbidden the ones that can be harmful for their health and safeness such as night work, or work during weekends, besides it is compulsory for their employers to give them rest days.

Therefore, the Child Labor Eradication Project in Ecuador is in force from 2008 to 2021. In 2017 as a part of the National Plan for Development the project objective period was 2017-2021, which main goal was by 2021 to eradicate child labor for ages 5 to 14 years (Ministry of Labour, 2017). The Project regularizes the employment status of young people (15 to 17 years old) to ensure that they are not involved in dangerous activities and promote acceptable working conditions in companies' supply chains. One of the strategies is to generate strategic alliances for public and private interinstitutional and intersectoral sectors. The project also provides technical assistance to Decentralized Autonomous Governments, informative talks and awareness workshops on child labor for people from different strategic social sectors at the national level. The government carries out inspections to regularize the employment situation of adolescents over 15 years old. In the cases of children under 15 years old, they refer them to the cantonal rights protection system. This State portfolio coordinates its intervention in the territories together with the Ministries of Economic and Social Inclusion, Education, Health, National Directorate of Specialized Police for Children and Young people (DINAPEN), Cantonal Councils for the Protection of Rights, Cantonal Protection Boards Rights of Children and Adolescents, Autonomous Decentralized Municipal Governments, among others (Ministerio Del Trabajo , 2018).

Child labour in Ecuador -some background-

In the following section, we will describe some characteristics of child labor in Ecuador. In 2012 the National Institute of Statistics of Ecuador (INEC) conducted the first survey aiming to characterize child workers between 5 to 17 years old at a national level. As a result, it was found that 8.56% of children between 5 to 17 years old are affected by child labor. According to the INEC (2012) 4.2% of children between 5 and 11 years old, 11.9% between 12 and 14 years old and 15.7% of adolescents are working. Among children that are working 75.1% are attending classes (INEC, 2012).

In 2018, The National Council for Intergenerational Equality prepared a report based on the 2012 survey conducted by INEC, in which the following results are presented. In Ecuador, the 50% of the child working population at the national level behaves as follows, in Guayas with 12.8%, Cotopaxi with 10.3%, Chimborazo 9.7%, Azuay 9.3%, and Pichincha with 9.1%. The child and adolescent labor force is employed more in agriculture and livestock. The commerce sector stands out for adolescents. In rural areas, child labor in primary activities is more common. On the other hand, in urban areas the tertiary sector is the prevalent. The economic income received by children and adolescents is precarious, according to the results 30.5% children report that they have received an income. The incidence of lack of income for working children and adolescents is highest in rural areas, with 91% reporting no income and 94% of women reporting no income. For working children and adolescents in general who do receive income, it is very low. According to the report, in the agriculture sector, 66% of children are employed and a smaller percentage of adolescents. In the commerce sector, adolescents have a higher percentage of participation with 16.40%, while children in this sector have 15.50%. In manufacturing, the trend is 10.00% for adolescents and 7.40% for children. In the construction sector 8.60% of adolescents versus 1.60% of children in this work. In the area of hotels and tourism, 3.90% of adolescents' work compared to 3.40% of children. Domestic service also has a higher percentage of adolescents working with 2.30% while for children is 0.90%. Finally, in other jobs, adolescents account for 8.40% and children for 5.20%.

To our knowledge, there has been not conducted a report at a national level that make a diagnosis of child labor, in the last 9 years, however in 2019 in the capital city, Quito, there

was carried out a Diagnosis of the Situation of Child Labor, aiming to deep into its characteristics. The survey was carried out in November 2019 and applied in 3200 house-holds with child workers between 5 and 17 years old. It reports that 34% of its inhabitants come from other areas or countries, and child labor would affect 3% of children in Quito (Consejo de Protección de Derechos, 2020).

The important of this study is because Quito is one of the most common destinations for child labor, internal migration and immigration (Royuela & Ordóñez, 2018).

Following this, according to the Diagnosis of Quito, the vast majority of international migrant children and workers came from Venezuela. The report is in line with the current migratory dynamics in Quito. Venezuela is also joined by other Latin American countries such as Colombia, Peru, Haiti, Mexico, Uruguay, and Bolivia. The report highlights that the first three countries have been the leading countries for the past two decades. A fact that draws attention is that Spain is also a country of origin that appears from the children surveyed, it means working children. In this way, the reports suggest that they correspond to sons and daughters of migrant Ecuadorians who returned from Spain who possibly left during the second migratory wave at the beginning of the 21st century and has returned to the country (Consejo de Protección de Derechos, 2020).

According to the report, children workers are aware of their families' economic needs; for this reason, internal and external migrants report their autonomous decision to work. These are children workers who contribute directly or indirectly to the economic support of their families. However, the most extensive economic niche for migrants, mainly international migrants, has been everyday work. Among migrants, one of the leading causes is migratory irregularity and the precariousness of their lives. Several serious risks that were found through the report for child workers in Quito were working on the street, the concealment of child labor through a new denomination that is the accompaniment of children (it means that the child is with an adult on the streets without scheduling, protection and without attending classes), the work in homes of people that are not their families and it is highlighted the presence of international migrant child workers (Consejo de Protección de Derechos, 2020).

Another big study carried out in Quito presents a complementary approach of immigrants in Ecuador Celleri's (2019) study aimed to generate quantitative data as a base to define the social problem of immigration in Quito, and as a second stage, to contribute to public policies related to migration and labor. She found that 81.5% were Venezuelan, 6.9% Colombian, and 2% Cubans (Celleri, 2019).

Most of the results of the study centers in adult migration. For adults, the author found that 30.2% of the immigrants surveyed decided to go to Ecuador to look for better incomes, 38.3% because of work, and 2.4% because of studies purposes. From that sample, 40.9% of the survey respondents replied that they feel discriminated against and nationality is the principal reason 92.7%. These results are similar to Arcentales (2011) who claims that immigrants in Ecuador suffer from xenophobia and discrimination, something that has increased because of the media, as well as some control measures that the State adopted, and another reason highlighted by the author is the absence of public policies to integrate into an effective way immigrant in Ecuador. The author also highlights that the linkage between crime and people from different nationalities had increased migratory controls (Arcentales, 2011).

Moreover, Celleri (2019) found that 51% are in full-time jobs; however, 70.1% of full-time employees affirmed that they had not signed a contract. The author found that most immigrants surveyed are occupying low-paid positions regardless of being full-time employees or not. A reason can be Ecuador's trial period in which the employer can hire employees for three months without the obligation of signing a fixed contract, and they are not obliged to pay the Ecuadorian Social Security. An interesting highlight from the study is that through

the qualitative interviews, it was found that immigrants are frequently not paid for their work in these months (Céleri, 2019).

Moreover, 83.9% of immigrants do not receive institutional support. Among the people who received institutional support, 60.6% received support for food, and 25.1% received support for health issues. Only 12% of immigrants are affiliated with the National Social Security System (Céleri, 2019). UNHCR, together with other organizations such as HIAS and the Ecuadorian Red Cross, distributes humanitarian aid to the neediest people who arrive in Ecuador fleeing violence and threats against their lives. The help given to refugees is temporary and the type of aid provided depends on the specific needs of the people and the resources that UNHCR has for this purpose (UNHCR, n.d.).

Previous studies have emphasized the highly share of Venezuelans in the immigrant population of Ecuador. Therefore, a more recent study by ILO for Andean Countries (2020) provide us with a better understanding of the situation. The study aims to identify the productive sectors in Quito and Guayaquil to insert Venezuelan migrants and refugees, in the socioeconomic and labor employment sector, in dignified and sustainable enterprises. According to the study, the increase in migration of Venezuelans to Ecuador can be explained in three periods. The first was from 2006 to 2008, migrants who were interested in investing with capital for that. Second, from 2008 to 2015, migrants with higher education were interested in entering the labor market. Moreover, the third from 2015 to the present is notable for migrants with basic training and high vulnerability.

The authors argue that despite the State's efforts to integrate this migrant group, persistent episodes of xenophobia and discrimination against the Venezuelan community are registered. This phenomenon is feed by the media and social networks, which mainly cover criminal acts perpetrated by Venezuelans.

The study verifies the perception of employers and the Ecuadorian population in general, and they found that there is a priority to provide opportunities to nationals because of the economic and labor crisis. Under the criteria: "if there is no work for Ecuadorians, then it is less work for migrants." In addition, although Ecuadorian employers have a positive perception regarding the customer service and communication skills provided by Venezuelans, most clients and employers prefer to employ and or be served by an Ecuadorian (Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT), 2020).

Although, the studies focus are mainly on adults, some results regarding children were presented. In the survey conducted by Céleri (2019) the results showed that 5.4% of the sample were children from 5 to 9 years old, 4.3% children around 10 and 14 years old, and 5.7% adolescents between 15 and 19 years old. According to the study, an essential point regarding immigrant children is that the central government is not addressing a high demand for access to education and health (Céleri, 2019).

Some newspapers and international organizations have also shown results regarding the situation of immigrant children in Ecuador. For instance, in 2018, *El Comercio*, one of the country's newspapers reported that two out of ten Venezuelan migrants entering Ecuador are children or adolescents. According to a report of UNICEF, 68% of children from Venezuela that arrive in Ecuador travel only with their mother, 16% travel with their mother and father, 1% travel by themselves (alone), 9% travel separated, and 6% only with father. 24% of the families declared that their children did not attend classes in the last scholar year. UNICEF and its partners gathered this information in August 2018 from children that did not register their entrance into migration control in Ecuador in Quito, Tulcan, and Lago Agrio (UNICEF, 2018).

Internal migration

Ecuador presents high rates of internal migration. Therefore, studies have been analysing the causes of the phenomena, as well as the ways in which it can be tackled and possible implications on other social issues that the country face.

Royuela and Ordóñez (2016), determined that internal migration flows between the 21 provinces in Ecuador from 1982 to 2010 were concentrated in the two provinces that have the principle cities of the countries. However, they highlighted that this trend has weakened, something that indicates that growth has become more balanced, and small and medium sized cities had become increasingly important.

Further, Alvarado, et al. (2017) claimed that internal migration in Ecuador in recent decades has triggered a process of inefficient and accelerated urbanization, coming mostly from primary export earnings, not from urban industrial labor. Monetary factors are not the main reason for the emigration of the labor force, which would be reduced with the required human capital. Internal migration can be reduced by increasing education in peripheral areas, and by creating rural employment (Alvarado López, et al., 2017). The provinces with greater economic activity in Ecuador attract more immigrants and the provinces with less activity produce more emigrants. Urban industrial accumulations and infrastructure in certain nuclei of economic and demographic growth caused cumulative effects in addition to other factors such as the colonization of the Amazon, the location of oil extraction activities and the tourist activity of the Galapagos Islands.

Internal migration has an effect on child labor. Lopez-Acevedo (2002), showed that moving from la Costa to La Sierra (regions in Ecuador) increase the probability of working and not attending school. They found that an encouraging on employment policy for the formal modern sector reduces child labor and increases schooling through an analysis of the Ecuador Living Standard and Measurement Surveys (LSMS 1998,1999). A policy that increases wages for head households has positive effects on children, however it is more effective in rural areas than in urban areas.

External migration (Immigration)

In 2015 Ecuador had 500981 foreigners which represented 3.1% of the total population. There has been a significant increase, and by the end of 2018 they represented 4.7% of the total population and until October 2019 it represented 5.2%. Regarding nationalities in the last 5 years, 96% of the total migratory balance corresponds to people of 4 countries: Venezuela with 250,345, Colombia with 68,197, Cuba with 40,074 and Peru with 21,806 (Consejo Nacional para la Igualdad de Movilidad Humana, 2019). In addition, according to data from the 2010 Census confirm that 30% of all foreigners that reside in Ecuador do so in Quito. The latest census information also shows that in 2010, Colombia was the leading country of origin for immigrants residing in Quito, followed by Cuba, Spain, and the United States (Villacís & Carrillo, 2011). However, in the framework of the massive Venezuelan exodus, this hierarchy among the countries of origin has possibly been modified because, by 2019, Quito concentrates 52% of Venezuelans residing in Ecuador (UNHCR, n.d.). Moreover, within the numerous and constant arrival of the Venezuelan population to the Ecuadorian capital, child migration has been very relevant. According to data from the High Commissioner of the United Nations for Refugees (UNHCR, n.d.), around 30% of the Venezuelan population that would have arrived in the country in recent years corresponds to children, whose ages vary between 0 and 17 years (Consejo de Protección de Derechos, 2020).

Chapter 3

Theoretical framework and Empirical Evidence (Literature Review)

To most effectively explore the relationship between child labor and immigration the literature review selected is based on its relevance to the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between migration and child labor?
2. What are the main determinants of child labor?
3. What are the differences between migrants and natives?

What is the relationship between migration and child labor?

The relation between migration and child labor has been addressed through the different ways children can be involved directly or indirectly in migration. For instance, Khoudour-Castreras (2009) study examines the cause-effect linkages between migration and child labor due to internal displacement or migration in Colombia. The author conducted interviews in 2007-2008 and found that even though the principal objective of migrants is to improve their socioeconomic situation, the reality of the destination place does not always match their expectations. In the case of migration to neighbour countries, due to force-displacement, the support from the State is not enough to cover their necessities. In the case of Colombian refugees in neighbouring countries (like Ecuador), they need to wait for years until their migrant status is defined. Within this context, the author explains that child labour can be a surviving option for situations such as displaced young people or children who seek asylum with their families. The author also mentioned that child labour could be a surviving strategy for children that migrate by themselves, and in most cases, it is translated into labour and sexual exploitation, and in the worst cases, into slavery. However, the author highlights the missing data to understand better the situation, such as Colombian youth that has migrated to other countries. On the other hand, Khoudour-Castreras found that migration can drive better livelihood conditions for children because it might imply enrolment in education (Khoudour Castéras, 2009)(2009: 249, 250).

Similarly, but in a worldwide context van de Glind (2010) working paper based on a desk review of migrant children with and without their families and children left behind by their migrant parents studies the correlation between migration and child labour. The author highlights that the findings are not unanimous; however, plenty of studies confirm the role of remittances in prolonged education and reducing child labor. The author states that government migration policies need to be balanced with their obligations under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the ILO Conventions on the Minimum Age for Employment, No's 138 (1973) and the Worst Forms of Child Labour, No. 182 (1999), to ensure that the rights of children, including migrant children, are protected, including the right to be free from child labour.

According to van de Glind (2010), the circumstances that families and particularly children need to address in the destination can increase or reduce the risk of child labor involvement. In this way, protection services and access to quality education can make a difference (2010:5). The author affirms that, in general, children migrate with their families. In particular, seasonal family migration and families that migrate across borders without legal documents (irregular migrants) are conditions that make children at risk to join the labor force. One of the reasons presented by the author is the level of access to quality education. He

specifies the quality because he argues that there are cases where families do not see the returns of education higher than the returns of laboring. In the event of seasonal migration, school admission on a seasonal basis and transfer certificates for admission can also be a problem. In the case of irregular migrant families, they are excluded from basic services such as education. The author argues that immigration officials have used children's enrolment and school attendance to track and detain their families. Therefore, the fear of discovery can lead undocumented families to hide their children, depriving them of access to services such as education and health care resulting in employing them in the informal economy (2010: 5).

Although children often migrate with their families, the authors also address cases of independent migration. For example, van de Glind (2010) found some commonalities among independent migrants, whom he defines as children who do not cohabit with a parent and who have migrated to their current place of work. The author found that the majority of unaccompanied migrants do so within country borders. Moreover, the article found that independent child migrants that cross national borders, as a rule, are undocumented due to the few legal channels through which children of working age have to migrate. He points out their unsafety because even when authorities apprehend them, there are numerous cases of children that have gone missing. The author also highlights the dependency of unaccompanied children on adults, for different purposes such as access to social services, housing, to access jobs which make them vulnerable to exploitation at destination as being in an unequal power relationship with adults. Furthermore, something that increase their vulnerability is if they do not speak the language.

The literature has reported the differences that migrant child labourers need to face different from local child labourers. Van de Glind and Kou (2013) building on the working paper of van de Glind (2010) address a better understanding of the role of migrant children among child labourers in various types of work. They highlight that despite the vast literature regarding child labour, the angle of migration has been rarely explored. In the study they found that the trajectory of migration of children in the South is highly precarious. Related to their working conditions, the authors found that migrant child labourers are worse off than local child laborers because there is evidence on their longer hours of working, less school enrollment, and lower earnings compared to locals. In addition, they are the least visible and least politically enfranchised among human groups. The authors point out that the lack of legal protection can lower health and education conditions. Besides, there is less incentive for employers to provide proper working and living conditions.

Parallel to this research, Ayala-Carrillo et al. (2013) characterized the work of Guatemalan children and teenagers in thirteen coffee plantations in the region of Soconusco, Chiapas, in Mexico. The authors use a questionnaire conducted to 453-day labourers and fourteen interviews. They found that immigrant children's and teenagers work picking coffee beans and harvest chores, maidservants and care givers. However, the authors emphasize that immigrant children's work is acknowledged as help; they are seen as companions; for instance, they help the family collect a broader quantity of coffee beans. The article remarks that the Mexican State does not provide social policies that let these immigrant children access health or education. Moreover, the authors affirm that the refusal of farmers to improve the conditions under which Guatemalan children day labourers work is due to discrimination because they are indigenous children rather than because they are undocumented immigrants (Ayala Carrillo, et al., 2013).

However, Blunch and Ruggeri (2013), brought a different perspective, regarding internal migrant adults, they found that internal migrants are better educated, and their wages are higher than non-migrants, even controlling for education. They used the 2001 Ethiopia Child Labor Survey, which is representative nationally at a household level, and they could use information from the household members (Blunch & Ruggeri Laderchi, 2013).

More recently, Genicot, et al. (2016) developed a theoretical model to investigate the impact on internal migration on child labor outcomes. To evaluate their model, their empirical analysis, was conducted in Brasil through two decades of Census data on children aged 10 to 14 years old. They found that internal migration has a negative impact on adults' labor market outcomes. Moreover, that unskilled immigration significantly decrease child labor. Finally, that unskilled immigration increase school attendance and that children are less likely to being idle (Genicot, et al., 2016).

Their model is explained as following (see Figure 1 and 2)², the paper assumes that children are substitutes of unskilled migrants. They focus on the skill composition of the migrants, and how does it affects child labor. The paper presents three scenarios where migration can affect child labor:

The first one is as they assume that unskilled workers are a substitute for child labor, then unskilled migration is also a substitute for child labor. If there is an increase in unskilled labor supply, it will decrease child labor supply. They argue that if unskilled wages decrease as a consequence of unskilled migration, it will lower children's labor supply. However, if the wages increase, it will increase child labor.

Second, with a higher unskilled migration, it will potentially reduce the earnings of unskilled parents. And assuming child labor is a substitute of schooling, it will increase schooling, and decrease child labor supply.

Third, in the case of skilled migrants, they are not substitutes of child labor, however if there is an increase in skilled migrants it will potentially reduce earnings of skilled parents, and it will lower the return to schooling. As a consequence, they argue that schooling can decrease, and child labor may increase.

Figure 1 Child labor decreases

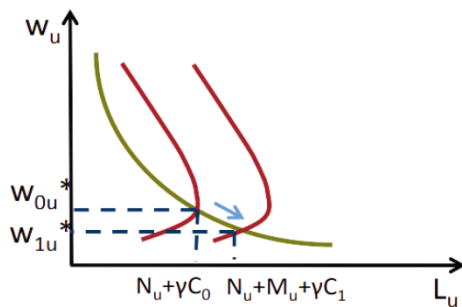
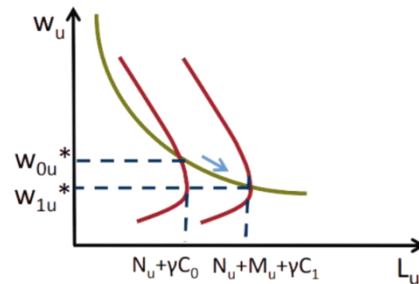


Figure 2 Child labor increases



Source: Genicot, et al. (2016:9).

The above research can be considered the first step towards a deeper understanding of the relationship between migration and child labor. Therefore, we will provide literature on two other questions the authors' address that can help us find further links between migration and child labor. As a first approach, a considerable body of literature addresses the question of the main determinants of child labor.

² Replicated by the author from Genicot, et al. (2016: 9) research.

What are the main determinants of child labor?

A number of authors have recognized the role of poverty in child labor. For instance, Blunch and Verner (2001) analyzes the determinants of harmful child labor using univariate probit model to identify the most vulnerable groups in Ghana. They define harmful child labor as the one that directly conflicts with the human capital accumulation of the child. The authors reinstate the positive relationship between poverty and child labor, due to a debate doubting about the connection. They found that there is a gender gap in child labor that is linked to poverty. Across urban, rural, and poverty subsamples, girls are more likely to engage in harmful child labor than boys. The authors found that children of self-employed workers in agriculture and non-agriculture are more likely to engage in harmful child labor activities, and on a less consistent basis, in the case of self-workers from the informal private sector. They highlight that in the case of children of unemployed or non-active head households, it affects specific groups, poor, urban boys and poor boys subsample. Nevertheless, the authors suggest that it may be because in these groups is more likely for head household to be unemployed or non-active (Blunch & Verner, 2001).

Similarly, Edmonds and Pavcnik (2005) in their research identify poverty as a primary importance to understand why children work. The authors provide three different aspects in which poverty is strongly related to child labor. The first one is that improvements in household living standards decline child labor, according to the literature that they review. The authors support this idea affirming that may be children work to meet the needs of the family. Another reason is that "diminishing marginal utility of income, the value of the marginal contribution of the child's income decreases" (Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005). Next is that, with higher incomes, it will facilitate the purchase of child labor substitutes, lowering the return of child labor. The other is that, with better incomes, the family can afford better materials for the child's education. Second, child labor could be a response to unexpected changes in the family's economic environment. In this way, the authors explain that the child might work to contribute to the household income or because is the most sensible use of time. Third, ineffective local institutions associated with poverty such as expensive or poor quality schools can leave children with few alternative options other than work. The authors also found that most of the children are employed by their parents instead of other forms of wage employment.

Researchers have made a clear differentiation through the years to characterize child labor; urban and rural child labor has been addressed separately. For instance, the following studies were conducted on a rural approach. Miranda Juárez (2015) characterize child labor in rural areas in Mexico. The author found that age and gender influence the probability of child labor. Older children and male increases the probability of being involved in child labor, besides if the child is not attending classes. Furthermore, regarding household characteristics, it was found that when the head household is unemployed, it decreases the probability of child labor in the family. The author argues that it might be because families are hired in group, in that specific context. In addition, when children are supported with a scholarship or receive any kind of support from the government, it was found that it decreases the probability of child labor. Likewise, Torres, et.al, (2019) characterize child labour in the agricultural production of rice, coffee, cotton, sugar cane, and panela sugar cane in Colombia. The authors found that children and adolescents work as unpaid family members to support their households in the case of coffee and panela sugar cane production, as its agricultural occurs within a family economy scenario (Torres, et al., 2019).

On the other hand, previous studies have also shown an urban analysis of child labor. For example, Pinzón, et al. (2006) identified the main characteristics of children working in the streets in the capital cities of Bogotá, Guatemala City, Mexico City, Quito and San Salvador

in Latin America. Among the principal characteristics they found that 63.3% of children surveyed were boys; 39% were children from displaced families; 18% lived in the streets; 62% worked more than 40 hours per week; the social security system covered 19%, and 32% were street vendors (Pinzón Rondón, et al., 2006). However, the authors concluded that the behavior of variables differed significantly by city. Therefore, it should be addressed on a case-by-case basis. Similarly, Noceti (2017) characterizes child labor in the city of Bahia Blanca, Argentina. The author concludes that child labor is a complex multidimensional phenomenon crossed by variables such as the existence or absence of early parenthood, socio-economic conditions, age, gender, culture, and religion (Noceti, 2017).

Child labor and school enrolment (Household influence)

Another question for child labor researchers has been the impact of household characteristics on child labor and school enrolment. The paper of Dar, et al (2002) reviews the empirical literature on determinants of the labor force and school participation of children in selected developing countries. It captures the factors that cause children to work and attend school. It focuses on the impacts of household welfare, parents' socioeconomic status, and children's individual characteristics across countries as factors determining child labor and school attendance. The variables that impact the decision of child labour and schooling are not necessarily consistent according to the results, it differs regarding the econometric tool use, the way to define child labor, among others. The authors found that poverty and child labor have a relationship, but it is not clear its magnitude. They found that household welfare has a significant impact on child labor; however, the impact is more marginal for certain countries. The authors also found that household welfare and children's schooling are positively correlated in most studies. The authors state that there is a significant impact from employment status on child labor, however, there is a variation from country to country. The authors state that there is not always a negative relationship between parent's education and child labor. In terms of child labor and characteristics of children, there is a positive relationship with age (Dar, et al., 2002). Gender relationship varies across countries.

Following this, Kurosaki, et al. (2006), through their research, empirically analyze the determinants of child labor and school enrolment in a rural area in India, what they found is that education of child's mother is more important to reduce child labor and increase school enrolment than the child's father education, the household head, or the spouse of the head. The effect is similar on boys and girls; however, the education of child's father is more favorable on boys (Kurosaki, et al., 2006). Afterward, Siddiqui, A. (2013) found that household-poverty-driven factors are the most serious for child labor, while household demography is the second most profound factor in the dynamics of child labor in Lahore. Shockingly, household literacy does not have any role; however, the author clarifies that the results are for Lahore (Siddiqui, 2013). Moreover, a recent study by Twumwaah, et al. (2018) concluded that child's age, gender current grade, region and location of residence were the main factors that significantly influenced child labor. In addition, in the case of household characteristics, the absence of the mother and father increased the probability of child labor in Ghana and the values were significant (Twumwaah Afriyie, et al., 2019).

Schooling costs can affect child labor. Researchers empirically have analysed the relationship. Hazarika and Bedi (2006) through their paper examine the effects of schooling costs on children's propensity to work and to attend school in rural northern India. They found that there is a positive relation between child work and schooling costs, a negative relation between school enrollment and schooling costs, and that the decrease in the probability of child work from a decrease in schooling costs is comparable in magnitude to the corresponding increase in the probability of school enrolment. Resembling, Edmonds and Maheshwor (2014) examine two interventions that promoted schooling and discourage child labor for

children associated with carpet factories in Kathmandu. They found that the impact of paying for schooling expenses promoted schooling but only at the beginning of the year because that time is when most of the schooling expenses occur. In the case of scholarship combined with the conditional stipend increases school attendance rates 11 percent, decreases grade failure rates by 46 percent, and reduces carpet weaving by 48 percent. The authors explained that financial support lasted one year, and the effects on schooling and weaving do not persist further than the year of support.

What are the differences between natives and immigrants?

Adults

Differences between natives and immigrant wages can be caused by discrimination. The effects and consequences that immigrants from low income countries experience in the host country compared to natives has long been analyzed. To exemplify on 2005, Andersson and Wadensjö analyze self-employed incomes in Denmark and Sweden, looking for differences between natives and immigrants. They found that non-Western immigrants have significantly lower annual incomes than locals. However, they point out that this difference is smaller among high-income groups. The authors explain that it may be that due to discrimination; immigrants charge lower for their goods and services. Alternatively, it might be that they have lower wage reservations and stay in business with lower profit.

Poverty rates among immigrants are higher than locals. In the US, Clark and King (2008) found that poverty rates for immigrants and children in immigrant families are substantial, although it is concentrated for specific groups such as Hispanics, blacks, non-citizens, and recent arrivals. The authors found general economic well-being improving with the arrival to the US, and through time, the authors note that it increases. However, they are excluded from health insurance coverage. Another finding was that children in immigrant families are as healthy as children in natives' families, less likely to engage in risk behaviours and do as well as other children in school. The article highlights that poverty rates among immigrant children are rising. Nonetheless, the authors clarify a lack of information in major data sets regarding legal status, visa status, and longitudinal data (Clark & Berkowitz, 2008).

Afterward, in 2009, Marcelli investigates the role that space and scale play in Latino immigrants' employment opportunities and wages in Southern California (USA). The author found that spatial strength influences wages. In addition, access, particularly to low-skilled jobs and the ethnic neighborhood network, explains, according to the author, the variation in hourly wages. The article concludes that Latin immigrants are more dependent on local opportunities and resources than other workers because of their geographic constraints. Likewise, Ottaviano and Peri (2012) calculate the effects of immigration on wages of native US workers of various skills. They found that from 1990 to 2006, immigration had a negative effect on the wages of previous immigrants in the long run.

Along the same lines, Bratsberg et al. (2017) showed that immigrants from low-income countries have a higher probability of being in precarious jobs and facing more severe consequences of job loss than natives in Norway. For example, losing a job soon is two times higher for immigrants than for native workers in the private sector. The article also concludes that the adverse effects of job loss on future employment and earnings are two times larger for immigrant employees from low-income source countries.

Galor and Stark (1991) showed that the differences in income between migrants and the native population are due to the difference in incentives. According to their analysis, the

effort of migrants is greater than that of native workers when the probability of return migration is positive. Therefore, even if all workers are homogeneous skills, migrants tend to outperform native workers in the receiving economy (Galor & Stark, 1991).

Galor and Stark (1990) had shown that migrants save more than native born. This because of the positive probability of return migration. If they do not return, if migrant do not return, they will outperform natives. Another explanation, is that in case that migrants send remittances, it will depend on the variance in remittances propensities across migrants the degree in which migrant outperform native born (Galor & Stark, 1990).

Children

In the same way, numerous studies have investigated the difficulties or benefits that immigrant children face in the place of destination. As far back as 2009, Yaqub studied child migration in Argentina, Chile, and South Africa. The author found that 4 percent of children were international or internal migrants, representing a quarter of all migrants. 27 per cent were under 18 years old. The author clarifies that definitions focus on birthplace or residence affect age profiles, but not in great deal, the difference comes with migrant stocks and flows. According to the results in the three countries over 7 percent of children (migrant and non-migrant) resided independently. The author also found that independent child migrants had worse shelter at destinations than dependent child migrants whom have similar than non-migrant children. In the case of schooling the author found that independent migrant internal and international has on average 6 years of schooling, which is similar to independent non – migrants. The author highlights that it is two years more than dependent migrant children. The article states that less than 4 per cent of non-migrant dependent children over 15 years old were employed, compared to more than a fifth of international independent migrant children. The author found that among independent migrants, employment rates were higher for international than internal migrants (Yaqub, 2009).

Mckenzie and Rapoport (2010) examine in rural Mexico the impact of migration on educational attainment. The authors found a significant negative effect of migration on schooling attendance and attainment. They also found that boys who live in a migrant household are less likely to complete junior high school than girls and boys and girls are less likely to complete high school. They found that the current migration of boys of 16 to 18 years old decrease their schooling and in the case of girls, an increase of housework decreases their schooling. They define a migrant household as the ones who have a member of the family that have ever been at USA, or was at USA in the current time of the survey.

To the same extent, Liang, et al. (2019) use data from a nationally representative survey in China to examine school choices from migrant children between 6 and 12 years old in urban areas. They found that the majority of migrant children are enrolled in local public schools. However, a good proportion is enrolled in special migrant schools. The author also found that migrant children were charged fees in public schools, even though it is not allowed. Finally, they found that there is also a significant difference among regions in China in the decision of where parents enroll their children.

Moreover, although research has illuminated some aspects in which migration and child labour have a relationship, we argue that the effect for children in human mobilization is stronger than for local children whom also suffer from child labor.

Chapter 4

Methodology

Econometric model

We included four different groups of specifications. In first place, we estimated the effect of being an internal migrant in work, education, and hourly wages for children under 18 years old. We consider based on the literature that being a foreigner might have an influence on child labour, therefore, in the second group we estimated the impact of being a migrant at all (internal or external), where we include immigrants in the variable (i.e. migrant at all) for children under 18 years old. However, in child labour it is not only the characteristics of the children that matters, but also the features of the parents and member of the household. In that sense in the third group we estimated the impact of children under 18 years old being in a household were at least lives one immigrant (i.e. immigrant household). Finally, as an indicative section due to the limited number of observations, in the fourth group we included an analysis of the impact of being an immigrant for children under 18 years old.

The basic equation is given by:

$$Y_{ith} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 I_{it} + \beta_2 D_{it} + \beta_3 E_{it} + \beta_4 H_t + \beta_5 G_{it} + \beta_6 B_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$

Where Y_{ith} represents the outcome which is if children under 18 years old i worked the week before of the survey, working if the children is working at all, the number of hours work in the month, and the wage per hour, school enrolment, for a child i in a time t in a household h . Our variable of interest is I_{ith} which represents if the child was born in a different city or country.

Previous research showed the importance of observable covariates such as age, gender, geographical location, household wealth, education, birth order. Therefore, we control for a host of potential, observable confounders individual characteristics such as age and gender that are collected in the matrix D_{it} . The level of education of the individual is in the variable E_{ith} . The matrix H_{th} contains household-specific characteristics (household size, household income). Geographic specifications (province, urban and rural areas) are grouped in matrix G_{itc} . To account for some of the remaining observable and unobservable characteristics of the destination of migration, we employ fixed-effects models for provinces. Finally, we control time variance (quarter) with fixed effects models in matrix B_t .

Even though Ecuadorian regulations established that the legal age for working is since 15 years old, we will not differentiate among hazardous work and other types of work, therefore these specifications will be estimated for children under 18 years old, following the Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, 1999 (No. 182) which establish that a child is a person under 18 years old and that is forbidden hazardous child labor for children under 18 years old. (International Labour Organization (ILO), 1973).

Specification (1) look into the relationship between the outcomes and the internal migrant children compared to local children. We create a variable to identify internal migrant from the question of the survey *Where are you from?* If the person specified that was born in another city from the place they are living, they are accounted as internal migrants.

Further, we included a second specification to identify if the child is a migrant at all (internal or external) and compared their results with local children.

Specification (3) look into the relationship between the outcomes of children who belong to an immigrant household (at least 1 immigrant) against local household (not migrants in the household).

Finally, in our (4) specification we look into the relationship between an immigrant and a native. We account for immigrant people when they refer to another country when they reply to the question Where are you from?

Some caveats need to be pointed out, like that our regression has fixed effects at a province level because the data is not representative for all cities.

Table 1 Relevant concepts

Immigrant	People that live in a different country than the one they were born.
Internal migrant	People who live in the same country as they were born, but in a different city than they were born.
Children	All people under 18 years old.
Child labor	We will consider children in child labor as all children who work at least 1 hour a week. (In our data, children that replied that they worked at least one hour the week before the interview, or if they replied positive for the question Do you work?)
Household with at least one immigrant	Households with at least one family member that is currently living in the household, and was born in a different country.
Household with at least one internal migrant	Households with at least one family member, that is currently living in the household and was born in a different city in the same country.
Independent migrant	It is understood as children who travel by themselves and live with a different person than their parents in a different city or country where they were born.

Source: Summary Relevant concepts. By the author.

Data

The data used in the empirical analysis come from the rotating panel of 2017 to 2019 National Survey of Employment and Unemployment in Ecuador (ENEMDU for its acronym in Spanish) from the National Institute of Statistics (INEC for its acronym in Spanish) (INEC, 2007). The ENEMDU is a household survey that has been done on a quarterly basis since 2007. The survey sampling strategy can be explained as follows: it is equally sized sets of sampling households (25%) brought in and out of the sample each two quarters for two years (Cantwell, 2011). It includes information on the demographic and labor market characteristics of the households.

The data is collected in a quarterly basis and the files are saved in that way. Therefore, we append the datasets from each of the quarters (March, June, September, December) from each year since 2017 to 2019 in one file in order to run our model. The entire sample size amounts to twelve quarters with a total of 763997 observations. It includes people of any age.

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for local and internal migrant children under 18 years old characteristics. On average, 8.1 percent of the children under 18 years old in our sample are working. It is consistent with the data mentioned above at national level that the INEC (2012) reveals, in which 8.56% of children between 5 to 17 years old are affected by child labor. It means that on average, on our sample internal migrant children represent 18.82 percent of children that are working. In comparison, local children are more likely to work than internal migrant children. On average, 9.2 percent of local children in our sample are working.

On average, 94.4 percent of children are enrolled in school. Compared to locals, internal migrant children tend to be 1.83 percent less enrolled in the school. In comparison to local children, internal migrant tends to work 2 hours more than locals, they earned on hourly basis 0.05 cents more than locals and 0.07 cents more than the average children in our sample. On average, children are eight years old, one year younger than internal and local children, which average age is nine years old.

On average, 4.8 percent of children in our sample live in a household with at least one immigrant, and on average, 70.7 percent of children live in a household with at least one internal migrant. On average, 21.4 percent of children in our sample are internal migrants and 1.2 percent are immigrants. Therefore, 22.3 percent of children in our sample were not born in the place of the survey.

Among children, on average 49.5 percent are female, and 50.5 percent are male. Within locals, on average 48.8 percent of children are female and 51.2 percent are male. Finally, in the case of internal migrant children, 49.5 percent are female and 50.5 percent are male.

The average households consist on 8.7 members. In comparison, internal migrant children, live with an average of 8.7 members. In the case of local children, they live with an average of 9.5 members. On average, 4th grade is the highest year of education completed for all children in our sample. In the survey the highest year of schooling considered is 10th grade as it is the last year for General Basic Education. However, in Ecuador the highest year of high school is 3 years more after 10th grade. Further, the highest year of education for local and internal migrant children is also 4th grade. On average, 64.4 percent children in our sample live in the urban area. In comparison, 47.1 percent of internal migrant children in our sample live in urban areas, and 60.6 percent of local children live in urban areas.

We estimate the hours worked per month based on the answer to the question *How many hours did you work last week?* We divided the amount by 7 and multiplied it by 30. On average, children under 18 years old earn 1.47 (US dollars) per hour. In comparison to local children, internal migrant children earn 0.05 cents more per hour. Furthermore, compared to local children, internal migrant children tend to earn on average, 1.66 dollars more than local children per month. Regarding household income, internal migrants tend to earn on average 146.01 dollars lower than locals, but 33,3 dollars more than the average household income of children under 18 years old.

Table 2 Comparison between locals and internal migrants children

Variable	Overall		Locals (N=192429)	Internal mi- grants (N=52959)	P-value
	Mean	SD	Mean	Mean	
Working at all	0.081	0.272	0.092	0.079	0.000
Worked last week	0.080	0.271	0.091	0.079	0.000
School enrolment	0.944	0.229	0.949	0.937	0.000
Hours worked per	67.646	49.974	64.331	66.125	0.031

Variable	Overall		Locals	Internal mi- grants	P-value
			(N=192429)	(N=52959)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	Mean	
month					
Hourly wage	1.475	1.185	1.491	1.540	0.422
At least 1 immigrant (in household)	0.048	0.214			
At least 1 internal migrant (in household)	0.707	0.455	0.650	1.000	0.000
Internal migrant	0.214	0.410			
Immigrant	0.012	0.109			
Migrant and Immigrant	0.223	0.416			
Age	8.974	5.046	9.192	9.443	0.000
Gender	0.505	0.500	0.512	0.505	0.003
Household size	8.790	5.772	9.546	8.773	0.000
Highest year completed	4.726	3.132	4.747	4.792	0.010
Area	0.644	0.479	0.606	0.471	0.000
Income	4.578	24.312	4.393	6.051	0.000
Income of household	1487.019	1981.789	1666.32	1520.312	0.000

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Table 2 provides descriptive statistics comparing local and internal migrant and immigrant children with the overall sample of children under 18 years old. Even though our number of observations is limited for immigrant children, we wanted to see the behaviour of the control variables when we add these observations. On average, the characteristics remain the same. However, in the case of hours worked per month we can observed that on average children work 67.6 hours per month. In comparison to local children, internal migrant and immigrant children work 2 hours more. Therefore, we decided to explore more the characteristics of immigrant children compared to locals.

Table 3 Comparison between any type of migrants vs locals children under 18 years old

Variable	Overall		Locals	Any type of mi- grants	P-value
			(N=192429)	(N=56303)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	Mean	
Working at all	0.081	0.272	0.092	0.077	0.000
Worked last week	0.080	0.271	0.091	0.076	0.000
School enrolment	0.944	0.229	0.949	0.935	0.000
Hours worked per month	67.646	49.974	64.331	67.050	0.001
Hourly wage	1.475	1.185	1.491	1.543	0.380
At least 1 immigrant (in household)	0.048	0.214	0.049	0.096	0.000
At least 1 internal migrant (in household)	0.707	0.455	0.650	0.986	0.000
Internal migrant	0.214	0.410	0.000	1.000	--
Immigrant	0.012	0.109	0.000	0.059	0.000
Migrant and Immigrant	0.223	0.416	0.000	1.000	--

Variable	Overall		Locals	Any type of migrants	P-value
			(N=192429)	(N=56303)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	Mean	
Age	8.974	5.046	9.192	9.497	0.000
Gender	0.505	0.500	0.512	0.506	0.006
Household size	8.790	5.772	9.546	8.733	0.000
Highest year completed	4.726	3.132	4.747	4.809	0.000
Area	0.644	0.479	0.606	0.491	0.000
Income	4.578	24.312	4.393	6.067	0.000
Income of household	1487.019	1981.789	1666.320	1543.393	0.000

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Table 3 provides descriptive statistics comparing children in Ecuadorian households and children in immigrant households with the overall sample of children under 18 years old. On average, 9.1 percent of children in Ecuadorian households are working and 4.3 percent of children that live in households with at least one internal migrant are involved in the labor force.

On average, 94.4 percent of the children in our sample are enrolled in school. Compared to children that live in Ecuadorian households, on average, 93.7% of children that live in households with at least one immigrant are enrolled in school. School enrolment for those children who live in Ecuadorian households tend to be higher on 0.9 percent than children in households with immigrant members.

On average, in our sample children under 18 years old work 67.6 hours per month, their hourly wage on average is 1.47 dollars and they have a monthly income of 4,77 dollars. Compared to children that live in Ecuadorian households, children that live with one immigrant member tend to work 16 hours more than children that live in Ecuadorian households. They also tend to earn 0.09 cents more per hour than children in Ecuadorian households. However, 0.48 cents less of monthly income than children in Ecuadorian households and 0.25 cents less than the average of children under 18 years old.

On average children are 8.97 years old. On average, 51.1 percent are male and 48,9 percent are female. Children in Ecuadorian households on average, are 51.3 percent male and children in households with an internal migrant are 51.1 percent male and 49 percent female. Compared to children in Ecuadorian households, children in immigrant households are on average 51.5 male and 48.5 are female. On average, 73.5 percent of children that live in households with one immigrant member live in urban areas in our sample.

The average households consist on 8.7 members. In comparison, children that live in households with an immigrant member, live with an average of 11.7 members. In the case of children in Ecuadorian households they live with an average of 9.2 members.

The household income is on average 1487 dollars per month. In comparison, children that live in households with an immigrant tend to have a higher household income of 2615.24 dollars per month. On the other hand, children in Ecuadorian households tend to have a household income of 1576.88 dollars per month.

Table 4 Comparison between children in Ecuadorian households and households with at least one immigrant

Variable	Overall		<i>Children in Ecuadorian households</i>	<i>Children in households with at least 1 immigrant</i>	P-value
	Mean	SD	(N=233974)	(N=14758)	
			Mean	Mean	
Working at all	0.081	0.272	0.091	0.043	0.000
Worked last week	0.080	0.271	0.091	0.043	0.000
School enrolment	0.944	0.229	0.946	0.937	0.000
Hours worked per month	67.646	49.974	64.439	80.409	0.000
Hourly wage	1.475	1.185	1.502	1.593	0.457
At least 1 immigrant (in household)	0.048	0.214	0.000	1	--
At least 1 internal migrant (in household)	0.707	0.455	0.722	0.778	0.000
Internal migrant	0.214	0.410	0.218	0.179	0.000
Immigrant	0.012	0.109	0.000	0.227	0.000
Migrant and Immigrant	0.223	0.416	0.218	0.365	0.000
Age	8.974	5.046	9.281	8.940	0.000
Gender	0.505	0.500	0.511	0.515	0.312
Household size	8.790	5.772	9.213	11.726	0.000
Highest year completed	4.726	3.132	4.763	4.728	0.254
Area	0.644	0.479	0.570	0.735	0.000
Income	4.578	24.312	4.801	4.320	0.022
Income of household	1487.019	1981.789	1576.886	2615.244	0.000

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Table 4 provides descriptive statistics for local and immigrant children under 18 years old. On average, 8.1 percent of children in our sample are working. Compared to Ecuadorians, our sample suggest that immigrant children are less likely to work, however our number of observations for immigrant children working are limited. In comparison to Ecuadorians, in our sample it seems that immigrant children tend to work 29 hours more per month than Ecuadorians. Regarding age, compared to Ecuadorians immigrant children are one year older and one year higher educated than Ecuadorians. On average, 51 percent of Ecuadorians children are male, 48.9 are female and 51.5 of immigrant children are male and 48.5 are female in our sample.

Ecuadorians live in households that on average consist on 9.3 members. In comparison, immigrant children, live with an average of 8 members. The household income is on average, 1634 dollars per month for Ecuadorians. In comparison, immigrant children household income is higher, it is 1908,32 dollars per month. Regarding income per month for children, immigrant children tend to have 2 dollars more than Ecuadorians, it is what our sample suggest. On average, 64.4 percent live in the urban area. In comparison, 49.1 percent of immigrant children live in urban areas and 60.6 percent of Ecuadorians live in urban areas.

Table 5 Comparison between immigrants and Ecuadorians children under 18 years old

Variable	Overall		Ecuadorians (N=245388)	Immigrants (N=3344)	P-value
	Mean	SD	Mean	Mean	
	Working at all	0.081	0.272	0.089	
Worked last week	0.080	0.271	0.089	0.044	0.000
School enrolment	0.944	0.229	0.946	0.895	0.000
Hours worked per month	67.646	49.974	64.682	93.609	0.000
Hourly wage	1.475	1.185	1.505	1.593	0.672
At least 1 immigrant (in household)	0.048	0.214	--	--	--
At least 1 internal migrant (in household)	0.707	0.455	--	--	--
Internal migrant	0.214	0.410	--	--	--
Immigrant	0.012	0.109	--	--	--
Migrant and Immigrant	0.223	0.416	--	--	--
Age	8.974	5.046	9.246	10.348	0.000
Gender	0.505	0.500	0.511	0.515	0.616
Household size	8.790	5.772	9.379	8.093	0.000
Highest year completed	4.726	3.132	4.757	5.048	0.000
Area	0.644	0.479	0.577	0.801	0.000
Income	4.578	24.312	4.751	6.315	0.000
Income of household	1487.019	1981.789	1634.809	1908.932	0.000

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

In our sample we have the reasons of migration in both cases as internal or immigrants, however, we do not have observations for December 2019. Therefore, Table B, C, E and F (see Appendixes) are from December 2017 to September 2019. In the case of internal migration for all ages (see Table B in Appendixes) the three predominant categories are on average 48.68 percent came with family, 30.24 percent migrate for work purposes (it is different than to improve income category) and 8.15 percent migrate because of marriage. Regarding immigrant motivation for migration for all ages (see Table E in Appendixes), the three predominant reasons are on average 44.91 percent came with family, 32.56 percent because of work and 9.19 percent to improve their income.

Table J (see Appendixes) provides information on the economic sector in which children under 18 years old work in our sample. On average, 65 percent of children work in agriculture, 20.13 percent work in wholesale, retail trade, restaurants and hotels in our sample and 7.21 percent work in manufacturing. Table K (see Appendixes) provides information related to the sectors in which internal migrant children work, which are similar compared to the national level. On average, 58.8 percent of internal migrant children work in agriculture, 25.01 percent in wholesale, retail trade, restaurants and hotels and 8.03 percent in manufacturing on our sample. Table I (see Appendixes) provides information regarding the economic sector in which immigrant children in our sample work. Due to the limited number of observations, these are not conclusive categories. Our sample suggests that on average, 58.24 percent of immigrant children tend to work in wholesale, retail trade, restaurants and hotels,

26.52 percent in agriculture and 6.91 in manufacturing. The predominant category is not agriculture different than internal migrant.

The data in our sample, does not differ much of the data published on 2012 mentioned before, in which among children that are working 75.1% were attending classes (INEC, 2012). On average, 79 percent of children that are working are enrol in the school in our sample and 76.2 percent of internal migrant children that are working are enrolled in the school (see Table A in Appendixes). Some reasons of why 23.8 percent of internal migrant workers' children are not studying, are provided in Table D (Appendixes). The most predominant reasons are the lack of financial resources which on average is 28,32 percent in our sample. The second is because they are not interested in studying, which on average is 26.83 percent. Then, due to work, on average 18.46 percent of internal migrant children are not enrol in school in our sample.

In the case of immigrant children that are working (see Table G in Appendixes) on average our sample suggests that 46.89 percent are not enrolled in school because of lack of resources, 28.61 percent due to work, and 12.57 percent because they are not interested.

Chapter 5 Results

Effect of internal migration

In our first specification we found that there is a negative significant effect of internal migration on working for children under 18 years old. An internal child migrant is 1.8 percentage points less likely to be involved in the labor force in comparison to local children. However, internal migration also caused a considerably negative effect on school enrolment for children under 18 years old. Compared to local children, internal migrant children are 0.8 percentage points less likely to be enrolled in school. Even though the relationship between internal migration and working is negative, when the child is involved in the labor force, an internal migrant child earned a significantly higher hourly wage in comparison to a local child worker. Internal migrant children earned 0.16 cents more than local children in hourly wages.

Table 6 Effect of internal migration on children under 18 years old.

	(1) Working	(2) Worked last week	(3) School enrolment	(4) Hours worked per month	(5) Hourly wage
Internal migrant	-0.018* (-2.36)	-0.019* (-2.40)	-0.008* (-2.74)	-1.232 (-0.71)	0.165*** (4.72)
Gender	0.027*** (5.49)	0.027*** (5.49)	-0.000 (-0.01)	8.615** (3.27)	0.030 (0.33)
Household size	0.002* (2.65)	0.002* (2.64)	-0.002*** (-6.02)	0.120 (0.67)	-0.019* (-2.36)
Highest year completed	0.009*** (4.50)	0.009*** (4.49)	-0.005*** (-8.51)	1.458*** (4.32)	-0.004 (-0.46)
Area	0.098*** (-5.85)	-0.098*** (-5.91)	0.026*** (7.14)	10.94*** (4.60)	0.009 (0.19)
Household income	-0.000** (-3.04)	-0.000** (-3.02)	0.000*** (3.95)	0.002 (2.03)	0.000* (2.78)
N	189199	189199	189199	22252	2757
R ²	0.149	0.149	0.018	0.085	0.050

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

t statistics in parentheses

Notes: Province fixed effects, base fixed effects. Error term clustered by province

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Effect of internal migration and immigration

When we add immigrant children to the category of migrants, the results were almost the same, in comparison to internal migration. However, there was an increase in the size of the effect for school enrolment and a slightly lower effect on the hourly wage.

Table 7. Effect of internal migration and immigration on children under 18 years old.

	(1) Working	(2) Worked last week	(3) School enrolment	(4) Hours worked per month	(5) Hourly wage
Migrant at all	-0.018* (-2.34)	-0.019* (-2.37)	-0.015** (-3.44)	-0.716 (-0.40)	0.154*** (4.55)
Gender	0.027*** (5.50)	0.027*** (5.51)	-0.000 (-0.18)	8.552** (3.30)	0.029 (0.30)
Household size	0.002* (2.69)	0.002* (2.68)	-0.002*** (-6.04)	0.112 (0.63)	-0.019* (-2.44)
Highest year completed	0.009*** (4.50)	0.009*** (4.50)	-0.005*** (-8.05)	1.474*** (4.41)	-0.004 (-0.48)
Area	0.098*** (-5.83)	-0.098*** (-5.89)	0.023*** (5.90)	11.19*** (4.78)	0.000 (-0.00)
Household income	0.000** (-3.09)	-0.000** (-3.07)	0.000*** (3.99)	0.002 (2.05)	0.000* (2.79)
N	192091	192091	192091	22404	2807
R ²	0.148	0.148	0.018	0.086	0.050

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

t statistics in parentheses

Notes: Province fixed effects, base fixed effects. Error term clustered by province

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Effect of living in a household with at least 1 immigrant

There is no significant relation between school enrolment and children that live in households with at least one immigrant member, in comparison to children that live in households with no immigrant members³. It seems that the status of immigrant from members of the household had a negative significant effect on working for children under 18 years old. In comparison to children with no immigrant members in household, children under 18 years old appear to be 1.5 percentage points less likely to work.

Table 8. Effect of being in a household with at least 1 immigrant member on children under 18 years old.

	(1) Work- ing	(2) Worked last week	(3) School enrol- ment	(4) Hours worked per month	(5) Hourly wage
At least 1 immi- grant	-0.011* (-2.16)	-0.011* (-2.28)	-0.001 (-0.35)		
Gender	0.026*** (5.41)	0.025*** (5.37)	-0.002 (-1.20)	7.842** (3.00)	-0.057 (-0.66)
Household size	0.002* (2.69)	0.002* (2.68)	-0.002*** (-6.04)	0.165 (0.63)	-0.031 (-2.44)

³ We add a control for internal migrant in the model, the subsample for children working in households with at least 1 immigrant is also small, therefore, our results regarding working characteristics are only indicative. However, for school enrolment the subsample size is enough to make some conclusions, as we analyze children in households with at least 1 immigrant, but we do not condition only for working children.

	(1) Work- ing (2.48)	(2) Worked last week (2.51)	(3) School enrol- ment (-5.67)	(4) Hours worked per month (0.77)	(5) Hourly wage (-2.05)
Highest year com- pleted	0.009*** (4.11)	0.009*** (4.11)	-0.004*** (-7.01)	1.589*** (4.27)	-0.004 (-0.29)
Area	-0.112*** (-6.29)	-0.111*** (-6.33)	0.031*** (6.49)	10.18** (3.61)	-0.032 (-0.49)
Household in- come	-0.000** (-3.23)	-0.000** (-3.22)	0.000** (3.59)	0.001 (1.35)	0.000 (1.93)
<i>N</i>	147407	147407	147407	17901	1962
<i>R</i> ²	0.174	0.174	0.019	0.081	0.051

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

t statistics in parentheses

Notes: Province fixed effects, base fixed effects. Error term clustered by province

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Possible effect of immigration

Even though our limited number of observations of immigrant children that are involved in the labor force, we run the regression to analyse some possible results. Our results suggest that immigrant children are less likely to work compared to Ecuadorians, however it is statistically insignificant, but if they are involved in the labor force, apparently, they will work 19 hours more than Ecuadorians. In addition, we found a significant relation between immigration and school enrolment, immigrant children are less likely to be enrolled in school.

Due to the limited number of observations in our sample for this specification (i.e. immigrant children that are working), we consider to complement our data for that specification with qualitative information, through interviews, one from the ex-Director of the Ombudsman's Office in Ecuador for the year 2019, whom conducted the first report in the country on 2007 related to human mobility and the National coordinator of the Scalabrinian Mission in Ecuador.

Table 9 Possible effect of immigration on children under 18 years old.

	(1) Working	(2) Worked last week	(3) School enrolment	(4) Hours worked per month	(5) Hourly wage
Immigrant	-0.013 (-1.13)	-0.013 (-1.10)	-0.106*** (-4.19)	19.47 (1.72)	-0.092 (-1.68)
Gender	0.027*** (5.49)	0.027*** (5.49)	-0.000 (-0.18)	8.550** (3.30)	0.025 (0.26)
Household size	0.002* (2.66)	0.002* (2.66)	-0.002*** (-5.96)	0.123 (0.70)	-0.019* (-2.50)
Highest year completed	0.009*** (4.49)	0.009*** (4.48)	-0.005*** (-8.03)	1.473*** (4.40)	-0.004 (-0.44)
Area	0.096*** (-5.85)	-0.096*** (-5.90)	0.026*** (6.51)	10.90*** (4.71)	-0.004 (-0.09)

	(1) Working	(2) Worked last week	(3) School enrolment	(4) Hours worked per month	(5) Hourly wage
Household income	-0.000** (-3.02)	-0.000** (-3.00)	0.000*** (3.87)	0.002 (2.01)	0.000* (2.76)
N	192091	192091	192091	22404	2807
R ²	0.147	0.147	0.021	0.086	0.047

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

t statistics in parentheses

Notes: Province fixed effects, base fixed effects. Error term clustered by province

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Chapter 6

Discussion of results

Along the different specifications we observe that the results for internal migrants, migrants at migrant household or immigrant are similar. Where child migrants (internal or external) have less probability of being working or worked at all and less probability of being enrolled in school. In general, this can be a sign of segregation in society. Also, that segregation from the labour market that is present for adults' replicates for children.

As we observed in table 5 an internal child migrant is 1.8 percentage points less likely to be involved in the labor force in comparison to local children. However, internal migration also caused a considerably negative effect on school enrolment for children under 18 years old. Compared to local children, internal migrant children are 0.8 percentage points less likely to enrol in school. Even though the relationship between internal migration and working is negative, internal migrant children earn a significantly higher hourly wage than a local child worker when the child is involved in the labor force. The sign and size of the effect replicates when we considered migrants no matter where they came from (other cities or other countries) or when we considered there was an immigrant in the family (Tables 6, 7 and 8).

Working

As we observed in the results section there was a significant negative effect of migration on working for children under 18 years old. Overall, these findings follow the model proposed by Genicot, et al. (2016) in which if unskilled labor increases, wages decrease, and as a consequence of unskilled migration, it will lower children's labor supply. In this case, we will use the same model for internal migrants. Research in Ecuador suggest that internal migration can be reduced by increasing education in peripheral areas, and by creating rural employment (Alvarado López, et al., 2017).

Even though we did not replicate previous reported, as we did not segregate skilled and unskilled migrants, our results suggest that for adults there is a negative relation with being involved in the labor force as an internal migrant, similar to their findings, however, our results in relation to adults' internal migration and working are not significant⁴. Therefore, further research should explore the difference within child labor accounting for skilled and unskilled internal migration and immigration.

The circumstances that families and particularly children need to address in the destination can increase or reduce the risk of child labour (van de Glind, 2010). For instance, Ayala – Carrillo et al. (2013) found that Guatemalan immigrant children's and teenagers work in Mexico picking coffee beans and harvest chores, maid-servants and care givers. Further, research emphasize that immigrant children's work is acknowledged as help; they are seen as companions, therefore unpaid (Ayala Carrillo, et al., 2013) (Torres, et al., 2019). In this way, our results need further analysis to characterize if there might be an underreport of children being acknowledged as help or companions.

⁴ We run the same model for adults, in which we found that the trends of the results are similar as for children, however, the results are only significant for school enrolment and hourly wages (see Appendix M).

In recent decades, internal migration in Ecuador has triggered a process of inefficient and accelerated urbanization, coming mostly from primary export earnings, not from urban industrial labor. Monetary factors are not the main reason for the emigration of the labor force in Ecuador, which would be reduced with the required human capital. Internal migration can be reduced by increasing education in peripheral areas and creating rural employment (Alvarado López, et al., 2017). The provinces with greater economic activity in Ecuador attract more immigrants and the provinces with less activity produce more emigrants. Urban industrial accumulations and infrastructure in certain sectors of economic and demographic growth caused cumulative effects and other factors such as the colonization of the Amazon, the location of oil extraction activities, and the tourist activity of the Galapagos Islands. However, to our knowledge, there are not recent studies regarding the reasons of internal mobilization. In our sample 48.68 percent of all population internally displaced because they come with their families. This even though is a vague perspective of what are the reasons of their migration, is what we expected, because of other research suggestions (van de Glind, 2010). In this way, 85.7% of children in our sample, move with their families. Therefore, unaccompanied migration is not predominant in our sample.

Segregation because of discrimination for non-local people can be another reason for why in both cases, for adults and children there is a lower possibility to work, even though in our results adults' results are statistically insignificant. Ayala – Carrillo et al. (2013) found that the refusal of farmers to improve the conditions under which Guatemalan children day labourers work is due to discrimination because they are indigenous children rather than because they are undocumented immigrants. Further analysis need to be done regarding other services in which internal migrant can be segregated, like health services and why. The reasons of internal migration need also further exploration, as it will clarify the situation of internal migrant children, to know why they are not working and why they are not joining the school.

School enrolment

Our results for migrant children whether they come from other cities or other countries revealed that there is a significant negative effect of schooling on migrant children. As we expected, child migrants are less likely to study than locals. Research suggests that seasonal migration can hinder access to education, as seasonal school admissions and transfer certificates for admission can be problematic (van de Glind, 2010). Similarly, the transfer of certificates can be complicated for immigrants who come from different countries and do not have a legal situation in the host country. Migrant children face different difficulties regarding access to education than locals. Situations like continued mobilization can limit their opportunities to be enrolled in the school and might be why they are not working nor studying.

In the case of Ecuador, among the regions, the school calendar is different. If the school calendar does not match with the school calendar of the place of origin, it might also reduce school enrolment in the short term. One limitation of our study is that we cannot know how much time internal migrants have been in the new place of destination (as this information is not in all the data bases we used), which might improve our understanding of the results and be considered in further studies.

Genicot, et al. (2016) found that unskilled immigration increases school attendance for children. Their model explains that a decrease in the returns for parents can increase schooling if we assume schooling is a substitute for child labor. Although we do not compare skilled and unskilled immigrants, our finding is that migrant children are less likely to enrol in a school than local children. Further, when we analyse children under 18 years old that live in households with one immigrant member, our results were non-significant but shows a negative relationship trend. A similar finding was reached by McKenzie and Rapoport (2010)

where migration had significant negative effect on school attendance and attainment in rural Mexico. Further, they found that the current migration of boys of 16 to 18 years old decrease their schooling and in the case of girls, an increase of housework decreases their schooling. However, their definition of migrant household is different from what we presented, they defined it as the ones who have a member of the family that have ever been at USA, or was at USA in the current time of the survey.

Research suggests that school enrolment is conditional on the returns that families can perceived in comparison to labor (van de Glind, 2010). In our sample, we found that 25.85 percent of internal migrant children that are working from our sample, replied that they were not interested on studying. Therefore, we can consider that children and also parents, are not seeing the returns of schooling higher than from labor.

Schooling costs can also influence school enrolment. In our sample 32.03 percent of internal migrant children indicate that they do not study and only work because of lack of resources. The findings are directly in line with previous findings, for instance, Hazarika and Bedi (2006) found that there is a negative relation between school enrolment and schooling costs, and that the decrease in the probability of child work from a decrease in schooling costs is comparable in magnitude to the corresponding increase in the probability of school enrolment. Moreover, Edmonds and Maheshwor (2014) found that the impact of paying for schooling expenses promoted schooling but only at the beginning of the year because that time is when most of the schooling expenses occur.

Public education in Ecuador is free in terms of tuition. However, sometimes children need materials, or books, which might also cause not attending classes (Céleri, 2019). In addition, children need to apply for a spot. Although, an availability on the spots it's not the predominant reason, it represents 5.17 percent of the reasons of internal migrant children are not enrolled in school and are working.

Hourly Wage

Different of what we expected, migrant children have higher income per hour than locals. Indeed, for example as shown in table 5 internal migrant children earned 0.16 cents more than local children in hourly wages. This is opposite from other studies' findings, like the one of Glind and Kou (2013), they have found that migrant child labourers are worse off than local child laborers because there is evidence on their long hours of work, less school enrolment, and lower earnings compared to locals. On the other hand, Blunchy and Ruggeri (2015) found that internal migrants are better educated, and their wages are higher than non-migrants, even controlling for education. We assume that the same behaviour as adults in other research might occur among children in Ecuador. Research suggests that for adults' incentives, might be the reason for differences in wages comparing natives – born and migrants because the effort of migrants is greater than that of native workers when the probability of return migration is positive. Therefore, even if all workers are homogeneous skills, migrants tend to outperform native workers in the receiving economy (Galor & Stark, 1990).

Other variables

Other variables that were taken into account were gender, household size, years of schooling, household income, and area. Gender has a positive significant effect on working and hours work per month. If a child is a male, he is 2.7 percentage points more likely to be in the labor force. Boys will probably work 8 more hours than girls. It is consistent with what

has been found in previous research that age and gender influence the probability of child labor (Miranda Juárez, 2019) (Twumwaah Afriyie, et al., 2019) (Noceti, 2017).

Household size is positive correlated with child labor. Per each extra member of household, a child is 0.2 percentage points more likely to work. And 0.2 percentage points less likely to be enrolled in school. Interestingly, it does not have a significant effect on the length of hours work per month, but it has a significant effect on hourly wages. Per each extra member in the family, a child is likely to earn 1.91 dollars less.

Years of schooling are positively related with child labor, per each extra year completed in school, a child is 0.9 percentage points more likely to be engage in the labor force. Consequently, per each scholar year completed a child is 0.5 percentage points less likely to be enrolled in school. In addition, per each extra scholar year completed, a child will probably work 1.45 hours more. Surprisingly, years of schooling are negative correlated with hourly wage, but it is not significant.

Household income is as expected, negative correlated with child labor. In other words, per each extra dollar in household income, a child is 37.5 percentage points less likely to be enrolled in the labor force. Therefore, it is significantly positive related with school enrolment. Meaning that per each extra dollar in household income, a child is 20.7 percentage points more likely to be enrolled in the school. However, it is also positively related with the amount of hours work per month, so per each extra dollar in household income per month, a child is likely to work 0.2 more hours per month. Furthermore, it is significantly positively related to hourly wages. Per each extra dollar in household income per month, a child is likely to earn 0.01 cents more.

Area is significantly related to be involved in the labor force. A child that lives in the urban area is 9.8 percentage points less likely to work than a child in the rural areas. However, a child that lives in the urban areas might work 10.93 hours more than children in rural areas. Moreover, a child that lives in the urban areas is more likely to have a higher hourly wage, but this results are not significant. Thus, a child that lives in in the urban area is 2,6 percentage points more likely to be enrolled in school. In our sample, the distribution of children that are displaced internally is balanced with 52.90 percent of children in the rural area and 47.10 percent in the urban area. On 2016, Royuela and Ordóñez determined that internal migration flows between the 21 provinces in Ecuador from 1982 to 2010 were concentrated in the two provinces that have the principle cities of the countries. However, they highlighted that this trend has weakened, something that indicates that growth has become more balanced, and small and medium sized cities had become increasingly important. Therefore, our data shows this new trending.

Possible effect of immigration

Our comments on this section cannot be taken as conclusive, because of the small number of observations that we have in our sample. Therefore, we consider to complement our data through three interviews, first, from the ex-Director of the Ombudsman's Office in Ecuador for the year 2019, Gina Benavides, whom conducted the first report in the country on 2007 related to human mobility. Second, to the ex-National Scalabrinian Mission Advocacy Team Coordinator, Rodrigo del Fierro, and, third, the ex-technical director at the National Council for Intergenerational Equality, Grace Vásquez. First we will present the quantitative results, and afterwards, some of the highlights from the interviews.

The status of immigrant from members of the household suggest a negative significant effect on working for children under 18 years old, although it is statistically insignificant. Similarly, immigrant children under 18 years old are less likely to join the labor force. Overall,

these findings might follow the model proposed by Genicot, et al. (2016) in which if unskilled labor increases, wages decrease, and as a consequence of unskilled migration, it will lower children's labor supply. The highest population of immigrants is from Colombia, with 39.10 percent of the population. The second one is Venezuela, with 26.28 percent of the population. Following the ILO for Andean Countries (2020) results, the third wave of migrants from Venezuela, from 2015 to the present is notable for migrants with basic training and high vulnerability. Then we can assume that unskilled immigration is what the country is facing in higher levels, among the last years. However, contrary to what we expected, our results in this case are not the same as the ones from Genicot, et al. (2016), as we found that for adults immigrants they are more likely to work than Ecuadorians⁵.

However, we can have a better perspective of what immigrant children are facing, through the qualitative interviews, and if they do work, where are the economic sectors in which is more common see them. Grace Vásquez (2021) highlighted that there is a new phenomenon within immigrants “(...) many girls and adolescents are being left in the care of their younger siblings, of their siblings while their parents are working”, she explained that this situation already existed in Ecuador, but with immigrant population the difference is that children do not combined it with education. She also mentioned vendors' children in the street, and families in the collection of solid waste. She explained that there are disputes with Ecuadorians families that were doing the same job. Finally, she described that there are cases in which families take their children as companions to their jobs such as masonry, carpentry, plumbing, especially in construction, which she expressed, also happened before in Ecuador, but to a much lesser extent. In the same way, Gina Benavides (2021), shared that “You see a lot of Venezuelan children on the street, it has been like a strategy to be able to beg, (...)” She also mentioned that she had seen children in banana plantations from Peru and Colombia, and in mining. In the case of Venezuelans girl, sex work and exploitation. Further, Rodrigo del Fierro, agreed that immigrant children are more likely to see on the streets, and he has seen that it is more common among women with their children.

Edmonds and Pavcnik (2005) identify poverty as a primary importance to understand why children work. Among the reasons that they analyzed, the one that might most fit in the context is that improvements in household living standards decline child labor, according to the literature that they review. Therefore, it is required a more deeply analysis of the immigrant population in Ecuador to understand their behavior, and support them in the most effective way, as all the interviewed agreed, there is no official data related to immigration situation in Ecuador.

Our results suggest that if immigrant children are involved in the labor force, apparently, children under 18 years old, may work 19 hours more than Ecuadorians. In addition, it might be that immigrant children are less likely to be enrolled in school. Through the interviews, we could understand the complex situation of immigrant children regarding school enrolment. “(...) they are families with a transit vocation, who do not intend to stay in the country, but are in transit through the country, and this means that the children do not have educational options, (...)” Grace Vásquez (2021). The interviewed highlighted the difficulty to track immigrant families, and their behaviour of constant migration. Rodrigo del Fierro explained that if the family does not find a job in a particular city (i.e. Quito), they will move to another. This constantly mobilization makes them more vulnerable to join education.

Grace Vásquez explains that “(i.e.) Venezuelan families, there is not even an intention of the families themselves to put them in education because the economic issues will limit them (...) they are permanently mobilizing, because they do not have to be able to guarantee that

⁵ We run the same model for adults, in which we found that the trends of the results different than for children, and some of them are significant (see Appendix N).

their child can have access to (for instance) the Internet (referring to the current situation of COVID-19), (they say) *If I do not have enough to eat, to be able to pay for survival issues, how can I pay for education or health issues?*

This brings us again into poverty as the main reason of child labor (Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005), however if we include into this perspective the model proposed by Genicot, et. Al. (2016), where the labor market has its effect because of the migration flows, then the analysis of how much immigrant children has been affected in this situation requires further research. Rodrigo del Fierro, complement this approach, explaining that, first, ministry of education, from his perspective has made a lot of efforts to integrate immigrant into the system. However, as well as Gina Benavides and Grace Vásquez, they agreed that there is still need to do a great deal regarding the methodology of integration, within classrooms. He explained that even though there are some statistics regarding immigrant children enrolled in school, what is important highlight is that there is not a track after that, and might be that after enrolment, the family migrate, so children are not attending classes.

Although our context analysis, showed that the Ecuadorian Constitution, allows free mobility, we would like to share some contrasts that the interviewed pointed out. They agreed that the legal framework is not always applied, and reality it is not the same, there are series of restrictions that increased the vulnerabilities of people in mobility in Ecuador. For instance, Grace Vásquez shared that “(...) it seems to me that there is a significant gap between what the regulations say and how the country is effectively responding institutionally from the state and also from the society itself, (...) there are no articulated responses”, following this Rodrigo del Fierro highlights that “in the application of the policy by the last three governments has been contradicting the spirit of these policies, (...) now I could say that we are in a moment of migratory control, of the establishment of a national security policy that is affecting precisely the treatment that the state should have towards people, especially immigrants from Venezuela (...)”. Following this Gina Benavides, expressed that the policies in terms of mobilization are of restriction. To some extent, these information is in line with what Glind and Kou, (2013) highlight in their research, that is that they are the least visible and least politically enfranchised among human groups.

Moreover, even when immigrant children are enrolled in school, and might be attending classes, they might face xenophobia. The interviewed agreed on the xenophobic reactions that Ecuadorian population tend to have. “Children who were in the educational system were victims of bullying, if you do not have the capacity to work on the issues of xenophobia, violence or curricular adaptations and cultural adaptations to some extent. (...) then it is difficult for you to achieve those (principle of the constitution), (...)” (Grace Vasquez). In the interview, she explained that what is needed is to respond with specificity to the problems that population in human mobility are facing, but not to increase discrimination, but to equalize their situation and integrate the accurately into social protection of Ecuadorian community. Therefore Gina Benavides proposed that “the constant policy in terms of mobilization (...) is one of restriction (...) new practices and new visions of how to achieve coexistence among different people and not only because non-nationals are different, but because we must recognize that this is a diverse country, it is a country where we have different ethnic groups, afro population (...) immigrant population because it is not only the Venezuelans now”.

The lack of data regarding immigrant population was highlighted by the interviewed, and not only regarding people in human mobility, there is a lack of update information also of child labor. “(...) There is no specialized survey that can tell you, how is the current state of child labor in the country in a specialized way (since 2012) (...) or simply (...) as we do not have surveys, we do not necessarily survey Venezuelan, Colombian or Haitian people, we

survey Ecuadorians, so it is also a way of making the population invisible. That also happens". Grace Vásquez

Even though the results of less school enrolment reflect some of the qualitative experiences, our quantitative results are not conclusive due to the lack number of observations. Further, more analysis in order to understand the situation in the country of immigrants is required. However, if data is collected, we would like to emphasize, that it should be to improve the integration of immigrant people in the Ecuadorian society and not to exclude them, as one of the interviewed recommended

(...) information as an effective source to nourish guarantee policies for the access and guarantee of rights, not for the restriction of rights, that is terrible, so this should be the basis and the state should change that mentality (...). Gina Benavides

We might clarify that we analysed migration to a developing country, as within the literature, migration to developed countries might have different effects. Moreover, not necessarily all migration implies child labor, as van de Glind (2010) highlighted, for instance it may also imply higher probabilities to access education depending on the place of destination.

Chapter 7

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

The findings from this study show that there was a negative significant effect of internal migration on working for children under 18 years old. However, we do not know, further on their time spending, as we also have a negative effect on school enrolment. Surprisingly, the hourly wage for internal migrant children is higher than for local child workers.

Child in situations of mobility are difficult to track, among the time that they are mobilizing, with their family or by themselves, something that make them more vulnerable, they are less likely to be integrated in the society, and their rights to engage with primary services as education are limited. Our contribution to the literature is that internal migrant children are less likely to work, but as well less likely to be enrolled in school in comparison with local children. Other studies have found that with less child labor, there is more school enrolment, or that there is a combination of child workers and schooling, however, with the particular attention for mobilizing children we found that internal migrant children neither work nor study. Further research can focus on the integration of internal migrant children with the health system, in addition, more information related to the time that migrants need to settle down, can be relevant for policy purposes.

Through the literature poverty has been widely described as a cause for child labor. However, through the empirical analysis even when we control for household income, we observed that migration plays a different role for child labor. Although, in our sample internal migrant children are less likely to work, further research is required to know where are internal migrant children spending their time, to facilitate channels of integration with the place of destination.

Policy implication, might be after the qualitative and quantitative data, that there is required to work in integration of different cultures at various level of society in Ecuador, one of them, through education.

Our number of observations are low regarding immigrant children therefore we cannot make conclusive conclusions; however, it is raise the requirement for further research related to the topic, where we can characterize the population, to analyse their vulnerabilities.

Appendices

Appendix A Internal migrant children under 18 years old that are working

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Working at all	3361	1.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
Worked last week	3361	0.989	0.103	0.000	1.000
School enrolment	3361	0.764	0.425	0.000	1.000
Hours worked per month	3361	72.875	56.123	4.286	390.000
Hourly wage	767	1.551	1.090	-0.047	8.750
Age	3361	14.293	2.703	5.000	17.000
Gender	3361	0.620	0.485	0.000	1.000
Household size	3361	9.352	6.293	1.000	37.000
Highest year completed	3350	5.934	3.216	0.000	10.000
Area	3361	0.234	0.424	0.000	1.000
Income	3361	43.033	94.550	-45.000	800.000
Income of household	3361	1278.137	1426.398	-6000.000	25346.000

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Appendix B Reasons of internal migration for all ages

Reason of migration	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1 - For work	1.33e+07	30.24	30.24
2 - To improve income	1359035	3.08	33.32
3 - Marriage	3593914	8.15	41.47
4 - Study	1953009	4.43	45.90
5 - Health or illness	429292.3	0.97	46.88
6 - Bought or given as a gift a house or land	1317059	2.99	49.86
7 - Came with family	2.15e+07	48.68	98.54
8 - Other, which	642598.3	1.46	100.00
Total	44100675	100.00	

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Appendix C Reasons of internal migration for child workers under 18 years old

Reason of migration	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1 - For work	8288.838	2.51	2.51
2 - To improve income	889.9896	0.27	2.78
3 - Marriage	5239.505	1.59	4.37
4 - Study	12313.23	3.73	8.11
5 - Health or illness	65.54932	0.02	8.13
6 - Bought or given as a gift a house or land	481.0224	0.15	8.27
7 - Came with family	282887.2	85.79	94.07
8 - Other, which	19566.85	5.93	100.00
Total	329732	100.00	

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Appendix D Reasons for not being enrolled in school for internal migrant workers children under 18 years old

Reason for not school enrolment	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1 - Age	27.95162	0.01	0.01
2 - Completed studies	122.4817	0.06	0.07
3 - Lack of financial resources	62183.78	28.32	28.39
4 - School failure	9387.14	4.28	32.67
5 - Due to work	40520.79	18.46	51.13
6 - Attending SENESCYT courses	2962.539	1.35	52.48
7 - Illness or disability	4021.328	1.83	54.31
8 - Helping with household chores	1685.167	0.77	55.07
9 - Family does not allow him/her to study	979.7725	0.45	55.52
10 - There are no educational establishments	4945.821	2.25	57.77
11 - Not interested in studying	58897.59	26.83	84.60
12 - Pregnancy	551.7956	0.25	84.85
13 - Lack of available spots	10620.32	4.84	89.69
14 - Other	22632.85	10.31	100.00
Total	219539	100.00	

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Appendix E Reasons of migration for immigrant people for all ages

Reason of migration	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1 - For work	850322.4	32.56	32.56
2 - To improve income	240077.6	9.19	41.76
3 - Marriage	108996.1	4.17	45.93
4 - Study	37183.19	1.42	47.36
5 - Health or illness	16013.53	0.61	47.97
6 - Bought or given as a gift a house or land	21672.63	0.83	48.80
7 - Came with family	1172749	44.91	93.71
8 - Other, which	164187.6	6.29	100.00
Total	2611202	100.00	

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Appendix F Reason of migration for immigrant workers children under 18 years old

Reason of migration	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1 - For work	1463.958	6.74	6.74
4 - Study	182.6464	0.84	7.58
7 - Came with family	19363.57	89.16	96.74
8 - Other, which	707.1494	3.26	100.00
Total	21717	100.00	

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Appendix G Reason for not being enrolled in school for immigrant workers children under 18 years old

Reason for not school enrolment	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
3 - Lack of financial resources	6416.139	46.89	46.89
4 - School failure	47.0455	0.34	47.24
5 - Due to work	3914.483	28.61	75.85
11 - Not interested in studying	1719.741	12.57	88.42
13 - Lack of available spots	154.8326	1.13	89.55
14 - Other	1429.859	10.45	100.00
Total	13682	100.00	

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Appendix H Nationalities of immigrant children that are working

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Argentina	52.90937	0.19	0.19
Canada	116.0924	0.42	0.61
Chile	364.0707	1.32	1.93
Colombia	10896.1	39.40	41.33
Israel	70.15248	0.25	41.58
Italy	250.7167	0.91	42.49
Peru	48.28403	0.17	42.66
Spain	5822.143	21.05	63.72
USA	3774.249	13.65	77.36
Venezuela	6260.074	22.64	100.00
Total	27655	100.00	

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Appendix I Economic sector of immigrant children under 18 years old

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1 - Agriculture	5073.449	26.52	26.52
3 - Manufacturing	1321.205	6.91	33.42
5 - Construction	390.3443	2.04	35.46
6 - Wholesale and retail trade and restaurants and hotels	11143.5	58.24	93.70
7 - Transport, storage, communication and information	50.28074	0.26	93.96
10 - Act. private households with domestic service	523.0899	2.73	96.70
11 - Others and not specified	632.1428	3.30	100.00
Total	19134	100.00	

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Appendix J Economic sector of children workers under 18 years old

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1 - Agriculture	1447671	65.01	65.01
2 - Mining and quarrying	2809.057	0.13	65.13
3 - Manufacturing	160547.7	7.21	72.34
4 - Electricity, gas and water	1827.777	0.08	72.42
5 - Construction	58471.2	2.63	75.05
6 - Wholesale and retail trade and restaurants and hotels	448271	20.13	95.18
7 - Transport, storage, communication and information	30133.49	1.35	96.53
8 - Financing, insurance, real estate and business services	1314.874	0.06	96.59
9 - Community, social and personal services	2063.743	0.09	96.68
10 - Act. private households with domestic service	15856.26	0.71	97.40
11 - Others and not specified	57985.52	2.60	100.00
Total	2226951	100.00	

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Appendix K Economic sector of internal migrant children under 18 years old that are working

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1 - Agriculture	338697.4	58.14	58.14
2 - Mining and quarrying	1666.936	0.29	58.42
3 - Manufacturing	46754.64	8.03	66.45
4 - Electricity, gas and water	1300.09	0.22	66.67
5 - Construction	12210.4	2.10	68.77
6 - Wholesale and retail trade and restaurants and hotels	145695.4	25.01	93.78
7 - Transport, storage, communication and information	7927.627	1.36	95.14
8 - Financing, insurance, real estate and business services	1046.651	0.18	95.32
9 - Community, social and personal services	338.3719	0.06	95.37
10 - Act. private households with domestic service	5545.814	0.95	96.33
11 - Others and not specified	21405.82	3.67	100.00
Total	582589	100.00	

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

Appendix L

	(1) Working	(2) Worked last week	(3) School enrolment	(4) Hours worked per month	(5) Hourly wage
At least 1 immigrant	-0.011* (-2.16)	-0.011* (-2.28)	-0.001 (-0.35)	-2.355 (-0.38)	0.197 (1.54)
Gender	0.026*** (5.41)	0.025*** (5.37)	-0.002 (-1.20)	7.849** (3.00)	-0.055 (-0.64)
Household size	0.002* (2.48)	0.002* (2.51)	-0.002*** (-5.67)	0.166 (0.77)	-0.032* (-2.10)
Highest year completed	0.009*** (4.11)	0.009*** (4.11)	-0.004*** (-7.01)	1.590*** (4.26)	-0.004 (-0.29)
Area	0.112*** (6.29)	-0.111*** (-6.33)	0.031*** (6.49)	10.25** (3.55)	-0.039 (-0.59)
Household income	-0.000** (-3.23)	-0.000** (-3.22)	0.000** (3.59)	0.001 (1.35)	0.000 (1.94)
N	147407	147407	147407	17901	1962
R ²	0.174	0.174	0.019	0.081	0.052

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

t statistics in parentheses

Notes: Province fixed effects, base fixed effects. Error term clustered by province

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Appendix M

	(1) Working	(2) Worked last week	(3) School enrol- ment	(4) Working month	(5) Hourly wage
Migrantin	-0.003 (-0.50)	-0.004 (-0.58)	-0.040*** (-6.84)	3.280*** (6.36)	0.083* (2.12)
Gender	0.287*** (9.75)	0.285*** (9.79)	-0.002 (-0.61)	31.34*** (11.62)	0.487*** (14.31)
Hhsize	-0.000 (-0.15)	-0.000 (-0.01)	0.001** (2.96)	-0.112 (-1.07)	-0.128*** (-7.85)
Years schooling	0.0190*** (8.61)	0.0188*** (8.66)	-0.0400*** (-8.69)	1.989*** (11.45)	-0.044 (-1.76)
Area	-0.060*** (-4.10)	-0.063*** (-4.48)	0.041*** (8.42)	15.55*** (4.95)	0.423** (3.53)
Hhincome	0.000*** (4.51)	0.000*** (4.54)	0.000 (1.40)	0.002** (3.21)	0.000*** (9.38)
N	465331	465331	465331	329517	290167
R ²	0.116	0.113	0.090	0.088	0.168

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

t statistics in parentheses

Notes: Province fixed effects, base fixed effects. Error term clustered by province

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Appendix N

	(1) Working	(2) work last week	(3) school enrollment	(4) workinmonth	(5) hourlywage
Migrantex	0.0710*** (4.95)	0.0724*** (5.42)	-0.063*** (-6.18)	10.52*** (3.98)	0.064 (0.51)
Gender	0.287*** (9.84)	0.285*** (9.87)	-0.002 (-0.50)	31.24*** (11.55)	0.493*** (14.64)
Hhsize	-0.000 (-0.17)	-0.000 (-0.01)	0.001** (3.40)	-0.132 (-1.29)	-0.132*** (-7.64)
Years schooling	0.018*** (8.75)	0.018*** (8.81)	-0.040*** (-8.65)	2.016*** (11.66)	-0.043 (-1.62)
Area	-0.059*** (-4.10)	-0.062*** (-4.47)	0.039*** (9.02)	15.78*** (5.12)	0.404** (3.27)
Hhincome	0.000*** (4.66)	0.000*** (4.67)	0.000 (1.68)	0.002** (3.22)	0.000*** (9.08)
N	473721	473721	473721	335657	295719
R ²	0.116	0.112	0.084	0.088	0.171

Source: INEC, 2017-2019. By the author.

t statistics in parentheses

Notes: Province fixed effects, base fixed effects. Error term clustered by province

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Appendix O Semistructural interview for complementary data regarding immigrant children in Ecuador

1. What is your assessment of the situation of immigrants in Ecuador?
2. What do you consider to be the vulnerabilities faced by immigrants in Ecuador?
3. Do you consider that the vulnerabilities of adult immigrants are different from those of children, what are they and why?
4. In your experience, what are the sectors in which immigrants and in particular children are more likely to work?
5. Are regular and irregular working immigrant children protected by law in Ecuador in case of injuries or accidents?
6. How do Ecuadorian laws protect regular and irregular immigrant children who are working?
7. Do you think it is relevant to analyze the immigrant child labor population?
8. Why?
9. What differences do you consider that Ecuadorian children in child labor may face in comparison with immigrant child laborers?
10. Do you consider that the public policies and laws established in Ecuador dignify the labor condition of minors in the same way for Ecuadorians and immigrants?
11. Why do you think there is a difficulty in collecting data related to the immigrant population at the national level?

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Notes

¹ Art. 46 Constitution of Ecuador (2008), Childhood and Adolescence Code, Labor Code among others.

² Elaborated by the author but from Genicot, et al. (2016: 9) research.

³ We add a control for internal migrant in the model, the subsample for children working in households with at least 1 immigrant is also small, therefore, our results regarding working characteristics are only indicative. However, for school enrolment the subsample size is enough to make some conclusions, as we analyze children in households with at least 1 immigrant, but we do not condition only for working children.

⁴ We run the same model for adults, in which we found that the trends of the results are similar as for children, however, the results are only significant for school enrolment and hourly wages (see Appendix M).

⁵ We run the same model for adults, in which we found that the trends of the results different than for children, and some of them are significant (see Appendix N).