Chapter 6
Children and Young People in Colombia: Their change between 2010 – 2016

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6.1. Introduction

→ As well as being the first longitudinal survey in Colombia, probably the most important characteristic of ELCA is that it allows the detailed monitoring of the development over time of a representative sample of children who were between zero and nine in 2010 in urban regions and four rural micro-regions in Colombia. The information collected in the three ELCA rounds allows us to understand the life story of these individuals in terms of critical issues including health, education, child labor, social capital, consumer habits, risks, expectations, and dreams and life plans. This information, if used appropriately, can be used as the fundamental input to develop public policy for children and young people in Colombia.

This chapter presents a brief introduction to the richness of data that this longitudinal survey contains, which allows us to understand some of the most significant changes that the children and young people have experienced since ELCA first started gathering information. According to Rodríguez (2014), the analysis is based on the paths of young people in the last six years in terms of

→ Six year-old Daniel Felipe García always helped his mother milk the cows, and he enjoys himself playing with this calf in Susa (Cundinamarca).

education, child labor, risks, and their dreams. Although the two first topics are based on standard questions that are found in other surveys of Colombian households, only through ELCA is it possible to follow the same children over time and understand how decisions regarding these important aspects will have an impact on their future levels of income, economic stability, and personal and family development. The analysis of the other two topics is only possible thanks to the specific and original information that ELCA has gathered in this and other areas in Colombia.

The analysis allows us to conclude that between 2010 and 2016, as the children and young people are growing up, their rates of falling behind and dropping out of school have increased. These increases, that are related to older children, are importantly correlated with personal and family characteristics. The ones who are more likely to fall behind or drop out of school are either the children and young people who live in the most vulnerable households or those who in 2010 had less verbal skills. Specifically, the correlation found between educational variables and verbal skills is the strongest and most significant, and it proves the importance that early childhood has on the lives of individuals.

Similarly, individuals undertaking household chores and participating in the labor market has increased over recent years, which can be explained by socio-economic factors as well as their age. Moreover,

→ Fifteen year-old Jesús David Franco Causil dreams of being a football player. He is a fan of Junior and dreams of playing for Real Madrid. He lives with his mother and grandparents on a farm in Ciénaga de Oro (Córdoba).

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there is a clear differentiation in rolls between the sexes within the household; there is a marked difference between the time that boys and girls spend on chores, even at a young age. As the children who are being monitored are growing up, the probability of them being exposed to dangerous activities -such as alcohol consumption or joining a gang- has increased: their dreams and expectations for the future have adjusted accordingly. We found that events such as teenage pregnancy and dropping out of school have consequences on their future expectations, which, perhaps, perpetuates a cycle of poverty for these young people that begins in adolescence.

6.2. THE SAMPLE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE USED

In ELCA, the special follow-up population is a representative sample of children from urban zones and four rural micro-regions, they were the children, stepchildren, or grand-son/ daughter of either the head of the household or their spouse in 2010, and that were between 0 and 9 years of age. However, this chapter concentrates solely on a subgroup made up of children who were between 5 and 9 in the first round, which can be explained for three reasons. First, the analysis of the development of children who were between zero and nine in 2010 -given the recognized importance of early childhood- has been extensively analyzed in studies such as Bernal and Van Der Werf (2011) and Bernal,

Martínez, and Quintero, (2015). Secondly, as education is one of the main topics being analyzed in this chapter, we decided to only choose those cohorts that, from the first ELCA round and in accordance with Colombian legislation, should already be registered in the Colombian education system. Finally, these older cohorts allow us to ask new questions that are incorporated into the ELCA as the children and young people being monitored grow up.

In order to ensure a balanced panel, the analysis relating to education and child labor use information from 1,439 and 1,819 children from urban regions and rural micro-regions, respectively.[1] For the analysis related to risks and dreams that the children and young people reported to have in 2013 and 2016, we used information from 873 young people in urban zones and 1,109 young people in rural micro-regions: in 2010, the majority were between seven and nine, and, therefore, have responded to the unit on young people in both rounds.

On analyzing the basic characteristics of these children and young people for the urban sector and

→ Seven year-old Santiago Franco Ruiz lives with his mother Noraylis Ruiz and his grandparents on a farm in Ciénaga de Oro (Córdoba). His father is a miner in Chocó and he visits every two or three months.

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1. Guaranteeing a balanced panel implies that only the children who were surveyed in the three ELCA rounds were chosen for analysis. This means that there was a sample loss of 28% of the 4,503 children who were surveyed by ELCA in 2010 and who were between five and nine. This loss is superior to the household loss as only 10.5% of the households surveyed in 2010 were lost. Additionally, to keep the urban and rural samples being representative, the analysis was undertaken based on the zone in which the children lived in the baseline.

$\rightarrow$ Karina Ramírez Tapias helps with domestic chores for her nuclear family, consisting of her grandmother Inés María Álvarez, her mother's husband Eduard Álvarez, her mother Yomaira Tapias, and her sisters Camila and Isabela.

four micro-regions in the rural sector, we found that, as expected, the average age of children on the panel increased over the three rounds, from 6.99 in 2010 to 10.07 in 2013 and then 13.05 in 2016 in urban zone; and from 7.05 to 10.07 and then 13.11 in the four rural micro-regions, respectively, for each round. It is interesting that, year by year, the proportion of households to which the children belong that have low levels of wealth decreases importantly in both areas. It moves from 38.60% and 33.18%, respectively, for the urban zones and the rural micro-regions in 2010 to 41.21% and 36.05% in 2016, respectively.[2]

6.3. EDUCATION: ATTENDANCE, DROPPING OUT, AND FALLING BEHIND

The Colombian legislation stipulates that mandatory education starts at five; children start at grade zero (transition) and finish in ninth grade corresponding to elementary and middle school. Data from ELCA show that, in 2010, 98.3% and 97.2% of children in urban zones and the rural micro-regions within this age range did attend school. In fact, in 2013, this percentage increased to 99.4% and 98.8%, respectively: this increase can be explained by some children's late-entering to the education system. However, as time goes by and these children grow up, their educational indicators show clear signs for concern that should be taken into consideration by parents and the education authorities. For example, the data indicates that, for

2.   The wealth index for households was calculated according to the methodology presented by Staveteig and Mallick (2014) through a principal component analysis in which the only variables taken into consideration were to do with the physical condition of the dwelling (walls and floors), access to public services, assets, and size of household.

2016, only 97.6% and 94.9% of children in each one of the zones were part of the school system. Graph 6.1 shows how the percentage of children and young people being monitored who are over-age or who have abandoned the system in each zone as they have been growing up and as ELCA has been surveying them has change.[3] As can be seen, while in 2010 only 0.8% of these children were over-age, this percentage increased to 8.7% and 11.5% in the urban zones and the four micro-regions, respectively in 2016. Similarly, in 2010, no child between five and nine had dropped out the school system, in 2016, 2.4% and 4.8% had dropped out in each zone. The differences are evident between the residents in rural and urban zones.

However, these averages hide important variations in terms of children's sex, age, wealth, and early verbal abilities. Graph 6.2 presents school drop out in accordance with a household's level of wealth and the score from the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) that the children obtained in 2010.[4] Panel A clearly shows that, for both zones, the lower wealth of the household, the higher the drop-out rate. This difference is more significant in the urban areas where the probability of a child or young person who comes from a poorer household dropping out of school is eight times more likely than one who belongs to a wealthier family. Panel B shows that the children who in 2010 were more

GRAPH 6.1.
FALLING BEHIND AND DROPPING OUT OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM (PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE)
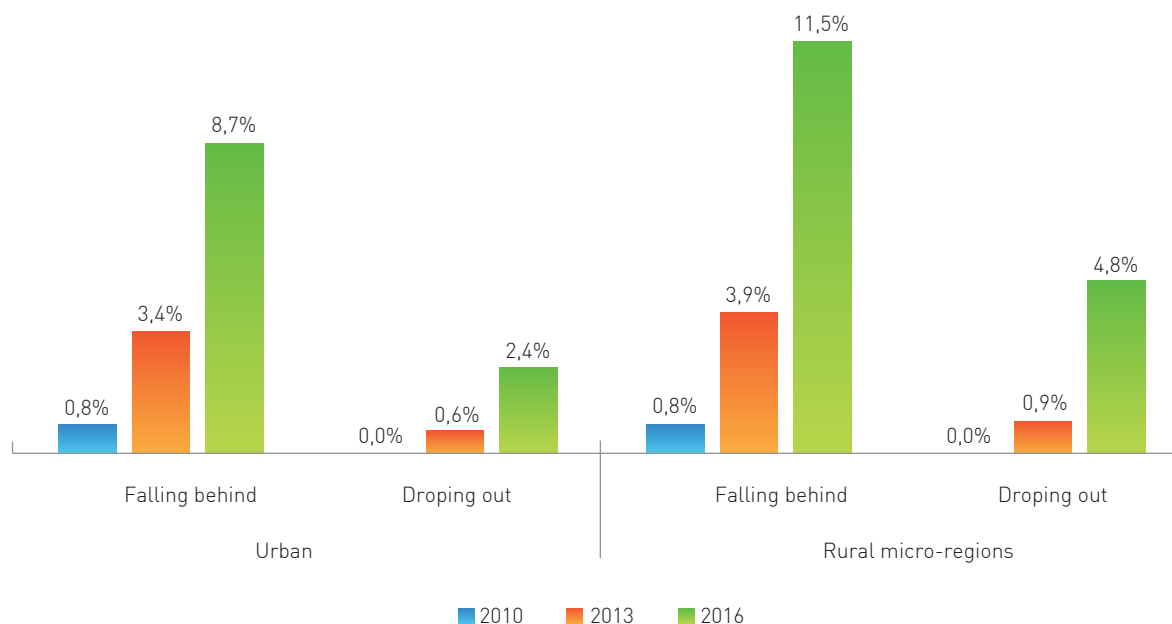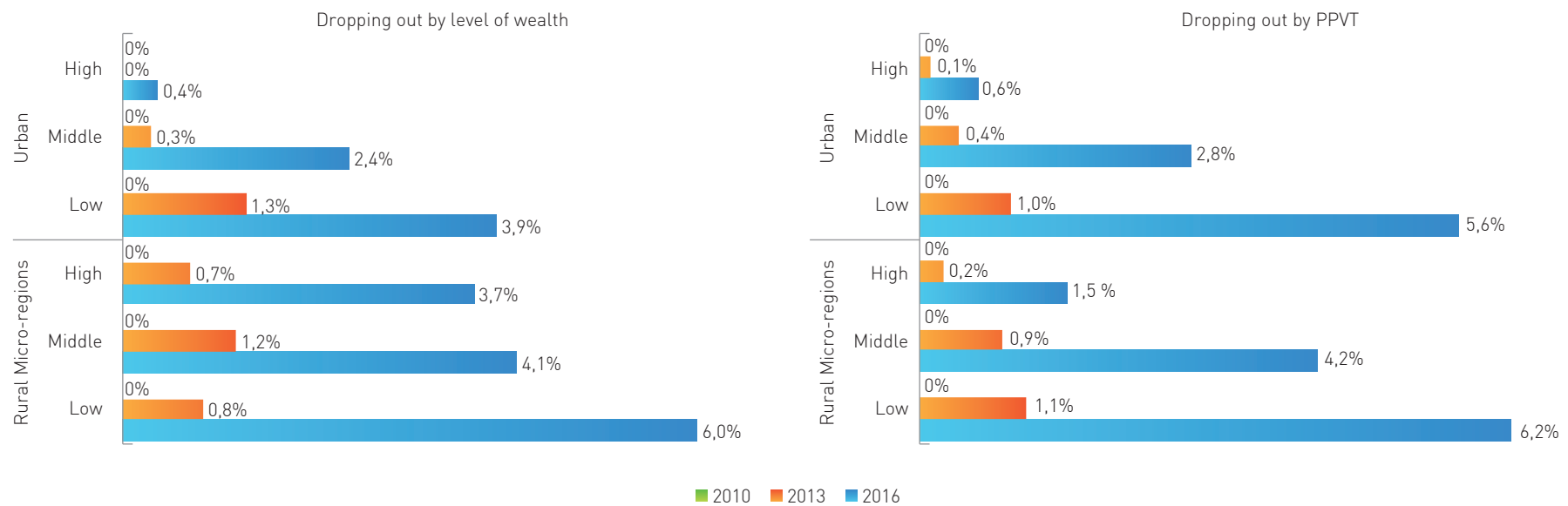

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013, and 2016. Authors' own calculations

Note: The information is for the children being followed-up who were surveyed in the three ELCA rounds, who in 2010 were between 5 and 9 years old. The rural sample is only representative for the micro-regions: Atlántica Media, Cundiboyacense, Eje Cafetero, and Centro-Oriente. Source: Own calculations ELCA 2010, 2013, and 2016.

3. In this chapter, we define falling behind (or being over-age) according to the definition provided by the Ministry of Education, which states that this phenomenon occurs when a child or young person is two or three years above the expected average age to attend a certain grade that is established in the General Law of Education. For example, a second-grade student should be between seven or eight; if they are ten or above, they are an over-age student.
4. The PPVT test measures how advanced children are for their age and it is a measure of the child's receptive verbal ability. It has been found that this test is correlated with the results from intelligence tests (Bernal et al., 2015). It has been applied in three ELCA's rounds; however, for this chapter, we will only use the results from 2010. In Bernal et al.'s (2015) study, analysis was made using results from the first two rounds (2010 and 2013).

Graph 6.2.

School drop-out rate according to the household's wealth level and the PPVT score in 2010 (percentage of children and young people)

Dropping out by level of wealth

Urban

High
0%
0%
0,4%

Middle
0%
0,3%
2,4%

Low
0%
1,3%
3,9%

Rural Micro-regions

High
0%
0,7%
3,7%

Middle
0%
1,2%
4,1%

Low
0%
0,8%
6,0%

Dropping out by PPVT

Urban

High
0%
0,1%
0,6%

Middle
0%
0,4%
2,8%

Low
0%
1,0%
5,6%

Rural Micro-regions

High
0%
0,2%
1,5 %

Middle
0%
0,9%
4,2%

Low
0%
1,1%
6,2%

■ 2010   ■ 2013   ■ 2016

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013, and 2016. Authors' own calculations

Note: The information is for the children being followed-up who were surveyed in the three ELCA rounds, who in 2010 were between 5 and 9 years old and who had reported to have dropped out in one of the rounds. The levels of wealth and PPVT score are those of the family and child in 2010. Source: Own calculations ELCA 2010, 2013, and 2016.

linguistically able, as measured by the PPVT, drop-out less from the education system. Specifically, for urban zones, we found that while only 0.6% of children in the highest tertile of the PPVT distribution leave the system, 5.6% of the children in the lowest tertile do. Results from the rural micro-regions show a similar picture, as children in the lowest tertile of the PPVT results are four times more likely to leave school than a child in the highest tertile. It is worthwhile highlighting that, when we analyze the correlation between wealth tertiles and

PPVT score with simultaneous drop-out, only the second result is significant and demonstrates the importance of investing in early childhood.

In terms of public policy, it is important to understand at what age, at what educational level, and for what reason it is most probable that an individual drops out of the school system. According to ELCA's data from 2016, 52% of those who dropped out did so when they were between 13 and 15 from urban zones, and

69% did so in the four micro-regions. This shows that this age range is critical and should be taken into consideration by the authorities, educational establishments, and families. For the vast majority of children and young people in urban zones – the majority of who drop out- the final grade that they take is first grade (16.61% of those who drop out do so in this grade, sixth grade (13.07% of students drop out), and seventh grade (20.72% drop out).[5] In terms of the children and young people from the four rural micro-regions, the majority only complete fifth and sixth grade (12.32% and 26.61% of those who drop out, respectively).

Graph 6.3 shows the main reason for which the individuals do not study or stopped studying. The majority, in both zones, reported to not study because they were not interested in education: a motivation that is surely related with a low quality of education and the lack of information that households have about the importance that this plays for an individual´s future in terms of work. Information programs such as those written by Jensen (2010) and Levitt, List, Neckermann, and Sadoff (2016) could be very beneficial for policy in these contexts. In urban zones, the following are the three most common reasons given by young people for not attending school: the lack of places, illness, or the need for special education; a 35.8% of young people gave one of this options as a reason to not attend school. Finally, 7% of individuals in urban zones

Graph 6.3.
Main reason for not attending school (percentage of children and young people)
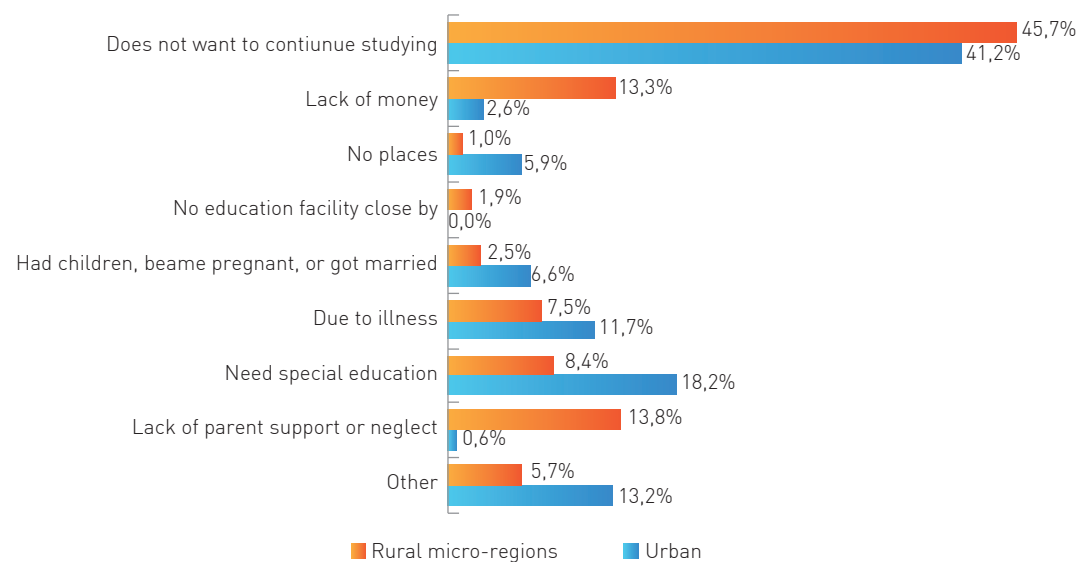
Rural micro-regions   Urban

Source: ELCA 2016. Authors' own calculations

Note: The information is for the children being followed-up who were surveyed in the three ELCA rounds, who in 2010 were between 5 and 9 years old and who had reported to have not been studying in 2016 (dropped out or not attended). The rural sample is only representative for the micro-regions: atlántica media, cundiboyacense, eje cafetero, and centro-oriente.

(16% of women who drop out) claim that they do not attend school due to pregnancy or that they are looking after a child. The most common reasons in rural zones are different, and they involve a lack of money, lack of support from their parents, or because they need special education.

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5. The high dropout rates in first grade are consistent with what has been found in previous studies such as Garcia et al. (2010).

Graph 6.4 shows the proportion of children and young people who abandoned the education system by age. This graph shows, as is expected, that dropping out becomes higher as the children get older. Specifically, 4.81% of 15 year-old children drop out in urban areas; this figure is 7.35% in rural zones. For 8 year-old children, these percentages are 0.37% and 0.42%. Similarly, the results are consistent with what has previously been found; we are beginning to see a gap between young people who live in urban and rural zones, the latter being the ones who are most likely to drop out of the education system. Finally, the graph shows that there are certain critical ages in which the children begin to drop out; it can be seen that the dropout rate increases considerably when children are 11 in rural zones and 14 in urban zones.

The rates of dropping behind also vary importantly in accordance with a household's wealth and child's verbal ability in 2010. Panel A in Graph 6.5 shows that there is a negative correlation between dropping behind and wealth, but that it has increased over time, and, as expected, the children from the poorest houses are the ones who fall behind the most. For example, in 2010, 0.83% of children between 5 and 9 from poor households in rural areas had fallen behind; this percentage increased by 3.8% and 14.4% in 2013 and 2016, respectively. Panel B in the graph once again shows a negative correlation for the PPVT score that the child obtained in 2010 and the probability of being behind in the years that follow. Firstly, it can be seen that the children who had a lower verbal development in 2010 are more

Graph 6.4.
Dropping out by age (percentage of children and young people)
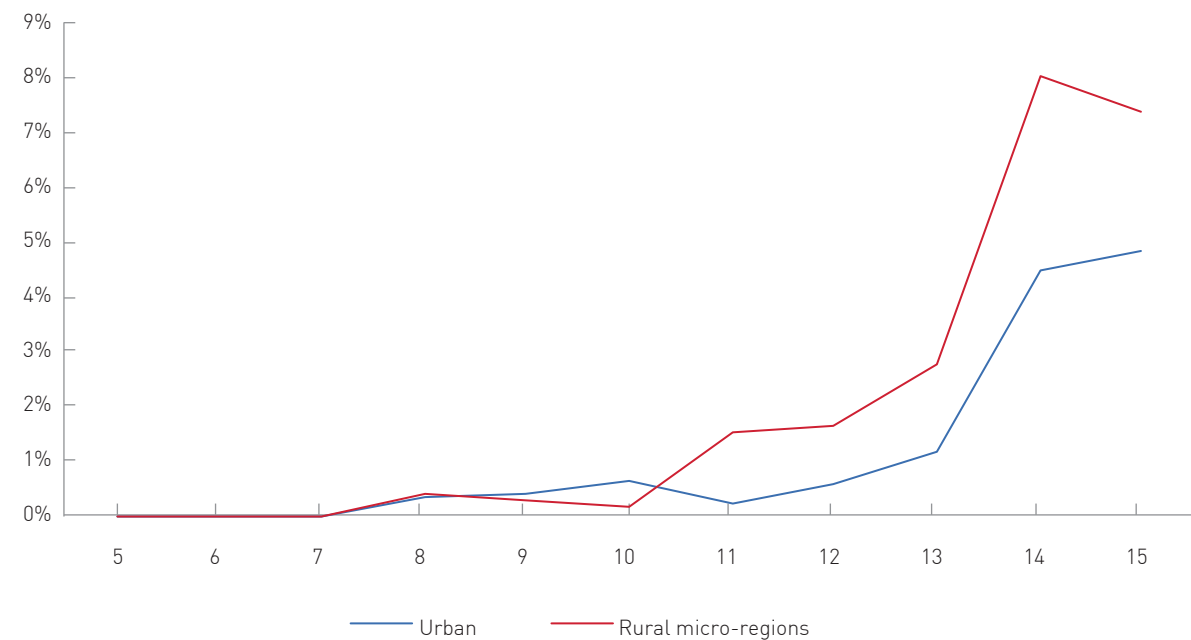
Source: ELCA 2016. Authors' own calculations

Note: The information is for the children being followed-up who were surveyed in the three ELCA rounds, who in 2010 were between 5 and 9 years old and who had reported to have not been studying in one of the rounds.

likely to be behind in school, regardless of the zone in which they live. Specifically, for the four rural micro-regions, it is shown that 18.6% of the children in the lowest tertile have dropped behind in 2016 while only 1.9% of the children from the highest tertile have dropped behind. Secondly, it can be

seen that dropping behind has increased between 2010 and 2016, especially for those in the lowest tertile. The figures show that the probability increases by 11.2 percentage points in urban regions for the lowest tertile; however, for the highest tertile, it only increases by 3.22 percentage points.

points for those living in the Cundiboyacense mi-cro-region. The Central region is where there has been the highest increase of urban young-person drop out: the figure was 3.87% in 2016, and for the rural micro-regions it has increased the most in the Centro-Oriente region (6.03%).

6.4. CHORES AND LABOR FORCE

ELCA also inquired as to the children and young people´s participation in the labor force by ask-ing specific questions to different age ranges. For all the children over five, the survey asked if they helped with the household chores; for chil-dren between five and nine, they were asked if they worked, or helped someone with their job in the previous week; and, finally, those over ten were asked about their involvement in the labor force that were similar to those asked to adults. This in-formation was used to construct two variables that identified the participation or help with household chores and the participation in the labor market for all children and young people who were being monitored and the subgroup that was being ana-lyzed in this chapter.[6]

Graph 6.6 shows how the participation of young people who were being monitored in these ac-tivities has evolved over the past six years. It can be seen that participation in household chores is quite similar for urban zones and the rural micro-regions, and both have increased as the young peo-ple have grown up. For example, in 2010, 46.5% of

→ Santiago's mother Noraylis Ruiz is very involved in his academic life and decided to not work while her son grows up so that she can look after him. She now wants a job. Her husband is a miner in Chocó.

There are also important differences in falling be-hind in school and dropping out if we look at sex, as can be seen in Table 6.1. Independently of where the individual resided in 2010, dropping out and falling behind in school is significantly higher and has in-creased to higher levels for males than for females. Also, the educational achievements have varied depending on the zone. For example, the probabil-ity that a child in the urban sample had dropped behind increased by 11.6 percentage points be-tween 2010 and 2016 in the Central region, but only by 2.5 points in Bogotá. In the rural sample, this probability increased by 15.1 percentage points in the Atlántica Media region and by 4.74 percentage

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6. To construct the participation in the labor force variable, information was included for all ages. Whether the child helped someone with their work or if they directly participated in the labor market was taken into consideration.

GRAPH 6.5.
FALLING BEHIND IN SCHOOL IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE HOUSEHOLD´S LEVEL OF WEALTH AND 2010 PPVT SCORE (PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE)
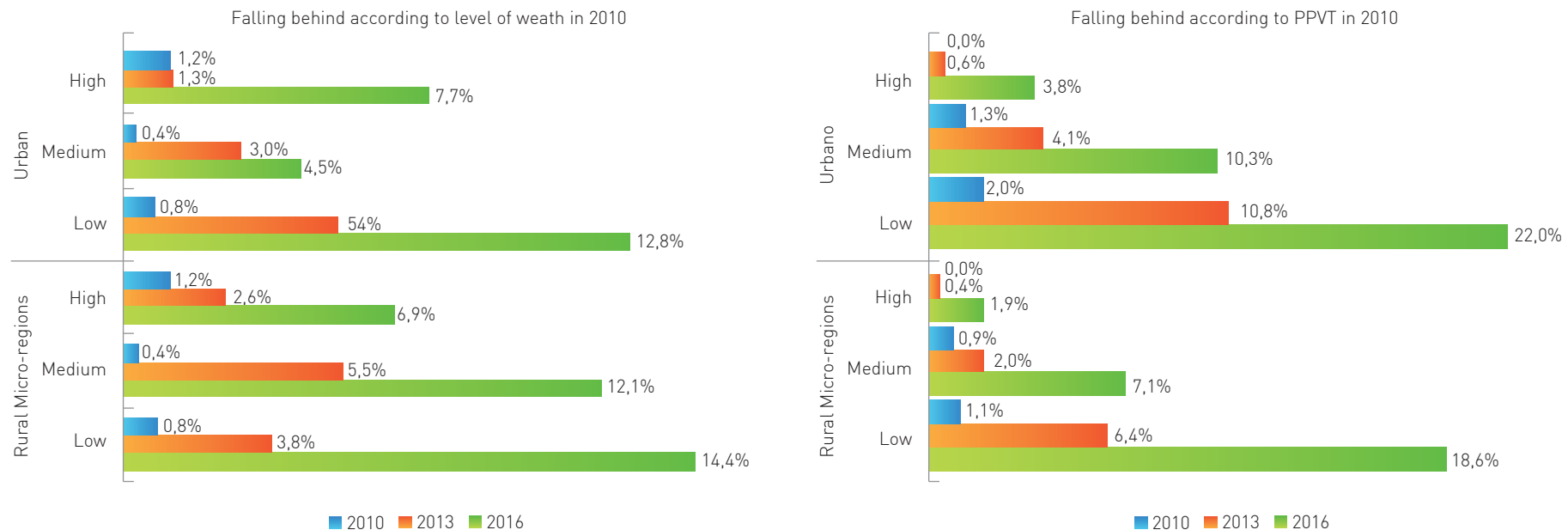
Falling behind according to level of weath in 2010

Urban

High
- 1,2%
- 1,3%
- 7,7%

Medium
- 0,4%
- 3,0%
- 4,5%

Low
- 0,8%
- 54%
- 12,8%

Rural Micro-regions

High
- 1,2%
- 2,6%
- 6,9%

Medium
- 0,4%
- 5,5%
- 12,1%

Low
- 0,8%
- 3,8%
- 14,4%

■ 2010 ■ 2013 ■ 2016

Falling behind according to PPVT in 2010

Urbano

High
- 0,0%
- 0,6%
- 3,8%

Medium
- 1,3%
- 4,1%
- 10,3%

Low
- 2,0%
- 10,8%
- 22,0%

Rural Micro-regions

High
- 0,0%
- 0,4%
- 1,9%

Medium
- 0,9%
- 2,0%
- 7,1%

Low
- 1,1%
- 6,4%
- 18,6%

■ 2010 ■ 2013 ■ 2016

Source: ELCA 2016. Authors' own calculations

Note: The information is for the children being followed-up who were surveyed in the three CLS rounds, who in 2010 were between 5 and 9 years old, and who had reported to not be studying in 2016 (dropped out or did not attend). The levels of wealth and PPVT score are those of the family and child in 2010.

children did household chores, in the urban zone, this percentage increased from 73.9% to 80.4% in 2013 and 2016, respectively. Similarly, for the rural zone, 61.3% of children did household chores in 2010, 76.8% in 2013, and 85.5% in 2016. On analyzing the evolution of the children´s participation in the labor market over time, we found similar patterns: the participation of the young people being monitored in this activity has almost doubled in each one of the three ELCA rounds as they grow up. However, it is clear that participation in the labor market by children in rural zones is significantly higher than for children in urban zones. For example, child labor in urban zones increased from 0.9% in 2010 to 2.2% in 2013 and then to 4.2% in 2016, for the micro-regions, these figures went from 2.9% in 2010 to 7.3% in 2013, and then to 15.1% in 2016.

Table 6.1.
Dropping out and falling behind in school by sex and region 2010-2016

	Falling behind			Dropping out		
	2010	2013	2016	2010	2013	2016
Urban						
Region						
Atlantic	1,09%	4,66%	10,18%	0,00%	0,65%	3,26%
Eastern	0,00%	0,51%	7,33%	0,00%	0,48%	0,96%
Central	0,21%	5,74%	11,83%	0,00%	0,61%	3,87%
Pacific	0,18%	3,58%	6,06%	0,00%	1,33%	2,00%
Bogotá	2,34%	0,28%	4,82%	0,00%	0,00%	0,15%
Sex						
Female	0,18%	1,32%	4,19%	0,00%	0,30%	1,76%
Male	1,41%	5,52%	13,34%	0,00%	0,89%	2,98%
Rural Micro-regions						
Region						
Atlántica Media	1,25%	4,88%	16,39%	0,00%	0,75%	4,39%
Cundiboyacense	0,58%	1,41%	5,32%	0,00%	0,69%	3,82%
Eje Cafetero	0,35%	4,89%	10,36%	0,00%	0,73%	5,03%
Centro-oriente	0,52%	4,09%	9,34%	0,00%	1,37%	6,03%
Sex						
Female	0,40%	1,75%	6,66%	0,00%	1,21%	2,43%
Male	1,22%	6,02%	16,40%	0,00%	0,61%	7,05%

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013, and 2016. Authors' own calculations

As can be seen in Table 6.2, in 2016, the majority of children being monitored, regardless of their level of wealth, helped with household chores. Although the probability of helping in these chores is slightly higher for females than it is for males, particularly in the rural sector, there are no differences in the probability of helping in the home based on sex. The situation for participation in the labor force is very different: the probability of participating in the labor market is four times higher for men than for women in urban zones and close to three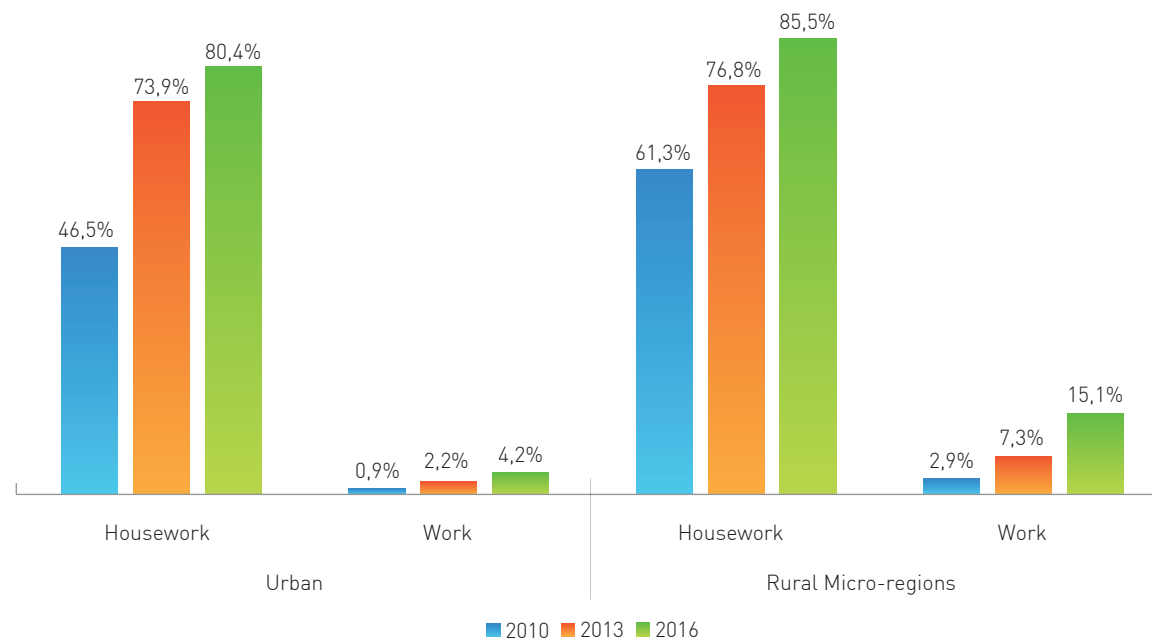 times higher in the rural micro-regions. It is interesting to note that, although the children and young people who belong to poorer houses are the ones who work at early ages in the urban zones, in the rural zones, the probability of working does not change depending on level of wealth.

As expected, the types of household chores that these children and young people undertake change as they grow up. Table 6.3 shows this evolution over time, revealing the similarities and differences between zones. From a young age, the chores related to cleaning the house have been the same in both areas for young people in the sample (close to 90% in 2016); however, chores such as running errands or washing have increased importantly in both areas as children and young people grow up doing almost 70% and 50% of each chore in both zones. Between these differences, it is important to highlight that in the rural zones it is six times more likely, compared to urban zones, that a child or young person will help to bring water to the house and two times more likely that they will help to cook.

It is also possible to analyze the differences by sex for both the hours worked and the type of work undertaken. In the urban sector, while females help with household chores for close to 4.3 hours, males spend 23.2% less time helping with these chores. The percentage difference in the time spent on household chores by sex increases to 27% in rural areas. There are also differences in the type of chores undertaken by males and females. In 2016, 54% of females in urban zones wash while

GRAPH 6.6.
PARTICIPATION IN HOUSEHOLD CHORES AND THE LABOR MARKET BY YEAR AND ZONE (PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE)

In 2016, the majority of children being monitored, regardless of their level of wealth, helped with household chores. Although the probability of helping in these chores is slightly higher for females than it is for males, particularly in the rural sector, there are no differences in the probability of helping in the home based on sex. .

Urban: Housework — 46,5% (2010), 73,9% (2013), 80,4% (2016); Work — 0,9% (2010), 2,2% (2013), 4,2% (2016). **Rural Micro-regions**: Housework — 61,3% (2010), 76,8% (2013), 85,5% (2016); Work — 2,9% (2010), 7,3% (2013), 15,1% (2016).

■ 2010 ■ 2013 ■ 2016

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013, and 2016. Authors' own calculations

Note: The information is for the children being followed-up who were surveyed in the three CLS rounds, who in 2010 were between 5 and 9 years old. Participation in the labor force involved helping adults with their work when the children were between 5 and 9.

this percentage is only 39% for males. Conversely, 80% of males run errands or go shopping; this percentage is 71% for women. This gap between men and women is much wider in the four rural micro-regions where 75% of females wash but only

35% of males do. 81% of males in these regions run errands compared to 66% of women. There are equally broad differences for cooking and looking after children. Moreover, males more often run errands or bring water to the house. These analyses

show that the differences in roles and chores by sex that can be found in studies (such as Peña & Uribe (2014) and García-Jimeno & Peña (2017)) begin at a young age.

Graph 6.7 presents the differences in the chores that females report to have undertaken compared to the males for each one of ELCA's rounds. It can be seen that the differences between the sexes have widened in the past six years. For example, in the urban zone, the percentage of females who

cook or look after children compared to the percentage of males has increased considerably: the gap between the sexes has widened. Furthermore, for the four rural micro-regions, the probability that females (compared to males) wash, iron, cook, and look after children has also increased over time. However, it is more likely that males report to bring water to the home or run errands as they grow up. These results show that the initial gaps and the differences in roles and tasks undertaken based on sex, as well as starting from a young age, also increase as the individual grows up.

Table 6.2.
Participation in household chores and the labor market by sex and level of wealth (percentage of children and young people) 2010 – 2016

	Housework			Participation in the labor force		
	2010	2013	2016	2010	2013	2016
Urban						
Sex						
Female	48,50%	81,32%	88,48%	0,56%	1,01%	1,54%
Male	44,42%	66,29%	71,99%	1,24%	3,43%	6,83%
Level of wealth						
Low	47,72%	73,67%	80,42%	1,52%	3,63%	5,81%
Middle	53,99%	73,19%	85,37%	0,85%	2,61%	4,58%
High	37,34%	74,85%	75,03%	0,16%	0,38%	1,99%
Rural Micro-regions						
Sex						
Female	59,74%	81,79%	91,54%	1,19%	4,19%	7,84%
Male	62,76%	72,03%	79,66%	4,59%	10,29%	22,04%
Level of wealth						
Low	61,75%	78,07%	86,59%	2,43%	6,13%	14,95%
Middle	67,93%	75,83%	88,04%	3,64%	8,76%	15,62%
High	53,99%	76,26%	81,63%	2,89%	7,17%	14,58%

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013, and 2016. Authors' own calculations

Note: The information is for the children being followed-up who were surveyed in the three CLS rounds who, in 2010 were between five and nine years old. Participation in the labor force involved helping adults with their work when the children were between five and nine.

In terms of participation in the labor market, the differences between area, wealth, and sex that are shown in Table 6.2 are not the only differences. Although young people from rural zones are more likely to work, the number of hours that they dedicate to this activity is 20% less than the young people from urban zones. In the rural sector they work for, on average, 3.6 hours weekly; in the urban zones this figure increases to 4.6 hours weekly. Also, the type of work they do is different. In the rural area, the majority of young people (70%) have reported to have worked for the family on an unpaid basis; however, this figure is 44% in the urban areas. Young people from the urban areas are more entrepreneurial than those in the rural areas (42% reported to be self-employed compared to only 8% of young people in rural areas).

6.5. Risks and the children's dreams

The second and third rounds of ELCA contain a special module that is dedicated to young people who are between ten and sixteen. This was created to take into consideration that the main subjects being monitored in the survey are growing up
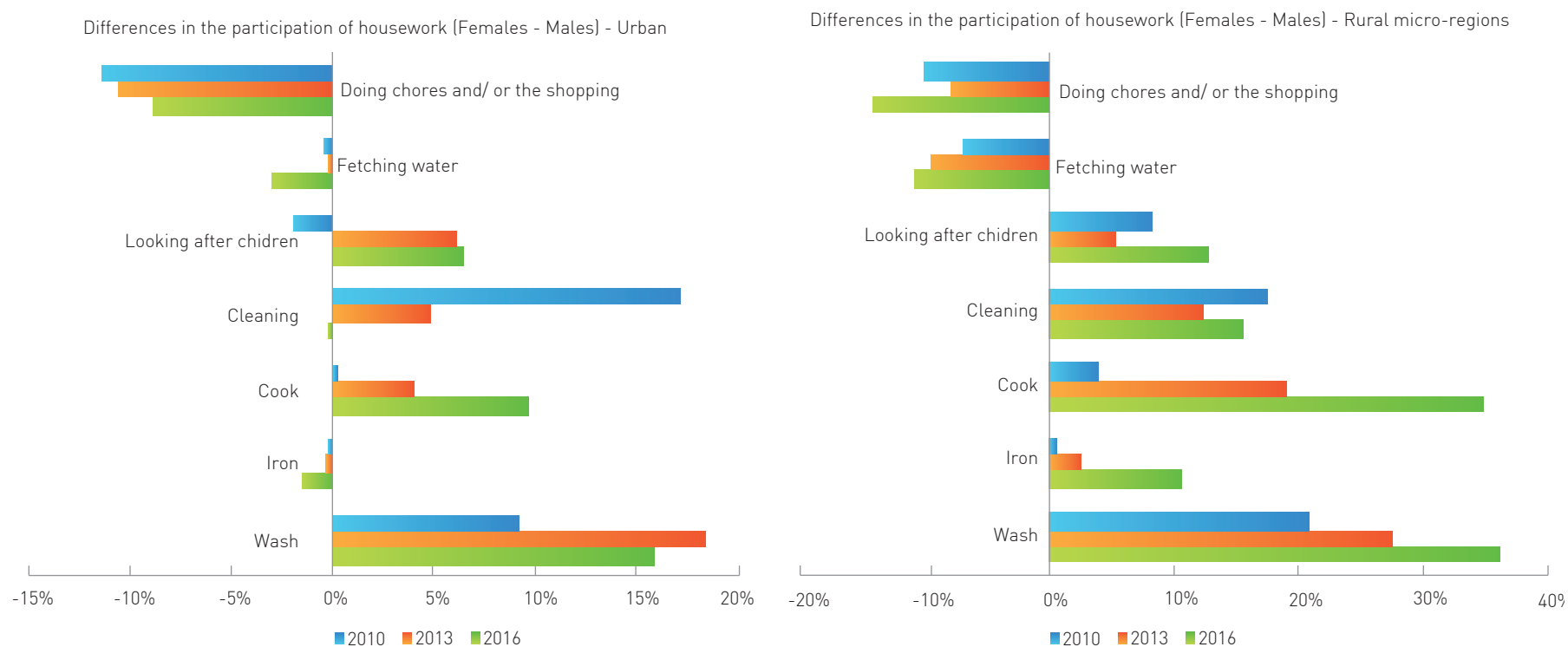
Table 6.3.
Type of household chores undertaken by year and zone (percentage of children and young people) 2010 – 2016

	2010	2013	2016
Urban			
Wash	20,04%	30,16%	47,39%
Iron	0,42%	2,23%	5,72%
Cook	2,92%	9,62%	24,52%
Cleaning	76,09%	93,29%	90,83%
Looking after children	5,21%	19,05%	24,52%
Looking after sick or disabled people	0,19%	0,53%	4,18%
Fetching water	0,64%	1,98%	3,66%
Doing chores and/ or the shopping	29,96%	76,21%	74,97%
Rural Micro-regions			
Wash	17,82%	43,91%	57,79%
Iron	0,31%	3,17%	7,35%
Cook	5,08%	20,29%	42,25%
Cleaning	70,43%	89,26%	87,38%
Looking after children	9,99%	26,04%	27,31%
Looking after sick or disabled people	0,75%	2,55%	3,73%
Fetching water	17,88%	22,34%	24,56%
Doing chores and/ or the shopping	38,76%	78,88%	73,23%

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013, and 2016. Authors' own calculations

Note: The information is for the children being followed-up who were surveyed in the three CLS rounds who, in 2010 were between five and nine years old. Participation in the labor force involved helping adults with their work when the children were between five and nine.

GRAPH 6.7.
DIFFERENCES IN THE TYPE OF CHORES UNDERTAKEN BY SEX AND ZONE (PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE)

Differences in the participation of housework (Females - Males) - Urban

Differences in the participation of housework (Females - Males) - Rural micro-regions

Doing chores and/ or the shopping

Fetching water

Looking after chidren

Cleaning

Cook

Iron

Wash

-15% -10% -5% 0% 5% 10% 15% 20%

■2010 ■2013 ■2016

-20% -10% 0% 10% 20% 30% 40%

■2010 ■2013 ■2016

Source: ELCA 2010, 2013, and 2016. Authors' own calculations

Note: The information is for the children being followed-up who were surveyed in the three ELCA rounds, who in 2010 were between 5 and 9 years old. The differences were calculated as the children carried out some house-work and they are equivalent to the percentage of females less the percentage of males who carried out each type of job.
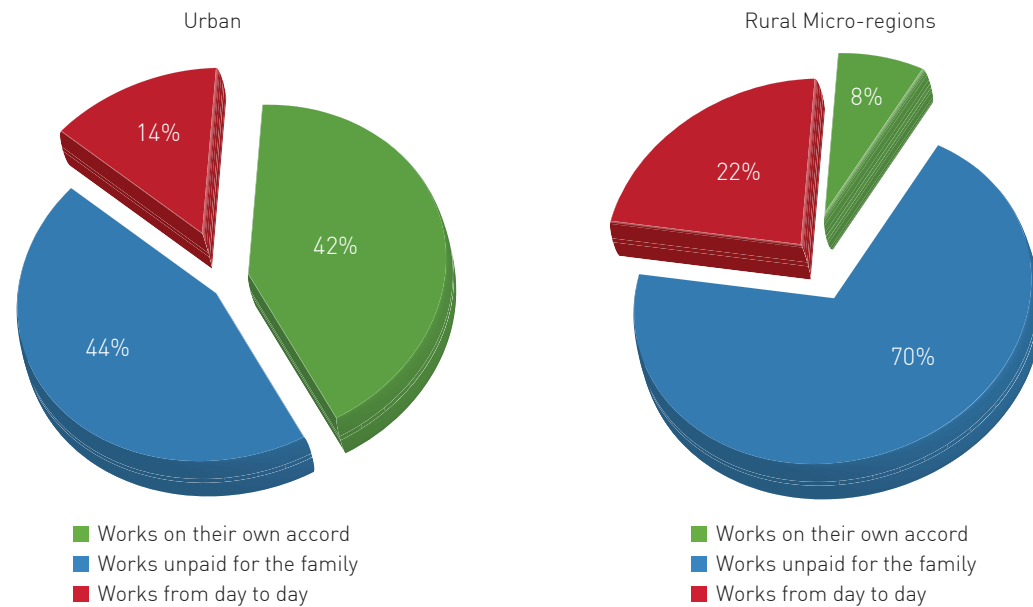
and they will have to confront different situations in their stages of adolescence, which will affect their life story; these are important to record and understand. Young people´s attitudes towards their peers, their social capital, their involvement with gangs, their habits in terms of consumption of alcohol and cigarettes, their future plans and dreams, and their use of time during the week and at weekends were among the aspects investigated.

This section presents results on some of the risks that the young people being monitored in 2013 face and the dreams and expectations that they have as well as their evolutions over the three following years. As a result, we only use a sub-sample of the original group that allows us to understand how these risks and dreams have changed as they grow up. For this section, we use information from only 873 and 1,109 children in the rural and urban zones, respectively, who, in 2010, were between seven and ten and had participated in the young person module in both 2013 and 2016.[7]

In terms of risks, ELCA has information on the consumption of cigarettes and alcohol. The data shows that young people between ten and thirteen have a low level of cigarette consumption. In fact, approximately only 2% of young people in rural and urban areas reported to have ever tried a cigarette in 2013. Although the percentage of young people who had tried a cigarette in 2016 had increased to close to 10% and 6% in the urban and rural zones, respectively, the incidence of consumption

GRAPH 6.8.
TYPE OF JOB UNDERTAKEN BY ZONE IN 2016 (PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE)

Urban

Rural Micro-regions

- 🟩 Works on their own accord
- 🟦 Works unpaid for the family
- 🟥 Works from day to day

Source: ELCA 2016. Authors' own calculations

Note: The information is for the children being followed-up who were surveyed in the three ELCA rounds, who in 2010 were between 5 and 9 years old. Participation in the labor force involved helping adults with their work when the children were between 5 and 9.

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7. Not all young people answered every question from this unit in both 2013 and 2016. So, in order to avoid losing information for complete questions, in some cases, we used different samples depending on the question being analyzed. This is of particular importance when we analyze the changes in their expectations over time.

→ At night, eight year-old Cristián Ballesteros practices skating in the town's sports center in Buenavista (Boyacá). In this photo he practices one of the routines that his teacher has shown him.
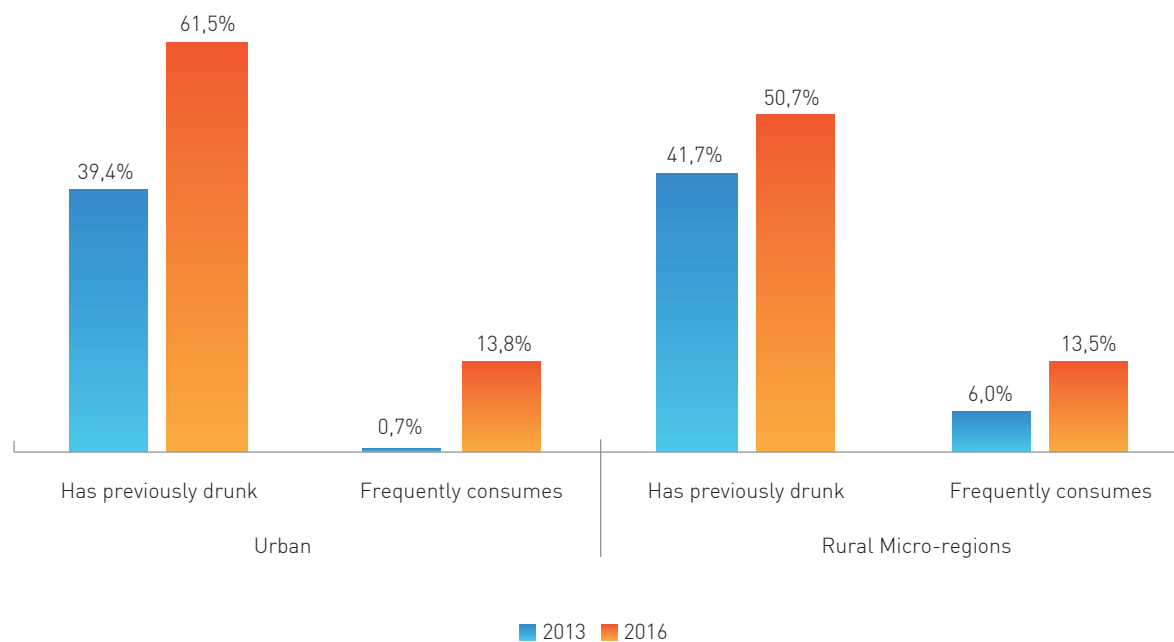
62% and 13.8%, respectively. In the rural zones, the situation is similar, and the increase in alcohol consumption and intensity during these past three years was 8.9 and 7.5 percentage points, respectively. Furthermore, the data shows that the critical moment at which young people try alcohol for the first time is when they are between 12 and 14. However, close to 17% of young people in urban zones and 20% in rural micro-regions try alcohol before having reached this age. Heads of the household and schools should be aware of this in order to prevent alcohol consumption at such an early age. Although there are no details, we found that, in 2016, there are significant regional differences in terms of the habits of alcohol consumption. Specifically, the young people who live in the Eastern urban region and the Cunidboyacense rural micro-region reported to have tried and consumed alcohol more frequently than their peers in other regions. Moreover, we found that young people who live in households in which a member of the family consumes alcohol is more likely to have tried an alcoholic drink (54.36% and 56.59% in urban and rural zones, respectively).

Another risk factor for young people nowadays is neighborhood gangs, which can then act as recruiters for future criminal activities. ELCA allows us to prove that this is an urban, more than rural, problem, and, therefore, these are the areas in which there is an urgent need for prevention policies. While 37% of the young people who reside in urban zones report that there are gangs in their neighborhoods, in the rural areas, only 8% reported this is

continues to be low. However, this situation is rather different from alcohol consumption, which can be seen in Graph 6.9. In 2013, 39% of young people between ten and thirteen reported to have tried an alcoholic drink, and, from these, 0.7% reported to consume alcohol at least once a month. In 2016, when the same young people were between thirteen and sixteen, these percentages increased to

GRAPH 6.9.
PROBABILITY AND INTENSITY OF ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION BY ZONE 2013 - 2016
(PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE)

	Urban		Rural Micro-regions	
	Has previously drunk	Frequently consumes	Has previously drunk	Frequently consumes
2013	39,4%	0,7%	41,7%	6,0%
2016	61,5%	13,8%	50,7%	13,5%

■ 2013 ■ 2016

Source: ELCA 2013, and 2016. Authors' own calculations

Note: The information is for the children being followed-up who were surveyed in the three ELCA rounds who, in 2010 were between 5 and 9 years old. Drinks frequently corresponds to those young people who report to consume alcohol once or more each month.

2016. ELCA also asked if they belonged to a gang or not. These percentages are very low, as only 1.25% in urban areas and 0.78% in rural sectors reported to have belonged to a gang. However, these young people, especially in an urban environment, are at a high risk of joining one or being in direct contact with these organizations in the future as 8% of them answered affirmatively to the question regarding if one of their classmates was in one. Also, this risk is much higher for young people from poorer households as 12.43% reported that one of their friends was in a gang; whereas, the percentage was only 3.98% for young people from richer households.

The last questions that young people were asked inquired as to their plans and dreams and their expectations about their future lives. The first thing that is remarkable from the data is the questions about how long they think and want to live. Young people in Colombia want to live a lot longer than they think they will live. In 2016, in urban areas, young people want to live to 92, but they think that they will only live to 80. In rural areas, as expected, life expectancy is less. The young people in these micro-regions want to live to 90, but think they will only live until 78. Furthermore, on analyzing the longitudinal data, we found that young people have started to lower their expectations. Particularly, young people from the urban areas in 2013 wanted to live to 99, and in rural areas the age was 94. There are no differences by sex in terms of these expectations in the urban sector; however, curiously, in the rural sector females want and hope to live 2 or 3 years less than males, respectively.

→ In their free time, the children from the La Palestina shelter for the victims of Gramalote take part in recreational workshops that are organized by the Diverarte foundation.

points lower in the rural areas. In terms of wanting to have children, for women the probability is 10 percentage points lower in both areas. The average age at which they expect both events to take place in the urban and rural areas is approximately 26 and 28, respectively. Additionally, although in 2013 less than 1% of young people expected to have children before they were nineteen, in 2016, there were already some females who were pregnant in their teenage years: 0.52% of girls between twelve and sixteen reported to have had a child in urban zones and 0.32% in rural zones. It is important to highlight that these females wanted to have their first child after 25 or not have children at all. They also lived in poorer households and all had to drop out of school. Consistent with studies that had focused on the topic such as Flórez et al. (2004) and Flórez, Castaño, Fuertes, and Galeano (2017), these results indicate that the high rates of teenage pregnancy and occurrence of adolescent mothers in Colombia are not planned.

However, it was the males who lowered more their expectations between 2013 and 2016.

With regards to their expectations on forming a family, in 2016, we found that the biggest majority of young people who lived in urban areas expect to get married (80%) and have children (86%). These percentages are also similar for young people from rural areas. In 2016, 80% of young people from the rural sector expected to get married and 85%

expected to have children. However, it is interesting to note that in the rural zones, the percentage of young people who hoped to get married increased from 76% to 80% from 2013 to 2016. There was a similar result for the expectation of having children, which went from 79% to 85% in urban zones and from 80% to 85% in the four micro-regions. On analyzing these expectations by sex, the probability that a female wanted to get married is 5 percentage points lower than males in urban areas and 10

Finally, it is worthwhile noting these young people's expectations regarding their future educational achievements. In 2016, in the urban area, 99% hoped to finish high school, 96% hoped to undertake a professional qualification, and 96% hoped to finish it. The same percentages for young people who lived in the rural micro-regions are 98%, 94%, and 94%, respectively. These expectations are far from the reality of their own families today, in which only 46% of heads of the household managed to finish high school and only 24% managed to continue

on to higher education in urban zones. In the rural micro-regions, these percentages are 8% and 2%.

Graph 6.10 shows that there are differences (in the percentages of young people who hope to achieve these educational achievements) between those who drop out of school and those who do not. The results show that 100% of young people who do not drop out in urban areas hope to finish high school while this percentage is 90% for those who drop out. In rural areas, these percentages are 99.8% and 80.8%. These results show that, although all the young people hoped to finish high school (Rodríguez, 2014) in 2013, the young people have adjusted their expectations depending on their situation, particularly if they have, or not, dropped out of school. Even more importantly, the data also reflect that the majority of those who drop out hope to eventually get back into the system to complete their education. It also shows that there are significant differences, although to a lesser extent, for the percentage of young people who hope to be able to finish their educational expectations in accordance with their score in the PPVT test. In 2016, the percentage of young people who hope to graduate from high school, start a professional education, and finish it is higher if they had a high score in the PPVT test in 2010.

6.6. Conclusions

The data analyzed in this chapter suggest positive and negative aspects in the life history of the young people who were monitored as part of ELCA. The positive aspects are that the majority went to school, few of them are part of the labor force, and the majority continue to have big dreams and expectations for the future. Particularly, it is worth promoting and ensuring that all young people can fulfil their dream of finishing high school and further education as the results show that dropping out or having less cognitive skills are factors that make them lower their expectations and not be able to achieve their childhood dreams.

However, as expected, as they grow up, the risks and decisions that may affect their future have also

→ María Alicia Torres and Octavio Ballesteros thought that they were never going to have the happiness of a child in the house as they never looked after their grandchildren. However, Daniel Felipe García arrived in their lives and brought them "happiness".

GRAPH 6.10.
DESIRED AGE FOR EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS BY PPVT TEST IN 2010
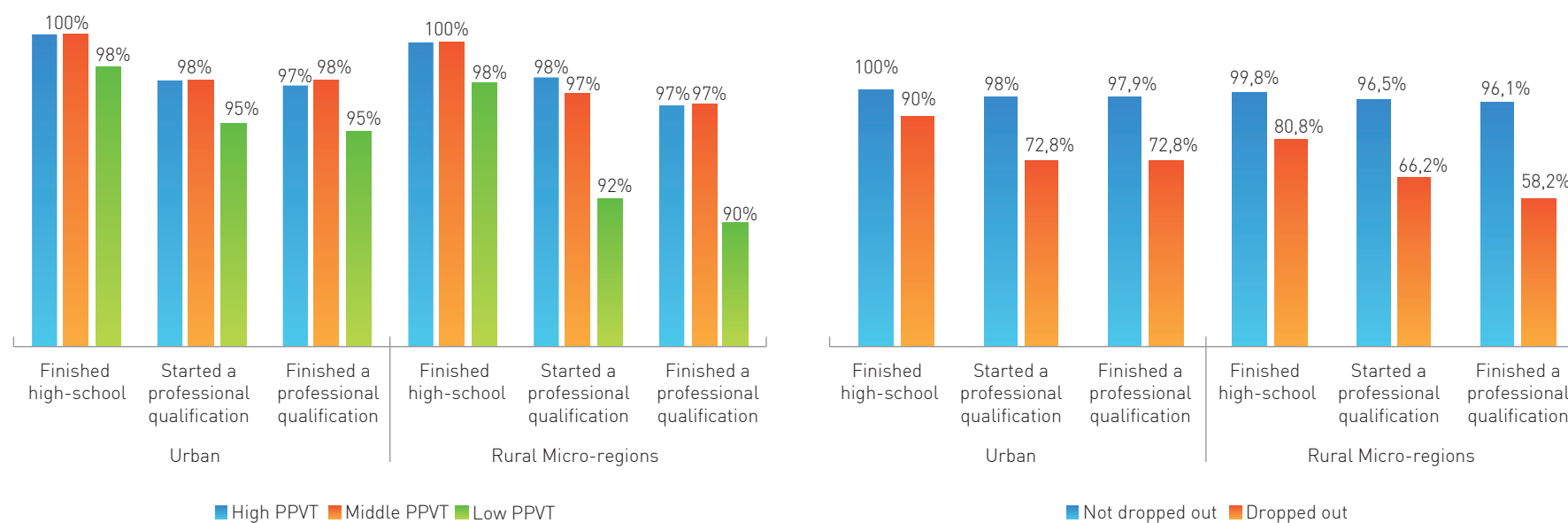
Source: ELCA 2013, and 2016. Authors' own calculations

Note: The information is for the children being followed-up who were surveyed in the three ELCA rounds, who in 2010 were between 5 and 9 years old.

increased. Dropping out increased by 2.4 to 4.8 percentage points for the urban area and micro-regions, respectively. Teenage pregnancy and child labor -which even at these early ages shows a clear differentiation between the sexes- are correlated with dropping out of school. Dropping behind in school is important in both the rural and urban areas. Educational policy should make sure that there is no late entry into the system and that children and young people with learning difficulties receive special attention as this is one of the main arguments given by young people who drop out.

The data clearly indicates that investments in early childhood have long-term consequences. These are the children who have a higher score in the PPVT test, they have more cognitive skills, they drop out less, and drop behind less in school. In fact, interestingly, we found that, controlling for these skills,

the level of household wealth does not seem to be correlated with these variables as would be expected. It will not be surprising therefore that, in future rounds, this same variable will also determine the life story of the young people in ELCA.

Finally, as was mentioned in the introduction, this chapter reveals only a preliminary description of the wealth of information that ELCA has to analyze the evolution of children and young people from 2010 to 2016. There are still many topics that need to be studied and researched.

The data clearly indicates that investments in early childhood have long-term consequences. These are the children who have a higher score in the PPVT test, they have more cognitive skills, they drop out less, and drop behind less in school. In fact, interestingly, we found that, controlling for these skills, the level of household wealth does not seem to be correlated with these variables as would be expected.

→ Antonia Peláez lives in Villa Hermosa (Medellín). She dreams of going to Brazil to research and continuing with her hobby - playing the cello; she stopped because of her heavy university work load.

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→ Cristian David Naranjo Petro sat on bundles of corn grain to feed livestock that have been rounded up for sale. This is the new business that the Petro family have moved into in Cereté (Córdoba).

→ Consuelo Petro with guava from one of her father's plantations (79 year-old José Miguel Petro), who earns a living from agriculture. At the bottom, a corn crop that is just beginning to grow.