

The Working Conditions of Children Assumed to Perceive an Income in Mexico: A Comparison between 2007 and 2013

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Abstract

The research tries to analyze the child labor conditions that existed in Mexico between 2007 and 2013 when the government had put particular attention on them. The methodology that was used makes a comparison with the existing data on the topic using descriptive statistics and indices derived from official data. The research found that many Mexican children stopped working but the labor conditions for those who continued working got worse.

Keywords: Child labor, working condition, political program.

1. Introduction

“Inequalities of childhood development start at a very young age. By the age six or seven, a child that has been raised in an unsafe environment will already have huge disabilities and liabilities relative to those fortunate children that have been raised in a safe and secure environment” (Sachs, 2015: 258). In this sense, the family income, the Government's economic policies and education are crucial because these affect the children's skills, their future labor productivity and the country's development (Luyando, 2016). If the family income is low, parents will have fewer incentives to invest in their children's education. Moreover, this will be repeated in the following generations in what is known as poverty trap. Here is where government should play a crucial role.

Lately, the Mexican Government has generated laws and has proposed committees and structural changes to attack the problem. In this sense, it should be considered that from the year 2012 a catalog on work prohibition for children and adolescents is included in the Federal Labor Law in order to safeguard their physical and emotional integrity. Furthermore, in 2013 the Inter-Secretariat Committee for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labor and Protection of the Young was created. The law states that: "The regulation aims to create the Interdepartmental Commission for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labor and Protection of Young Workers of legal age in Mexico as an agency that will design, implement and evaluate policies, programs and actions aimed to prevent and suppress child labor. Thus, the strategic lines are established to safeguard the rights of the youth at work and ensure compliance with the regulatory framework applicable".

The main action to attack this problem and others related to poverty has been developed through social programs like *PROGRESA*, *OPORTUNIDADES* and currently *PROSPERA*. The last one was defined by the Government (in 2014) as a Social Inclusion Program since it allows families to improve their living conditions, so they could reach the enjoyment of their social rights. The objective of this type of programs takes root in covering principally the basic needs of families by allowing them to improve their quality of life. This obviously concentrates on the population below the poverty line. Another particular objective is to increase the rates of school assistance and the decrease of child labor.

The social program *PROSPERA* aims to provide scholarships for university studies and top-level technical studies, as well as the incorporation of the young into the formal labor market (i.e. it has to be pointed out that previously scholarships in the *OPORTUNIDADES* Program were given only to students for basic education). Nevertheless, the program does not guarantee the generation of work opportunities for the future. Its success to end the poverty trap depends also on generating work opportunities which are economically favorable for conditions in the country. As such, its success depends on the ability to create enough employments (not precarious) to the young who joined the program and all population that require a decent job.

Otherwise, the social programs in Mexico would only have been used as a palliative measure against poverty and it would have been used more for political reason (during voting periods) rather as a remedial policy against poverty. In this respect, the National Council of Evaluation of the Policies of Social Development (*CONEVAL* in Spanish) has pointed out that even though there was a decrease in the number of people with extreme poverty from 11% in 2008 to 9.5% in 2014, there has also been an increase in the percentage of the population in situation of poverty between 2008 (49,489,500) y 2014 (55,341,600).

Therefore this present research tries to show that although for a long time, the different governments of Mexico have dealt with the labor conditions of children, it has not attacked the main problem, which is that children have to work (a situation that is prohibited in the Mexican Constitution). Moreover when they do, they do it in the worst conditions. Therefore, in the face of the impossibility of canceling child labor since a long time ago, the government has termed child labor as any daily work done (in any condition) by children and young people between 5 and 17 years. In this regard, since 2007 a special survey on child labor was done.

In this inquiry, we consider working children to be those who are between 12 to 14 years old and who claim to have any income. The study, therefore, was made with the special survey of child labor (as previously indicated), elaborated by the Mexican Government since 2007. We choose these ages because the surveys only give a total data of labor undertaken by children and their conditions from 12 years or above. The investigation makes a comparison of this data between the years 2007 and 2013.

The limit age was set at 14 years because the International Labor Organization (ILO) points out that the minimum age for children to work shall not be less than the age the children achieve the compulsory education and, in any case, it shall not be less than 15 years. For its part, the Mexican Government has reformed in 2015 the Federal Labor Law, particularly the article 22 Bis, in the following way: "It remains prohibited the work utilization of children under fifteen years" (Official Diary, 2015). It should be noted that since 1993 compulsory schooling consisted of elementary education and junior high school. In this school system, the children should have completed secondary school (junior high) by the age of fifteen, but in those years in Mexico, the minimum age for work was fourteen years old.

Later, it has to be remembered that during 2012, the compulsory years of education was increased in Mexico. The school years augmented to include both high school and the pre-school. The first change was three years more (upwards) to the compulsory school, i.e. it is supposed that anyone must finish compulsory education by eighteen years of age when all citizens in Mexico would have reached adulthood.

2. Mexican Work Conditions for Children

The poverty measurement in Mexico has many dimensions, so that, as suspected one does not see the heart of the problem. In this sense, two perspectives are used: on the one hand, insofar as many of the economic policies that have been applied in Mexico are based in the economic mainstream (free market), whereby it is impossible to dissociate the relationship of income-wellbeing. In this theory, the principal element in the "search for the well-being of people" is the revenue of the individual. With this, the individual can demand the goods and services that he or she needs for satisfaction. The main objectives are to obtain, for instance, health services, shelter, school, recreation services, food, etc.

On the other hand, a more social element allows one to visualize another kind of problem, although related in some sense to the first. It is about the child's legal labor condition that must be supervised in the first instance by the Mexican government and also by International organizations. Therefore it is necessary to look the income and labor conditions, particularly for those who are working on the informal market or worse still, those who work clandestinely, since there exists legal restrictions to be followed, as is the case of children under 15 year old in Mexico.

In an official document named: Distinctive Mexico without child work (STPS, 2014), the Government of Mexico stated that this situation has different origins and is complex, and therefore, to eradicate this practice it is necessary to contemplate factors such as: economic, social, cultural and a juridical–normative. The last one directly assigned to the three branches of Government and in addition, to sectors of society related to education, health and welfare; as well as, unions, employers, parents and civil society organizations. This focuses on the complexity of the problem.

Nevertheless, we think that much of the problem lies in the lack of government supervision and the economic policies that have been implemented by the various governments at least through the last forty years. For instance, since 1973, ILO pointed out that 15 years should be the minimum age for a person to be involved in the labor market, and Mexico did it recently.

Also, as ILO (2014: 12) highlights : “As a social multifactorial problem, child labor responds overall to poverty circumstances (especially, extreme poverty), unequal distribution of opportunities (access, quality and educational relevancy, and services), inequality, unemployment, shortage of decent work for the adult persons, processes of familiar disintegration and, especially, to the lack or weakness of the governmental presence and its limitation to guarantee the rights of the children, girls and teenagers, to articulate the institutional mechanisms of social protection of those families that need it the most and to sanction and to regulate the interest and actions of the private sector”.

In the sense of the fight against the poverty, as has been previously pointed out, the PROSPERA program includes among its objectives to eradicate the child labor. Therefore, in its education component, it specifies the grant of a monetary scholarship to every home with young children to attend school (specifically, the youth under 22 years old). It has the aim to compensate the parents for the cost needed to send their children to the school rather than sending them to work. The amount of the scholarship is determined by the school level, scholastic degree and gender. The program is not universal. Its beneficiaries are defined based on the criteria of revenue, socio-economic aspects and demographic characteristics. In this way, García (2015) said: “using the Fiscal Malingerer CIEP, version Beta, it is found that the target population of PROSPERA is 21.80 million persons and nowadays covers 51.47 % of the above mentioned target population”. In this respect, it is obvious that the program has been effective since there are many children who stopped working to study. However, there are others that have continued working or have begun to work. For this, it is also supposed that the juridical–normative changes and the government exhortation for the unions and employers should make children’s labor conditions better.

Hence, the intention of this research is to analyze the children’s labor condition between the ages of 12 to 14 years. Assuming that since the government has demonstrated a special interest in this problem; it is supposed the labor conditions should have improved, given that it has made institutional and normative changes that should better the labor children situation.

3. Four Main Approaches to Child Labor Policy

Todaro and Smith (2012: 371) point out that overall there are four current child labor guidelines in the development policy: the first is associated with the World Bank. It is a policy against poverty since it recognizes child labor as an expression of poverty. In this way, the main task is to eliminate poverty because thus it will be possible to eradicate the child labor.

Secondly, there is an approach to the problem which is closer to those used in Mexico, i.e. one strategy to stop child labor and to make children remain or return to school. The Mexican government uses conditional cash transfer incentives to force the parents to send their children to school and in turn, the government has to increase the enrollment in schools. This is something that exists in the Mexican Constitution and it is supposed that all children and youth in Mexico have to complete the basic education (that is supposedly compulsory). But, it is something in which the government has failed, principally because some public schools, particularly in rural communities or marginal urban areas, do not have the conditions materials and human to attend those ancient and the new students (these last, that joined thanks to the program). The OECD (2015) points out those inequalities to learn between the students depend on the time education systems, schools and teachers allocate to learning. Also, it emphasizes that science lessons are a primary component in the education of children and that those students who not attended these kinds of classes are those that likely to be in schools that are socio-economically disadvantaged and in schools located in rural areas. In that sense OECD remark, advantaged, urban and private schools in Mexico tend to have better science-specific resources than disadvantaged, rural and public schools. It has had the effect of decreasing the educational quality and, therefore the labor perspectives of the graduates. Also, it should consider the weak social and political conditions that have developed in the country for the last almost four decades (e.g., the growth of GDP has been low and there have been several economic crises and a lot of corruption).

The third approach considers child labor as inevitable and, in that sense, measures are proposed to prevent the patronal abuses and instigate governmental supervision of their labor conditions. The principal promoter of this focus is UNICEF. Among its proposals are the following: increase the time of students in school; stricter laws against forced child work and human trafficking.

The fourth approach, associated with ILO, is in favor of banning child labor, principally in its most abusive forms: slavery or practices similar to slavery, prostitution and pornography, or other that might be affecting the children's health or morals.

In the Mexican case, the government has taken a few ideas of each approach, albeit the main flagship program has been the second (Progres/Oportunidades). In that way, Todaro and Smith (2012: 404) pointed out that: "Progres/Oportunidades fights against child labor and poor education and health by ensuring that parents can feed their children, take them to health clinics, and keep them in school while providing financial incentives to do so". They also indicate that this program has been successful for improving the economic and social conditions of the participants. Principally, there are two indices that were improved: these are staying more years in school (still in high levels) and decline of child labor.

But Mexico also has integrated the other approaches. In the first case, actually the country has an Institution that supervises the levels of poverty, namely the National Council of Evaluation of the Policies of Social Development. Its objective is stated as: "What gets measured can be improved." It is an organism decentralized with autonomy to measure poverty and therefore to evaluate Mexican social politics. This is a situation which can be a good example of what happens in the country. Although it was a good idea and it is a noble intention, this Institution has not been operated like the society would have expected. The levels of extreme poverty have decreased, above all, thanks to the transfers of social programs and not to a more comprehensive policy. The poverty level in broad terms has been increased.

In the fourth case, Mexico has reaffirmed its commitment to the ILO. In 2000, it involved itself within the Agreement on the Prohibition of the Worst Forms of Child Labor and the Immediate Action and its Elimination. In 2015, the age limit to work changed from fourteen to fifteen years. In both cases, the idea of ILO was to attack child labor and possibility of eliminating it. In the case of the third approach, Mexico has considered the majority of the UNICEF proposals but overall, the government has failed to prevent the employer from abusing or its lack of supervision has been an aggravating factor.

4. Some Findings

Undoubtedly, the PROSPERA program has had success in making many children stop working in Mexico, however problems related to child labor conditions continues. In this context, this research tries to analyze how work conditions changed between years 2007 and 2013. It is hypothesized that if the government's goal was to improve the situation of this social group, and even to decrease the number of child workers, it has to supervise the work conditions to enhance the situation.

In all the next tables, the focus will be on the kids between 12 and 14 years who said their monthly income was greater than zero. In table 1 one may see a situation where there seems to be a progress as the percentage of child workers with 12 years old diminishes between 2007 and 2013. Although, as one can see in the same table (1) a similar percent increase among children who worked between 13 and 14 years old.

| Age | Year 2007 | Year 2013 |
|----------|-----------|-----------|
| 12 years | 20.26 | 16.33 |
| 13 years | 29.95 | 32.36 |
| 14 years | 49.80 | 51.31 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Source: own table with data of Child Labour Module (database ENOE) 2007 y 2013, INEGI, Mexico.

The percentage of children, both male and female, who said to receive an income, has not changed too much. In 2007 there are 69.47% male and 30.53% female and for 2013 there are 69.77% and 30.23%.

In table 2, one can see what changed depending on the school level of these kids. The 12-year olds would have to be studying the last Primary course. The 13- and 14-year olds would have to be studying the first or second year of Secondary. In 2007, 79.75% of kids had to attend Secondary school but only 28.75% did. In 2013, 83.67% of kids had to attend Secondary but only 41.02% did.

Although it is far from being the correct thing, the conditions in this sense have had advancement if one considers the increase in the number of child workers between 13 and 14 years of age who attended Secondary school. Although one has to remember that in 2012 there was an increase in the number of years of basic education and the secondary level was left far behind.

| Table 2 | | |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Percentage according to the last year that was finalized by children between 12 and 14 years who mentioned having earned an income (Considering the expansion factor) | | |
| Scholar Level | Year 2007 | Year 2013 |
| None | 1.98 | 2.18 |
| Preschool | - | 0.02 |
| Primary | 69.27 | 56.78 |
| Secondary | 28.75 | 41.02 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

Source: own table with data of Child Labour Module (database ENOE) 2007 y 2013, INEGI, Mexico.

The real minimum wage evolution according to official numbers, in yearly average, increased from 57.68 to 57.81 pesos daily (or 13 Mexican pennies), i.e. the change is barely perceptible. With that in mind, table 3 shows the percentage of these kids in relationship to the quantity of minimum wages that they obtained.

| Table 3 | | |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Percentage based on the wage of children between 12 and 14 years who mentioned having earned an income (Considering the expansion factor) | | |
| Minimum Wage | Year 2007 | Year 2013 |
| Until 1 | 68.02 | 72.44 |
| More than 1 until 2 | 27.18 | 23.16 |
| More than 2 until 3 | 3.27 | 3.48 |
| More than 3 until 5 | 1.51 | 0.86 |
| More than 5 | 0.2 | 0.07 |

Source: own table with data of Child Labour Module (database ENOE) 2007 y 2013, INEGI, Mexico.

One can see here that the salary conditions for this group deteriorated. From 2007 to 2013 the number of workers that get at least a minimum wage increased. One has to bear in mind to at least consider the range between a wage greater than 0 and up to 1 minimum salary. In that case, one has to remember that the Federal Law of the Mexican Labor establishes that the workers will have the right to minimum wage. Meanwhile, the percentage decreased for those workers that getting 3 to 5 or more of 5 minimum wages. The only percentage that increased is those workers that get more than two and less of three minimum wages, but the increase is faint. Namely, there is a major percentage of workers that are getting lower wages.

Another situation which reflects the spoilage is the work contract status of these kids. One should recall that children under 14-year-old are prohibited from working. In table 4, one can see the percentage of kids according to their type of contract. As expected, the majority of these kids did not have any signed labor contract. If the item “non-specified” is considered as part of these kids “without signed contract”, the situation between 2007 and 2013 in this sense did not change much. The kids with temporary contract increased and those with base contract decreased (more than fifty percent). In as much as child labor is not regulated and is prohibited by law; one might hope that the child should not have signed any labor contracts, but there are a few percentages of them that have a temporary or base contract.

| Table 4 | | |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Percentage based on the type of contract of children between 12 and 14 years who mentioned having earned an income (Considering the expansion factor) | | |
| Contract | Year 2007 | Year 2013 |
| Temporary | 0.60 | 1.15 |
| Based, established, settled | 0.53 | 0.25 |
| Without signed contract | 98.87 | 91.65 |
| Unspecified | --- | 6.96 |

Source: own table with data of Child Labour Module (database ENOE) 2007 y 2013, INEGI, Mexico.

Nevertheless, if the average income according to type of contract is considered, one can see in table 5 two important things. First, the best average incomes are obtained when kids have base or temporary contract. Thereby, on average, the failure to have a written contract penalizes their revenue considerably. In addition, it is clear that the average income of children fell between 2007 and 2013 for those with temporary and base contracts, i.e. on average, they are paid a minimal nominal income and even so, these are greater than those without signed contract.

With regard to the nominal income of those without a written contract, there was an increase, but it should be taken into consideration that the growth rate increase on average income was around 16.78% while the price index increase was around 28.95%.

| Table 5 | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| Average Income according to type of contract of children between 12 and 14 years that mentioned having earned an income (Considering the expansion factor) | | |
| Type of Contract | Year 2007 | Year 2013 |
| Temporary | 2676.21 | 1949.206 |
| Based, established, settled | 2060.43 | 1967.021 |
| Without signed contract | 1215.28 | 1419.174 |
| Unspecified | --- | 1084.25 |

Source: own table with data of Child Labor Module (database ENOE) 2007 y 2013, INEGI, Mexico.

In relation to this, it is generally assumed that benefits are related to formal contracts. Therefore with the percentages as before seen, children with lending should be less than 1.5%, since the majority has not signed a contract. But in the table 6 one can see that percentage of children with benefits is higher, although, one can also see that the percentage of these has fallen and there is a large increase of the unspecified category, from 2007 to 2013. Adding the categories without benefits and unspecified in 2007 and 2013 produces two close percentages: 92.35 and 93.11, that is to say, under this circumstance the situation does not change very much. Although there is a minimal change, the conditions of this workers were affected for 2013 (The percentage of workers with employment benefits decrease with respect to those who had it in 2007).

| Table 6 | | |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Percentage according to employment benefits of children between 12 y 14 years that mentioned having earned an income (Considering the expansión factor) | | |
| Benefits | Year 2007 | Year 2013 |
| With benefits | 7.66 | 6.89 |
| Without benefits | 90.86 | 85.79 |
| Unspecified | 1.49 | 7.32 |

Source: own table with data of Child Labour Module (database ENOE) 2007 y 2013, INEGI, Mexico.

Another aspect that might give a clue about labor conditions of children is their occupation. The database has 11 conditions of occupation but children only appear in 9 as can be seen in table 7. The major percentages of workers in 2007 were working as industrial workers, artisans and assistants. These, together with (in order of priority) agricultural workers, personal services and merchants concentrated the 95.89%, of the total in 2007.

In 2013 there are changes in percentages. Now the major percentage concentration is in personal services, followed by merchants. Both percentages increased between 2007 and 2013, although personal services have more. On the contrary, percentages of industrial workers, artisan and assistants and agricultural workers decreased. It appears that there was a rearrangement more or less direct, i.e. a similar percentage of those who ceased to be industrial workers, artisans and assistants. Now they are personal service workers, in the same way, as those who ceased to be agricultural workers are now merchants.

For 2013, there appeared 673 workers in education and there has been an increase in professional, technician and art makers, something apparently good - since it is supposed that these are occupations with more favorable working conditions. But one should bear in mind that office workers decreased. Also it is relevant to point out the percentage increase in transport operators and policemen and guards. The last two occupations, by the way, are unsuitable for these kids since they are prohibited by law, aside from being dangerous.

| Table 7 Characteristic job of children between 12 and 14 years that mentioned having earned an income (Considering the expansion factor) | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| | Year 2007 | Year 2013 |
| Professional, technicians, art makers. | 1 | 1.12 |
| Education workers. | --- | 0.25 |
| Office workers. | 2.09 | 1.65 |
| Industrial workers, artisans and assistants. | 29.95 | 22.59 |
| Merchants. | 21.37 | 23.53 |
| Transport operators. | 0.97 | 1.15 |
| Personal services workers | 21.92 | 29.05 |
| Policemen and guards | 0.04 | 0.93 |
| Agricultural workers | 22.65 | 19.73 |

Source: own table with data of Child Labour Module (database ENOE) 2007 y 2013, INEGI, Mexico.

To get a full picture of this aspect, the average income by occupation was obtained; as can be seen in table 8. For 2007, the major average income by occupation was for policemen and guards but how can one possibly think that they were working in these dangerous profession with these ages? It is at least outrageous. The second best average income was for professional, technician and art makers. Although with these ages, it is difficult to think that they could be making these types of occupations since these will require wide experience or studies.

Thirdly, there are the industrial workers, artisans and assistants occupations, fourthly agricultural workers and in fifth place office workers. The first, second and fifth places have few of these employees (the first is scarce), on the contrary, the third and fourth have about 52.60% of all workers. On average, the lowest paid were personal service workers.

| | Year 2007 | Year 2013 |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Professional, technicians, art makers | 1933.96 | 1978.60 |
| Education workers | --- | 430.00 |
| Office workers. | 1265.37 | 956.79 |
| Industrial workers, artisans and assistants. | 1497.99 | 1513.76 |
| Merchants. | 1010.40 | 1171.31 |
| Transport operators. | 1071.94 | 2014.30 |
| Personal services workers. | 929.70 | 1353.29 |
| Policemen and guards. | 3200.00 | 1436.52 |
| Agricultural workers. | 1335.73 | 1606.97 |

Source: own table with data of Child Labour Module (database ENOE) 2007 y 2013, INEGI, Mexico.

The situation changed for 2013. Now the occupation with the best average incomes was transport operators. Again this is an occupation forbidden by law for these kids. Principally there is one thing that prevents those kids from carrying out this labor; they cannot obtain a driver's license. Similarly to what was going on 2007, the second best average income was for professional, technician and art makers. Unexpectedly in third place there appear the agricultural workers - an occupation that is supposedly one of the lowest paid, albeit surprisingly increased in its nominal average income.

Fourthly, there are the industrial workers, artisans and assistants and up to fifth place policeman and guards, that according to the survey were 2,481. For this year, on average, the lowest paid were the education and office workers. The first ones did not appear in 2007 and we suppose that they are caretakers or something like that. The second, it is supposed that this is a position that requires some know-how. It was undervalued - for this year, according to the survey, these workers were 4,400. The major percentage of occupation is in personal services, where there has been an increase in nominal average revenue but lesser extent than agricultural workers.

Personal services, merchants, agricultural and industrial workers, artisans and assistants concentrate almost 95% of the total of occupations. Personal services are the fourth position between the worst average revenues and the merchants the third worst. Although, we have to point out that income average for these first was increased in around 45.56%, something that could explain the percentage increase in the workers number with this profession (personal services). However, it cannot be clarified, from the point of view of the labor offer, why there was a decrease in the number of industrial workers, artisans, and assistants? The same with the agricultural worker, their number decreased in 2013, albeit there was an increase in their average income. Maybe the situations could be better explained by the side of the demand, but that's another history which is not examined in this research.

5. Some Conclusions

As correctly pointed out by Todaro and Smith (2012: 406): "In conclusion, conditional cash transfer (CCT) programs focusing on improving health, nutrition, and education are a key component of a successful policy to end poverty - although in most cases, they will need to be part of a broader strategy to be fully effective". Indeed, *Progres/Oportunidades* program has worked well. They have diminished child labor and given greater school opportunities to kids in bad social and economic conditions, trying to break with the intergenerational transmission of poverty.

But the government has not put the necessary attention to labor conditions of kids that still have the need to work. As seen earlier, the labor conditions of children between 12 and 14 have deteriorated from 2007 to 2013. In spite of the signed agreements with ILO and other international agencies and organizations decentralized by government and the laws adopted in Mexico over recent years.

The government was satisfied to apply a program to attack child labor and the rate of children dropping out of school, but it forgot its most specific task - the supervision and enforcement of Mexican labor laws. It seems that one substitutes the other one but it should not. The Mexican government through years of weakness, inability, disdain or corruption has interrupted the compliance and supervision of laws and other regulations. For example, the Mexican Constitution prohibits the employment of children less than 15 years and also says that all workers must receive a minimum salary and it must be enough to accomplish the normal needs of a family, in the material, social and cultural order. Firstly, as research shows, it is not fulfilled and secondly, there is a high percentage of this sector of society that does not gain that amount. This is a situation that might be generalized very well with the rest of workers.

It seems that Mexican government substituted a Constitutional mandate for a government program, i.e., by a political commitment to solve the problems that affect the citizens. It is thought that there is a fundamental change by immediacy, and as might be expected, the program brought results in short term as a part of the problem. But the research shows that these are not spectacular results. As a political program has many detractors, since they point out that by its characteristics, it is related with a large percentage of the votes that would have been received by the political party that implements it. Something that seems to be obvious: Why not to apply the Mexican Constitution instead of a political program?

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