

In 2018, Bolivia made a moderate advancement in efforts to eliminate the worst forms of child labor. Following the Plurinational Constitutional Tribunal (TCP) decision that ruled unconstitutional provisions of the 2014 Child and Adolescent Code which allowed children as young as 10 years old to work, in December 2018 President Evo Morales signed complementary legislation that further clarified the minimum age of 14 years. The legislation eliminated remaining provisions that permitted children to work at ages 12 and 13. The labor inspectorate also increased the number of labor inspectors, mobile inspection units, and the number of inspections conducted throughout the year. In addition, the major sugar-producing Department of Santa Cruz addressed child labor in the sector through several social programs. However, children in Bolivia engage in the worst forms of child labor, including in mining and commercial sexual exploitation, sometimes as a result of human trafficking. Children also perform dangerous tasks in agriculture. Although Bolivian law requires that apprentices attend school, it does not set a minimum age for participation in apprenticeships. In addition, Article 1 of Supreme Decree No. 1875 sets the minimum age for compulsory military service at 17 years, which does not comply with international standards.



I. PREVALENCE AND SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHILD LABOR

Children in Bolivia engage in the worst forms of child labor, including in mining and commercial sexual exploitation, sometimes as a result of human trafficking. (1,2) Table I provides key indicators on children’s work and education in Bolivia.

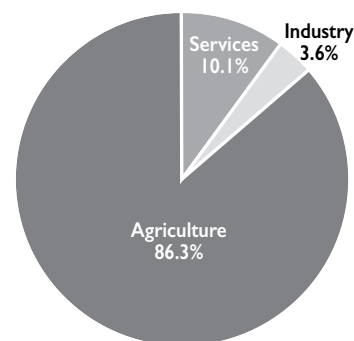
Table I. Statistics on Children’s Work and Education

Children	Age	Percent
Working (% and population)	7 to 14	15.2 (265,746)
Attending School (%)	7 to 14	97.4
Combining Work and School (%)	7 to 14	14.5
Primary Completion Rate (%)		92.9

Source for primary completion rate: Data from 2017, published by UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2019. (3)

Source for all other data: International Labor Organization’s analysis of statistics from Encuesta Continua de Hogares Survey, 2017. (4)

Figure I. Working Children by Sector, Ages 7-14



Based on a review of available information, Table 2 provides an overview of children’s work by sector and activity.

Table 2. Overview of Children’s Work by Sector and Activity

Sector/Industry	Activity
Agriculture	Planting and harvesting corn and peanuts (5)
	Production and harvesting of Brazil nuts/chestnuts† and sugarcane† (2,5,7)
	Ranching and raising cattle† and plucking chickens (2,9,10)

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Table 2. Overview of Children’s Work by Sector and Activity (Cont.)

Sector/Industry	Activity
Industry	Mining† of gold, silver, tin, and zinc (1,2,7,8,12)
	Construction,† including heavy lifting and shoveling (2)
	Production of bricks† (2,13,14)
Services	Street vending, juggling, shoe shining, and assisting transportation operators (2,15-18)
	Cleaning cemeteries (graves) and hospitals† (17-19)
	Domestic work (2,20,21)
	Restaurant work, activities unknown (12)
Categorical Worst Forms of Child Labor‡	Forced labor in ranching, and in the production and harvesting of Brazil nuts and sugarcane (7,11,21,22)
	Forced begging, and forced labor in mining and domestic service (2,9,11,21,23)
	Commercial sexual exploitation, sometimes as a result of human trafficking (2,24)
	Forced illicit activities, including robbery and producing or transporting drugs (9,11,21,25)

† Determined by national law or regulation as hazardous and, as such, relevant to Article 3(d) of ILO C. 182.

‡ Child labor understood as the worst forms of child labor *per se* under Article 3(a)–(c) of ILO C. 182.

Children produce and harvest sugarcane and Brazil nuts in the Departments of Beni, Pando, Santa Cruz, and Tarija. (1,7) Indigenous children are particularly vulnerable to the worst forms of child labor. (21) Some indigenous Guaraní families live in debt bondage and work on ranches, including raising cattle, in the Chaco region of Bolivia. (21) In Tarija, the sugar cane and Brazil nut harvest seasons attract over 3,000 internal migrants, increasing the vulnerability of these workers—many of them children—to forced labor and human trafficking. (11)




The cultural practice known as *padrinazgo*, which involves rural families sending their children to urban areas to live with individuals for better access to education, social services, and food, often leads to forced labor, including in domestic work and third party businesses. Girls, on average age 14, were found to be engaged in commercial sexual exploitation in El Alto. (11) Bolivian children are also smuggled to other countries, where they are vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation. (21) The government does not have a system in place to track data on forced child labor, commercial sexual exploitation of children, or engagement of children in illicit activities. (11)

Bolivian law requires children to attend school up to age 17. Ministry of Labor (MOL) officials report that the school desertion rate dropped from 5 percent in 2006 to 2 percent in 2018. (2) However, attendance rates for secondary education remain low in rural areas. (23,27,28)

II. LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR CHILD LABOR

Bolivia has ratified all key international conventions concerning child labor (Table 3).

Table 3. Ratification of International Conventions on Child Labor

Convention	Ratification
 ILO C. 138, Minimum Age	✓
ILO C. 182, Worst Forms of Child Labor	✓
 UN CRC	✓
UN CRC Optional Protocol on Armed Conflict	✓
UN CRC Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography	✓
 Palermo Protocol on Trafficking in Persons	✓

The government has established laws and regulations related to child labor (Table 4). However, gaps exist in Bolivia's legal framework to adequately protect children from child labor, including the prohibition of military recruitment.

Table 4. Laws and Regulations on Child Labor

Standard	Meets International Standards	Age	Legislation
Minimum Age for Work	Yes	14	Articles 8 and 58 of the General Labor Law; Article 129 of the Child and Adolescent Code; Sentence 0025/2017 of the Plurinational Constitutional Tribunal; Article 3 of Law No. 1139 (29-32)
Minimum Age for Hazardous Work	Yes	18	Articles 58 and 59 of the General Labor Law; Articles 5 and 136 of the Child and Adolescent Code (29,30)
Identification of Hazardous Occupations or Activities Prohibited for Children	Yes		Article 136 of the Child and Adolescent Code (30)
Prohibition of Forced Labor	Yes		Articles 15, 46, and 61 of the Constitution; Article 291 of the Penal Code; Article 34 of the Comprehensive Law against Human Trafficking and Smuggling (33-35)
Prohibition of Child Trafficking	Yes		Article 15 of the Constitution; Article 34 of the Comprehensive Law against Human Trafficking and Smuggling (33,35)
Prohibition of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children	Yes		Articles 34 and 35 of the Comprehensive Law against Human Trafficking and Smuggling (35)
Prohibition of Using Children in Illicit Activities	Yes		Article 56 of the Law on Coca and Controlled Substances (36)
Minimum Age for Voluntary State Military Recruitment	Yes	16*	Articles 1 and 2 of the General Directive of Pre-Military Recruitment; Articles 2 and 7 of the Law of National Military Service (37,38)
Prohibition of Compulsory Recruitment of Children by (State) Military	No	17	Articles 108 and 249 of the Constitution; Article 1 of Supreme Decree No. 1875; Article 1 of Supreme Decree No. 21479 (33,39,40)
Prohibition of Military Recruitment by Non-state Armed Groups	No		
Compulsory Education Age	Yes	17‡	Article 81 of the Constitution; Articles 1, 8–9, and 11–14 of the Avelino Siñani-Elizardo Pérez Education Law (33,41)
Free Public Education	Yes		Articles 17 and 81 of the Constitution; Article 1 of the Avelino Siñani-Elizardo Pérez Education Law; Article 115 of the Child and Adolescent Code (30,33,41)

*The minimum age for combat is 18 per Article 36 of the Law of National Military Service (37)

‡ Age calculated based on available information

On December 19, 2018, the Bolivian National Assembly passed legislation modifying the 2014 Child and Adolescent Code, which President Evo Morales officially signed into law on December 20. The amendments removed provisions of the Child and Adolescent Code that allowed children ages 12 and 13 to work, clarifying that the minimum age of work in Bolivia is 14. (30,32,42,43) The Code allows children ages 14 to 18 to work with authorization from the Offices of the Child Advocate on the conditions that the work is not precarious to the child's well-being and is not conducted for more than 8 hours a day and 40 hours a week. (32) However, because the minimum age for work is still lower than the compulsory education age, children may be encouraged to leave school before the completion of compulsory education. (32)

Although Bolivian law requires that apprentices attend school, it does not set a minimum age for participation in apprenticeships. (29,44) Articles 108 and 249 of the Constitution require Bolivian males to perform compulsory military service in accordance with national law. (33) Article 1 of Supreme Decree No. 1875, passed in 2014, lowered the minimum age at which compulsory military service may begin from age 18, as previously established, to age 17, which does not comply with international standards. (39,40)

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III. ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS ON CHILD LABOR

The government has established relevant institutional mechanisms for the enforcement of laws and regulations on child labor (Table 5). However, gaps exist within the operations of the MOL that may hinder adequate enforcement of child labor laws.

Table 5. Agencies Responsible for Child Labor Law Enforcement

Organization/Agency	Role
Ministry of Labor (MOL)	Enforces child labor laws, in part through its Fundamental Rights Unit, which also addresses forced labor of indigenous peoples. (45) Refers cases to the Labor Courts for adjudication of penalties and unpaid wages. (9) Engages municipal Offices of the Child Advocate to ensure the protection of children's rights. (2,46) Assists in the implementation of the Child and Adolescent Code. (2,30)
Municipal Offices of the Child Advocate	Authorizes children from the age of 14 to engage in work and registers them in the government's Child and Adolescent Information System (SINNA), pursuant to the Child and Adolescent Code. Protects the rights and welfare of children, including by accompanying child labor inspectors and referring criminal child labor cases to prosecutors and for social services. (2,30)
Prosecutor's Office	Enforces criminal laws against forced labor, trafficking of children, commercial sexual exploitation, and the use of children in illicit activities at a departmental level in coordination with the Attorney General. (2,47)
Ministry of Justice and Transparency	Creates and administers the SINNA, in which municipal Offices of the Child Advocate register children ages 14 and up to work, as required by the Child and Adolescent Code. (30,32)
Attorney General's Office	Oversees all human trafficking investigations and prosecutions on a national level. (47) Oversees through its National Coordinator's Office regional prosecutors who, in conjunction with the Bolivian National Police, pursue cases of human trafficking. Maintains a database of human trafficking cases. (47)
Bolivian National Police	Maintains the Special Force in the Fight Against Crime (FELCC), which runs 15 investigative human trafficking units, and the Police Unit for Migratory Control and Assistance, which patrols national borders. (8,48,49)

During the reporting period, the Child Advocate Offices worked on awareness-raising campaigns for children and their parents on their rights and responsibilities under the new Child and Adolescent Code. (2) In La Paz, the Child Advocate Office conducted interviews on radio and television to inform families about the new code, and UNICEF is working with the city government to organize an informational campaign. (50) Following the amendment of the Code, Municipal Offices of the Child Advocate are now responsible for registering working children ages 14 and older in the government's Child and Adolescent Information System (SINNA). (2,32) However, the 2014 Code transferred this registration responsibility to municipal governments without additional resources.

Reports indicate that up to 15 percent of municipalities in Bolivia lack an Office of the Child Advocate; many more are reported to lack sufficient resources and the capacity to perform their mandate and raise awareness of children's rights and their parents' obligations under the Code. (11) This lack of institutional coverage may leave certain children particularly vulnerable to child labor. (8,9,51)

In La Paz and Santa Cruz, Child Advocate Offices reported additional barriers to implementation of the registration section of the Code. These barriers include lack of cooperation from parents to register their working children and prohibitive financial obstacles to obtain the proper paperwork required for registration. (11)

Labor Law Enforcement

In 2018, labor law enforcement agencies in Bolivia took actions to combat child labor (Table 6). However, gaps exist within the operations of the MOL that may hinder adequate labor law enforcement, including the lack of proper financial resource allocation.

Table 6. Labor Law Enforcement Efforts Related to Child Labor

Overview of Labor Law Enforcement	2017	2018
Labor Inspectorate Funding	Unknown	Unknown (2)
Number of Labor Inspectors	87 (11,52)	106 (2)

Table 6. Labor Law Enforcement Efforts Related to Child Labor (Cont.)

Overview of Labor Law Enforcement	2017	2018
Inspectorate Authorized to Assess Penalties	No (11)	No (2)
Initial Training for New Labor Inspectors	Yes (11)	Yes (2)
Training on New Laws Related to Child Labor	Yes (11)	Yes (2)
Refresher Courses Provided	Unknown (11)	Unknown (2)
Number of Labor Inspections Conducted	850 (11,52)	4,426 (2)
Number Conducted at Worksite	Unknown (11)	Unknown (2)
Number of Child Labor Violations Found	Unknown (11)	Unknown (2)
Number of Child Labor Violations for Which Penalties Were Imposed	Unknown (11)	Unknown (2)
Number of Child Labor Penalties Imposed that Were Collected	Unknown (11)	Unknown (2)
Routine Inspections Conducted	Unknown (11)	Unknown (2)
Routine Inspections Targeted	Yes (11)	Unknown (2)
Unannounced Inspections Permitted	Yes (9)	Yes (2)
Unannounced Inspections Conducted	Unknown (11)	Yes (2)
Complaint Mechanism Exists	Yes (11)	Yes (2)
Reciprocal Referral Mechanism Exists Between Labor Authorities and Social Services	Yes (11)	Yes (2)

In 2018, government officials reported contributing additional resources for monitoring, evaluating, and addressing child labor in all sectors, though they did not provide monetary specifics. (2) The labor inspectorate increased the number of inspectors, including the number of child labor inspectors, from 6 in 2017 to 14 in 2018. All 106 labor inspectors received specialized training to identify forced and child labor infractions during the reporting period. (2)

The MOL also continued to use mobile inspection offices to augment the ability of inspectors to examine child labor issues. The number of mobile units increased from 20 in 2017 to 42 in 2018, which greatly contributed to the MOL's ability to conduct additional inspections during the reporting period. (50) Each mobile unit is made up of 2 general labor inspectors and 1 child labor specialist who travel to predominately rural areas throughout the country to conduct unannounced inspections. (2) However, the number of labor inspectors is likely insufficient for the size of Bolivia's workforce, which includes approximately 5.7 million workers. According to the ILO's technical advice of a ratio approaching 1 inspector for every 15,000 workers in industrializing economies, Bolivia would employ about 380 labor inspectors. (53)

The MOL, Prosecutor's Office, and the Ministry of Justice do not have a consolidated database or systemized records of the number of violations found related to child labor. (2) Labor inspectors lack necessary resources to enforce labor laws, especially in the Chaco region. (6) Additionally, the government does not publish information regarding labor inspectorate funding. (2)

The government reported that children removed from child labor are referred to the municipal Offices of the Child Advocate for services. While law mandates that every municipality in the country have a dedicated Child Advocate Office, not every municipality does, and information on the number of children removed from child labor and whether they received services is not publicly available. (2) Rural offices of the Child Advocate in municipalities throughout the country lack proper funding, personnel, and materials. While municipalities are required to allot a certain percentage of their budget to the Child Advocate's office, this percentage has decreased over the last few years. (2)

Criminal Law Enforcement

In 2018, criminal law enforcement agencies in Bolivia took actions to combat child labor (Table 7). However, gaps exist within the operations of the criminal law enforcement agencies that may hinder adequate criminal law enforcement, including allocating financial resources to conduct criminal investigations.

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Table 7. Criminal Law Enforcement Efforts Related to Child Labor

Overview of Criminal Law Enforcement	2017	2018
Initial Training for New Criminal Investigators	Yes (11)	Yes (2)
Training on New Laws Related to the Worst Forms of Child Labor	Yes (11)	Yes (2)
Refresher Courses Provided	Unknown (11)	Unknown (2)
Number of Investigations	Unknown (52)	Unknown (2)
Number of Violations Found	Unknown (11)	Unknown (2)
Number of Prosecutions Initiated	Unknown (11)	52 (2)
Number of Convictions	Unknown (11)	Unknown (2)
Imposed Penalties for Violations Related to The Worst Forms of Child Labor	Unknown (11)	Yes (47)
Reciprocal Referral Mechanism Exists Between Criminal Authorities and Social Services	Yes (11)	Yes (2)

In 2018, the Bolivian National Police held the Second National Conference of Human Trafficking Divisions of the Special Anti-Crime Force and conducted training and communication courses on trafficking in persons for the public. (24) The Public Ministry registered 359 trafficking-in-persons investigation in 2018, 77 of which related to child pornography. (24) Although the government provided data on human trafficking cases during the reporting period, the data were not disaggregated to reflect cases of the worst forms of child labor. (24)

Children rescued from the worst forms of child labor are often not referred to social service providers because some cities lack shelters and other social services for children. (11,24,54,55) Shelters maintained by departmental governments are underfunded and child victims were often cast out of shelters on the basis of fixed timelines—after spending the maximum number of days allowed—rather than an assessment of need. (24) The government did not report the number of children referred to receive social services. While children can report workforce abuse to the Child Advocate’s Office, they rarely do. (11)

Many criminal law enforcement agencies reported that funding levels were inadequate to carry out their mandates. (56) Additionally, low rates of dedicated training on human trafficking hampered law enforcement efforts. The high rate of rotation among police, prosecutors, and judges—a standard practice to help combat corruption—leads to insufficient knowledge, lack of experience on human trafficking, and a judicial backlog for these types of cases. (54)

IV. COORDINATION OF GOVERNMENT EFFORTS ON CHILD LABOR

The government has established mechanisms to coordinate its efforts to address child labor (Table 8). However, gaps exist that hinder the effective coordination of efforts to address child labor, including efficacy in accomplishing mandates.

Table 8. Key Mechanisms to Coordinate Government Efforts on Child Labor

Coordinating Body	Role & Description
National Commission for the Progressive Eradication of Child Labor (CNEPTI)	Coordinates national enforcement efforts on child labor issues. Led by the MOL, and includes the Ministries of Justice, Education, and Planning, and several NGOs. (2)
Plurinational System for the Comprehensive Protection of Children and Adolescents (SIPPROINA)	Coordinates national efforts to manage and implement the Plurinational Plan for Children and Adolescents, the Coordinating Council for Children and Adolescents, and the Congress on Children’s Rights. Evaluates and advises on national plans, public policies, reports, and budget allocation relating to children’s and adolescents’ rights. (30) In coordination with the National Institute of Statistics, monitors and updates the SINNA. Led by the Ministry of Justice. (30)
Plurinational Council to Combat the Trafficking and Smuggling of Persons	Coordinates anti-trafficking efforts and implements national laws and policies on human trafficking and smuggling. (2,35,57) Chaired by the Minister of Justice and comprising eight ministries, the Public Advocate, and NGOs. (48) Leaders from the Council participated in the Ministry of Government’s National Convention Against Human Trafficking and Smuggling of Migrants held in September 2018. (24)
Department-Level Councils against Human Trafficking and Smuggling	Coordinates efforts of the Plurinational Council in Bolivia’s nine departments. Comprising officials from the Special Force in the Fight Against Crime, the MOL, the Ministries of Migration and Education, the Human Rights Ombudsman’s Office, and NGO representatives. (8,35,57)

The National Commission for the Progressive Eradication of Child Labor has not fulfilled its role as the central coordinating body, and its activities, while ongoing, have not resulted in any significant coordination. (2) Reports also indicate that some of the MOL's departmental sub-commissions on child labor have not been active, due in part to a lack of resources. (8,23)

The Comprehensive Law against Human Trafficking and Smuggling mandates that the Plurinational Council to Combat the Trafficking and Smuggling of Persons include NGOs. However, reports indicate that NGOs have not participated fully in this Council despite NGOs' efforts to be included. (48) Reports also indicate that some Department-Level Councils against Human Trafficking and Smuggling have yet to develop department-level plans to combat human trafficking, as mandated by law. (9,35,56,57)

V. GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON CHILD LABOR

The government has established policies related to child labor (Table 9). However, policy gaps exist that hinder efforts to address child labor, including implementing a new national action plan.

Table 9. Key Policies Related to Child Labor

Policy	Description
Bolivian General Plan for Economic and Social Development (2016–2020)	Sets goals for economic and social development including eliminating child labor. (58) The Plan was active during the reporting period. (47)
National Action Plan to Combat Trafficking and Smuggling of Persons (2015–2019)	Establishes eight lines of action drawn from the five core areas of the Plurinational Policy to Combat Trafficking and Smuggling of Persons, including building capacity and coordination among criminal law enforcement agencies. Replaces the 2013–2017 policy. (24,47,61) During the reporting period, the technical secretary of the National Council on Human Trafficking reported that the government used the 2015–2019 National Action Plan as a general guide while updating their 2016–2020 National Action plan. (24,47)

‡ The government had other policies that may have addressed child labor issues or had an impact on child labor. (62)

Bolivia's national policy for addressing child labor, the National Plan for the Progressive Eradication of Child Labor (2000–2010), expired in 2010. (63)

VI. SOCIAL PROGRAMS TO ADDRESS CHILD LABOR

In 2018, the government funded and participated in programs that include the goal of eliminating or preventing child labor (Table 10). However, gaps exist in these social programs, including funding and adequacy of programs to address the full scope of the problem in all sectors and regions.

Table 10. Key Social Programs to Address Child Labor

Program	Description
Juancito Pinto Subsidy Program†	Government program that provides a conditional cash transfer to all primary and some secondary school students to increase school attendance and reduce the dropout rate. In 2018, provided \$68.1 million to more than 2 million participating students. (2)
Safe Terminal Program*	A child sex tourism prevention campaign launched by the Bolivian government in 2018 which includes training, awareness activities, and informational workshops for officials of transport and accommodation companies in the city of La Paz. (24) In the department of Tarija, the campaign focuses on the development and implementation of codes of ethics and conduct to promote children's' rights in private sector companies' corporate social responsibility programs. (24)
Human Rights of Children Working in Sugarcane, Brazil Nuts, and Mining†	Human Rights Ombudsman's Office program that promotes the elimination of the worst forms of child labor, along with labor and social protections for working adolescents ages 14 to 17. Launched in 2013 in the Tarija, Potosí, and Beni Departments and expanded in 2014 to monitor the use of child labor in sugarcane harvesting in Santa Cruz. (64) Research was unable to determine whether activities were undertaken to implement this program during the reporting period.

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Table 10. Key Social Programs to Address Child Labor (Cont.)

Program	Description
Bolivian Foreign Trade Institute's Triple Seal Initiative	Ministry of Labor collaboration with the Bolivian Institute of Standardization and Quality (IBCE), UNICEF, and the ILO to develop a voluntary certification program that recognizes companies that comply with Bolivian law and ILO conventions on child labor, forced labor, and worker discrimination in the production of their goods. (8,65) In 2018, the Santa Cruz government continued to collaborate with private industry to implement this initiative to reduce child labor, which was established in 2016. Through the government led initiative, the IBCE trains sugarcane workers in Santa Cruz on child labor laws, monitors product sites for violations, supports school attendance for the children of sugarcane workers, and audits the producers, providing a "Triple Seal" if child labor is not used in the production of the sugar. (2,65)
Child Trafficking Awareness-Raising Campaigns†	Government program implemented with the Bolivian Network for the Fight Against Human Trafficking and Smuggling that conducts awareness-raising campaigns to educate the public about the Comprehensive Law against Human Trafficking and Smuggling. (46,66) In 2018, the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office carried out a public awareness campaign, entitled <i>Seducción/Trabajo + Trampa = Tráfico de Personas</i> (Seduction/Work + Tricks = Human Smuggling and Trafficking in Persons), which focused on measures to prevent human trafficking. (24) The Ministry of Government also conducted two human trafficking prevention campaigns: <i>Que la Trata no Borre tu Sonrisa</i> (Don't Let Human Smuggling Erase Your Smile) and <i>Una Persona Informada es una Víctima Menos</i> (One Informed Person is One Less Victim). (24)
Program to Protect the Rights of Children and Adolescents	Government collaboration with UNICEF and funding from the Government of Italy and the Swiss Cooperation Agency. Provides education assistance in 17 Bolivian Brazil nut and sugarcane-producing municipalities. Seeks to improve living conditions of 2,300 families and reintegrate 3,400 children in school. (67) The program continued to be implemented during the reporting period. (50)
Social Risk Program	Established by the Mayor of La Paz, provides financial support to allow children to choose school over work, or to finish their school day before attending work. (2) The Mayor's Office continued to implement this program in 2018. (2)
Critical Route (Ruta Crítica)*	Program created by the La Paz Child Advocate's Office to better identify working children, facilitate registration of working children with the Advocate's Office, and help working children understand their legal rights. (2)

* Program was launched during the reporting period.

† Program is funded by the Government of Bolivia.

‡ The government had other social programs that may have included the goal of eliminating or preventing child labor. (23,67-70)

In 2018, the major sugar-producing Department of Santa Cruz created the Responsible Consumer Program (Programa de Consumidor Responsable), a strategic communication program to educate consumers on the harm of supporting products made with child labor. (2) The program has broadcast information on Bolivian television and radio programming and is working with the private sector to encourage labels to identify products free of child labor. (50) The Santa Cruz Department government and the Child Advocate's Office continue to implement the "Markets that Support Childhood" Program, which offers education, health, and childcare centers in markets throughout the city (called "*Mercados amigos de la niñez*") to provide a safe environment where parents can leave their children instead of having them also engage in work. (2)

Although Bolivia has programs that target child labor, the scope of these programs is insufficient to address the extent of the problem, particularly in the production of Brazil nuts and sugarcane, ranching and cattle raising, mining, domestic work, street work, and commercial sexual exploitation. (23) Although the *Juancito Pinto* subsidy program continues to expand and has been adequate in rural areas, reports indicate that the \$29 per year subsidy is insufficient to meaningfully cover costs, such as transportation, associated with attending school in larger cities. For example, reports indicate that costs associated with attending school in La Paz's sister city, El Alto, may reach \$410 per year. (23)

VII. SUGGESTED GOVERNMENT ACTIONS TO ELIMINATE CHILD LABOR

Based on the reporting above, suggested actions are identified that would advance the elimination of child labor in Bolivia (Table 11).

Table 11. Suggested Government Actions to Eliminate Child Labor

Area	Suggested Action	Year(s) Suggested
Legal Framework	Ensure that the law prohibits children under the age of 14 from participating in apprenticeships.	2010 – 2018
	Ensure that the law establishes 18 as the minimum age for compulsory recruitment by the state military, and criminally prohibits the recruitment of children under age 18 into non-state armed groups.	2015 – 2018
	Raise the minimum age for work to the age up to which education is compulsory.	2018
Enforcement	Establish and maintain in every municipality an Office of the Child Advocate with sufficient resources to ensure that legal protections are extended to all children who are permitted to work, and to coordinate the provision of services to children who are removed from child labor, including its worst forms.	2014 – 2018
	Ensure that Offices of the Child Advocate publicly report on the number of children authorized to work and the number of children rescued from child labor and referred for social services.	2015 – 2018
	Provide sufficient funding to increase the MOL's capacity to ensure the adequate enforcement of child labor laws.	2013 – 2018
	Increase the number of labor inspectors responsible for enforcing laws on child labor to meet the ILO's technical advice.	2013 – 2018
	Authorize the labor inspectorate to assess penalties for child labor, including its worst forms.	2015 – 2018
	Publish information on child labor law enforcement, including the number of children found in child labor as a result of inspections, the number of violations found, the number of penalties imposed and collected, and whether routine inspections were conducted and targeted.	2009 – 2018
	Disaggregate data between inspections involving child labor and criminal investigations involving the worst forms of child labor.	2018
	Provide sufficient funding and training, including training on human trafficking, to criminal law enforcement agencies to ensure adequate enforcement of laws related to the worst forms of child labor.	2015 – 2018
	Ensure that victims of the worst forms of child labor and trafficking are not turned out of shelters due to fixed timelines.	2018
Coordination	Ensure that the National Commission for the Progressive Eradication of Child Labor fulfills its central coordinating role and develops concrete mechanisms to improve coordination among participating agencies and organizations.	2009 – 2018
	Ensure that all MOL departmental sub-commissions designed to combat child labor convene and receive sufficient resources to carry out their functions.	2014 – 2018
	Ensure that NGOs participate in the Plurinational Council to Combat the Trafficking and Smuggling of Persons, as required by the Comprehensive Law against Human Trafficking and Smuggling.	2014 – 2018
	Ensure that all Department-Level Councils against Human Trafficking are fully operational as required by the Comprehensive Law against Human Trafficking and Smuggling.	2014 – 2018
Government Policies	Establish and implement a new National Plan for the Progressive Eradication of Child Labor.	2010 – 2018
Social Programs	Expand national programs, especially those targeting children in rural areas to increase secondary school attendance.	2010 – 2018
	Increase the <i>Juancito Pinto</i> subsidy to ensure that school children are able to cover the costs associated with attending school.	2014 – 2018
	Expand social programs to address the worst forms of child labor at sites in which hazardous child labor exists, particularly in the production of Brazil nuts and sugarcane, ranching and cattle raising, mining, domestic work and street work, and commercial sexual exploitation.	2009 – 2018

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REFERENCES

- 1 ILO Committee of Experts. Individual Observation concerning Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) Bolivia (ratification: 2003) Published: 2015. Accessed January 18, 2015. http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/?p=1000:13100:0::NO:13100:P13100_COMMENT_ID:3186215:NO.
- 2 U.S. Embassy- La Paz. Reporting. February 13, 2019.
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