

Economic and Social Determinants of Child Labour: A Case Study of Dera Ismail Khan, Pakistan

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Abstract

This paper identifies important economic and social determinants of child labour, taking grassroots level data on the working children of Dera Ismail Khan City of Pakistan. Working conditions and their impact on child health are also identified. The variables like fertility, adult literacy and schooling system etc., are empirically examined. The analysis shows that poverty is the main cause of child labour in the city while other factors such as fertility, family size, adult illiteracy and schooling system also contribute to the supply of child labour. The situation is comparatively less serious for female child labour, showing the importance of traditional factors, which restrict females from working outside their homes. The social system of the area does not allow female children to work outside the home. Therefore, female child labour is not wide spread in the city, which is contradictory to the findings of the national survey on child labour. Thus, national surveys do not accurately represent regional child labour by sex. The present study has been carried out in an area which is backward and where child labour is wide spread. Moreover, large family size and poor schooling are also keeping children away from school since parents think that poor quality education does not add to the children's ability to improve their productivity. Additionally, working conditions for the children were analysed. The children work for the longest hours and are the worst paid of all labourers in the city. Child labour results indicated that working conditions were poor and dangerous and harmed children by ruining their eyesight, bone deformations, chronic lung diseases, and sometimes resulted in the death of children. In addition, the attitude of the bosses was also harsh towards young child labourers. These outcomes call for an effective policy to eliminate poverty. The policy requires spreading literacy and introducing effective and quality education that can lead to skill training, which in turn improves the productivity of children. Poor parents' income may also be compensated to successfully eliminate child

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labour. Population control programmes need to be made more effective to control family size. Such programmes may be introduced through schools and adult literacy programmes.

Introduction

Poverty, income distribution, unemployment and child labour are some of the current economic problems faced by the developing countries. Among these child labour¹ is a major challenge for humanity, not only for the developing countries but also for other modern civil societies. It is estimated that over 250 million children, between the ages of 5 and 14 years, working in developing countries² are victims of child labour. Most of these victims are concentrated in Asia and Africa, which together account for more than 90 percent of total child labour in the world. Asia alone accounts for 61 percent of total child labour, as compared to 30 percent for Africa, 7 percent for Latin America and 1 percent for US, Canada, Europe and other nations.³ Within Asia, South Asia is a major breeding place for child labour. Besides, South Asia also accounts for over 40 percent of the world illiterates, the least gender sensitive, the most militant region (HDSA 1997)⁴ and it is one of the major debt dependent regions in the world (Chaudhary 1999 & 2002). Unfortunately, South Asia and Latin America are the regions which stand at the top being victims of poverty incidence and child labour in the world too.⁵ Child labour and poverty have a direct correlation. However, there are other dimensions of the problem as well such as social aspects, which will be focused on in this paper.

A child is considered as human capital in every family (Khasnabis 2001). Any investment made for educating and training a child is usually taken as the first best option because the long run returns on this investment are high (Khasnabis 2001). But this investment does have a longer gestation period. The alternative scenario is one in which the families

¹ Child labour is defined by article 32 of the ILO Convention (138), Article 2, on the Rights of the Child as any economic exploitation or work that is likely to be hazardous or interferes with the child's education, or is harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development. Child labour is a term used for the work done by children that is too hard, too long in duration and too hazardous for a child's physical or mental health.

² According to the Bureau of Statistics of the International Labor Organization, at least 120 million of the world's children between the ages of five and fourteen years do full time paid work (ILO 1996).

³ See Child Labor: Targeting the Intolerable, Geneva, 1998, p. 7.

⁴ See Human Development in South Asia 1999, 1998 and 1999.

⁵ See A profile of Poverty (1999), MHCHD, Islamabad.

cannot afford to allow for the gestation period and may not be able to bear the cost either. They need the child to support the family and, therefore, consequently the child is driven to work. This leads to lost opportunity not only for the child and family but also for the nation. This is the very reason that education and primary health is the responsibility of the state. Many states fail to deliver these services and therefore suffer from poor human resources. There is an ample body of literature that focuses on the economic determinants of child labour, but very few studies concentrate on pointing out the social and traditional aspects of the issue.

Basu (1999) puts forth determinants of child labour in detail. In the analysis of determinants of child labour, the supply side of children can be explained in terms of lack of income of the relevant household. Bequel and Boyden (1988), Boyden (1991) and Grootaert and Kanbur (1995) have identified poverty as the main cause of supply of child labour. On the other hand, Bhatti (1998) cites a variety of studies on Indian child labour, showing that income and related variables do not seem to have any direct significant effect on child work. Ray (2000) shows that household poverty has an insignificant effect on child labour participation in Peru and Pakistan. Thus there is diversified literature on the subject.

In addition to the above-cited factors, there could be other economic and social factors that contribute to the phenomenon of child labour. Population growth has been debated extensively and a number of studies have also sought to establish the correlation between education and the economic value of children. Ray (2000a) shows a positive relationship between child labour and large family size. Societies with high birth rates are often ones where incidence of child labour is very high. Becker (1965) stated that there is widespread appreciation that the decisions about fertility, child labour and child schooling are interdependent. Bura (1995) showed that an important determinant of child labour was adult literacy that leads to reduction in child labour. Weiner (1991) established a relationship between child schooling and that it leads to child labour and recommended compulsory education to control child labour. These variables have been identified for child labour in Pakistan as well. Therefore, this study will take into account the above variables while analysing the issue.

Most of the studies on child labour have used macro data, drawing the same conclusion for a city such as Islamabad (federal capital) to a city in remote areas of Balochistan or for a city in NWFP where data for social indicators is either non-existent or very poor. This paper has been planned to examine factors which are considered to be the major determinants of child labour, using primary data on working children in Dera Ismail Khan

city. The scope of the study pertains to the urban community, considered relatively backward in the country and where child labour is wide spread.

According to the Child Labour Survey (1996), children's percentage participation rate in the labour force is the highest for the province of NWFP. We have selected D. I. Khan as a representative city of NWFP to explore the reasons causing children to participate in economic activities. A large proportion of children whom the ILO classifies as child labourers work in agriculture.⁶ This is unpaid labour as most children work with their families on their own farmland or on someone else's land [SPARC (2001)]. The situation is more serious for urban children where they work at different work places. The working conditions in these places do not provide the stimulation for proper physical and mental development as discussed by Bequele and Bayden (1988a). Thus, we have selected an urban city of NWFP where the exact situation can be identified in which children are forced to work.

Bequele and Bayden (1988a) have discussed the working conditions for working children. In addition to losing or forgoing an opportunity to get education and enjoying a healthy childhood, the child worker also bears other costs such as health hazards and physical hazards. These health hazards will be pointed out in the study. The formulation of policies that are effective in curbing child labour requires an analysis of the key determinants that have a significant effect on child employment. The most important objective is to identify a relationship between child labour and variables such as poverty, fertility and adult literacy rate etc. in order to learn about the main causes of child labour in the city. The next objective is to rank the variables identified as the main cause of child labour, keeping in mind that this is the area where the primary reason for theorising is to ultimately influence policy.

Weiner (1991) pointed out that 10 percent of all workers in Pakistan are between the ages of 10 and 14 years. While Basu (1999) stated that the working conditions are serious for the age group of 10-14 years in Asia. Consequences of child labour on working children are also explored in this study, considering working hours, behaviour of bosses and health status of children.⁷ After this the study is organised as follows. Section II provides historical background and literature review. Sample size and data are

⁶ About 70 percent of child labourers in Pakistan work in agriculture, see SPARC (2001).

⁷ Silver (1996) discussed child labour in Pakistan, and reported that children work for the longest hours and are the worst paid of all labourers. They earn on the average a third of the adult wage.

discussed in section III. The empirical findings are discussed in section IV, while section V provides conclusion and policy implications.

Historical Back Ground and Literature Review

Child labour first appeared with the development of domestic employment in agriculture and in the cottage as well as informal sector of the economy⁸. Children were used intensively at whatever task they could perform. This system was important in England, North America and in the Continent from the 16th to 18th centuries. The domestic system was largely replaced by the factory system associated with industrialisation or "Industrial Revolution" that gained impetus in the 18th Century. This system led to a large increase in the number of children working away from their families inside the villages or even outside the villages for long hours and under hard conditions. The children used to work for lower wages than that of adults and were not able to create labour troubles. Similar conditions were common in the United States and Canada too. The Select Committee Report of 1831-1832 is an enormous document reporting on a series of interviews of child labourers, factory owners and managers. The story that emerged is that children who worked for long hours were frequently beaten and paid a pittance. According to the Census of England and Wales in 1861, 36.9 percent of boys in the age group 10-14 years were labourers. One of the more systematic investigations of the historical role of law in the decline of child labour occurs in the work of Mochling (1998). Her focus of study is the United States from 1880-1910. She concluded that the minimum age restriction had little impact on the employment of children in the United States. The origin of debates on child labour can be found in the writings of Karl Marx (1867), Marshall (1920) and Pigou (1920). With economic and social development, child labour was abolished in the developed countries. However, it is still present in developing countries.

In Pakistan, children have worked side by side with their parents either in their homes, in farming or in other family occupations. But this was child work, an occasional form of work having no element of exploitation. This form of work was acceptable and in fact prepared children

⁸ International Labor Organization defines conditions of child labour as: i) Working too young ii) Working for long hours in some cases (12-16) hours per day. iii) Working under strain, physical, social and psychological. iv) Working on the streets in unhealthy and dangerous conditions. v) Working for very little pay as little as US \$ 3 for a 60 hours a week.

So, there are conditions for child labour. For simplicity we assume that child labour means exertion, physical or mental or both undergone in the performance of some task or work by which subsistence is obtained by a young person (5-14 year old) of either sex.

for adulthood. But children seldom worked outside their villages without their family members until the 1960s. In this era, a dramatic effort was made to expand the manufacturing base in Pakistan, which led to a large increase in the number of children working outside their homes in factories and workplaces whose owners sought to maximise profits by keeping down labour costs. The range of child labour extends from children being involved in family occupations such as sheep rearing to pernicious forms reminiscent of children's work. Children work in family based agriculture, factories, workshop, tailoring, handicrafts, carpet weaving, manufacturing surgical instruments, leather, footwear, brick kilns, stone/brick crushing and sports goods production.

Many children in Pakistan work under a bonded system. In this system an advance of bonded money, called *peshgi*, is given for a person. As long as the debt lasts the worker/debtor is bound to the creditor/employer. If the worker becomes ill or dies, the family is responsible for the debt and it is often passed down through generations. Often children are put to work to pay off existing debts. The *peshgi* system was legally abolished in 1988 in a case against brick kiln owners, and the Bonded Labour Abolition Act of 1992 cancelled all obligations of bonded labourers to their employers.

Children work for a variety of reasons. One of the most important reasons is poverty. Sometimes, children work to ensure the survival of their family and themselves. Though children are not well paid, they still serve as major contributors to family income in developing countries. There is no dearth of studies at the macro level, which show that the children of poor families have immediate economic value and poverty of the parents pushes many children into the labour market. Low income households face economic constraints in the present time, which makes it difficult for them to afford education along with making them short sighted by not investing in long term future returns (Bhatty, 1998) & (Dreze & Kingman, 1999).

Ranjan Ray (2000) tested two hypotheses and stated that there is a positive association between hours of child labour and poverty, and there is a negative association between child schooling and poverty. Ray has used data obtained from the Pakistan Integrated Household Survey, 1991. Both of these hypotheses are confirmed by the Pakistani data, but not by the Peruvian data. The reduction in poverty rates due to income from children's labour is greater in Pakistan than in Peru. The nature of interaction between adult and child labour markets varies with the gender of the child and the adult. In Peru, rising men's wages significantly reduced the labour hours of girls, whereas in Pakistan there is a strong complementarity between women and girls' labour markets. Both data sets confirm the

positive role that increasing adult education can play in improving child welfare.

Taking a sample of 100 children from the urban areas of Pakistan, (Khan, 1982) hours worked by child labourers on variables such as age, schooling, family size, experience and family income were regressed. Poverty, illiteracy of parents and lack of educational facilities were identified as the variables, which lead to supply child labour. Competition in the global market has raised the demand for cheap and exploitable labour. This further impoverishes societies because wages are pushed lower by child labour and adults remain underemployed or out of work. Thus, the cycle of labour and deepening poverty continues through generations.

The existence of child labour is a cause of serious concern as it denies the right of childhood and education to children. Work imposed upon them damages their personality and harms them physically and psychologically. According to the Child Labour Survey 1996, there are 3.3 million working children between the ages of 5-14 years in Pakistan.⁹ The obvious solution is to abolish child labour, but there are problems associated with this solution. Sometimes children work to ensure the survival of their family and themselves; the alternative may further deepen poverty for the families. There is also the view that work can help a child in terms of his socialisation, in building self-esteem and training (Collins, 1983). What is striking and noteworthy is that child labour has not always been thought of as an evil. Presently, there is great focus on the issue both at the national and international level. Therefore, there is a direct need to identify the variables which could be the sources of this evil. There is a need to look beyond poverty to appropriately tackle the issue. Keeping this purpose in mind, the study is based on fresh survey and data is obtained at the grassroots level. The data, sample size and problems related to it are discussed in the next section.

The Data and Sample Size

The quality of data is very important in order to draw reliable conclusions. The collection of data was complex because of the non-reliable responses of child labour. A fairly representative and sound sample is essential if a limited survey is to yield fruitful results. In this survey we

⁹ Labour force sets the number at two million (1990-91). A report from UNICEF put the number at around eight million (1990) and economists at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics estimated that there are 19 million working children, 7 million below the age of 10 and 12 million between 10 and 14 (1994).

interviewed a sample of 125 working children in the age group of 5-14 years at different work places of Dera Ismail Khan City.

These children were interviewed at different work places and were involved in different economic activities such as embroidery, tailoring, workshops, service stations, woodworks, metal works, brick kilns, shops, at homes (domestic servants) and in hotels (helpers).¹⁰ Both boys & girls were interviewed. However, in the province of NWFP, girls are strictly limited to domestic activities. Hence older girls are not allowed to work at work places at all. In our sample girls are only 20 percent, while 80 percent of our sample consists of male children. Girls were working in some specific fields such as embroidery and tailoring in homes while male children were employed in all fields. The survey was designed and tested first so that each type of major activity was captured. Thereafter random sampling was adopted to collect samples at five different workplaces at the localities as mentioned in the appendix Table 1.

The major handicap encountered in data collection was to get information from teenage children who were afraid of their masters and hesitated in providing information. However, efforts were made to collect correct reliable information about child labour. This information was verified again and again pertaining to one workplace. The doubtful information was rechecked and matched with other responses and those which were not confirmed, were dropped. Total sample size was 115, however, after screening the data one hundred observations were utilised to draw meaningful results. The distribution of sample for different activities is given in Table 1, below.

¹⁰ We have conducted the survey for Dera Ismail Khan city only. Thus children involved in agriculture in the villages of the district D. I. Khan could not be included in the sample.

Table 1: Distribution of Child Labour by Economic Activity

Economic Activity	No. of Working Children	Male Children	Female Children	%age
Workshops	16	16 (20.0)	0 -	16
Service Station	4	4 (5.0)	0 -	4
Embroidery	14	6 (7.5)	8 (40.0)	14
Tailoring	14	9 (11.25)	5 (25.0)	14
Metal Work	4	4 (5.0)	0 -	4
Wood Work	4	4 (5.0)	0 -	4
Brick Kilns	12	8 (10.0)	4 (20.0)	12
Shops	8	8 (10.0)	0 -	8
Homes	16	13 (16.25)	3 (15.0)	16
Hotels	8	8 (10.0)	0 -	8
Total	100	80	20	100
% age	100	100	100	100

Note: The number in parenthesis shows the percentage.

Percentage distribution of child labour by economic activity in D. I. Khan City is shown in Table 1. Tailoring and embroidery together account for 28 percent of child labour in the city. About 65 percent of the working female children are in this category, while 18.75 percent of male children are also engaged in this profession. The children working in the workshops account for one fifth of the child labour. In this activity the female participation rate is zero. Brick kilns accounting for 12 percent and 20 percent of female working children are also attached to this profession. The maximum number of male children are employed in workshops, engaged in repairing motor vehicles, etc.

Empirical Findings

Child labour and variables such as poverty, family size, schooling, adult literacy rate, and traditional/social factors are analysed to point out the main determinants of child labour.

4.1 Income, Poverty and Child Labour

There are different reasons due to which parents send their children to work when they should have been sent to schools instead. Children are sent to work to supplement the family income when income of the adult in the house is not sufficient to keep the pot boiling. Poverty is widely accepted as the main cause of child labour. Here poverty is measured in terms of income of the family member of earning adults per family, residential status of a family and presence of any other financial arrangement (*Zakat* & charity etc.) for the family. These variables are used in order to capture different dimensions of poverty.

Table 2 shows that the problem of child labour is more serious for families with income less than Rs. 3000 per month, as they supply more than 80 percent of child labourers. About 81 percent children are from families earning less than Rs. 3000 per month, as compared to 19 percent children whose families have more than Rs. 3000 per month.¹¹ Further analysis shows that 20 percent of the working male children are from families earning less than Rs. 1500 per month while 35 percent of the females belong to this income group.

The situation is not very serious for the females, who fall in the sample's relatively top income groups. There were 16 females out of 20 (80 percent) who were from the income group earning less than Rs.2000 per month, as compared to only one working female child whose family earns more than Rs.3000. First, female child labourers are not large in number, as compared to their male counterparts. Second, females who are engaged in child labour belong to the middle category of the sample's income group. This shows the importance of traditional social factors, which restrict female child labour. As income crosses Rs. 3000 females are strictly prohibited to work. The established female role in certain regions of the country shows that women are not permitted to do jobs outside their homes. Therefore, daughters are mainly limited to household activities. Such cultural and social norms restrict the employment of females outside their homes.

¹¹ It may be noted that the poverty line in Pakistan is Rs 450.00 per person / per month. The above figures are close to the poverty line. Thus these families fall below the poverty line.

Table 2. Distribution of Child Labour by Income Group, Sex & Age in D. I. Khan

Income of the Families of the Working Children	No. of Children with this income	Age group		Age group	
		5 to 9 year		9 to 14 year	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Less than 1500	23	11 (13.75)	3 (15.0)	5 (6.25)	4 (20.0)
1500-2000	26	10 (12.5)	5 (25.0)	7 (8.75)	4 (20.0)
2000-2500	18	7 (8.75)	0	8 (10.0)	3 (15.0)
2500-3000	14	4 (5.0)	0	10 (12.50)	0
3000-3500	12	3 (3.75)	0	8 (10.0)	1 (5.0)
3500-4000	4	0	0	4 (5.0)	0
4000 and above	3	0	0	3 (3.75)	0
Total	100	35	8	45	12
%age by age		43		57	

The numbers in parentheses show the percentage.

4.2 Earning Adults Per Family and Child Labour

Table 3 shows the number of earning adults per family. In most of the cases there is only one earning adult. There are 22 percent children with no earning adult in the family. This may be the case when an unemployed female with children heads the household. About 30 percent of the children having no adult earner in their family are from the age group 5 to 9 years. Only 30 percent children have two or more adult earners in their home. The table also provides information about the presence of some other financial arrangement (*Zakat*, charity etc.) for the family. There were 62 percent children who belong to families having no other financial arrangement than that of their own earnings. It appears that there is a positive relationship between the number of earning adults and presence of some other financial arrangements, showing that adults are in a better position to receive some charity.

Table 3: Earning Adults Per Family & Presence of any Financial Arrangement

No. of Earning Adults	No. of Children	Age of Working Child		Any other arrangement		% age
		5 to 9	9 to 14	Yes	No	
0	22	7	15	6	16	22
1	48	23	25	12	36	48
2	25	11	14	17	8	25
3 or more	5	2	3	3	2	5
Total	100	43	57	38	62	100

4.3 Living Conditions

Living conditions like shelters represent poverty and level of living standard. Table 4 shows that 60 percent families have their own houses. However, the quality of these houses is very poor. These houses are made of mud and consist of only one room. These people are not in a position to rent accommodation. Most of these rooms are constructed on public property. Only 10 percent families were living in small rented houses, which were slightly better than mud houses. Thus the living conditions were poor with no piped water and medical center nearby.

The overall analysis shows that there is an inverse relationship between the income level of the family and the incidence of child labour. The incomes of the families are so low that they are not enough to satisfy their basic needs. They cannot afford to invest in their children's education and wait for the gestation period. The child has economic value in the present time so parents maximise their utilities by making the best use of their economic asset at present to fulfill their basic needs.

Table 4. Distribution of Working Children by Residential Status of the Family

Residential Status	Frequency	Age of Working Child		percentage
		5 to 9	9 to 14	
Owned House	60	23	37	60
Rented House	10	0	10	0
Not rented	30	20	10	30
Total.	100	43	57	100

4.2 Social and Traditional Variables and Child Labour

4.2.1 Family Size and Child Labour

Child labour can not be explained with reference to the poverty factor alone. There are other social factors responsible for the supply of children to the labour market. Population growth rate has been debated extensively in this respect and a number of studies have established a correlation between population growth rate and existence of child labour. Societies with high birth rates are often ones where incidence of child labour is very high. The reason for this being that it is difficult for the large family to meet their basic needs by the parents' income alone.

Table 5 shows that more than 60 percent children were from families where the family has at least 7 members, as compared to only 7 percent children who had less than 3 members in their families. The smaller the family the less the number of children involved in child labour. This indicates that as the number of children in the family increases, there is higher probability of child participation in the labour market. Parents in developing countries make use of children's ability to work, continue producing more children and send them to the labour market. In this situation children seem to be less of an economic burden, rather they share the burden of their parents to meet family expenditures.

Table 5. Distribution of Working Children by Family Size, & Child Employment

Family size	%age of children having family size	No. of working children in the family			
		1	2	3	4 or more
1-2	7	7	0	0	0
3-4	15	12	3	0	0
5-6	15	6	5	3	1
7-8	20	4	7	6	3
9-10	23	0	7	11	5
11-12	15	1	3	6	5
12 or more	5	0	1	1	3
Total	100	30	26	27	17

There is a substitution effect of child labour on adults' wages. A large presence of children in the labour market drives down the wages for adults, causing even higher unemployment. This cycle further increases the demand for cheap child labour. It is a vicious cycle and it is likely that the children of these children too will remain poor and be forced to work. The vicious circle continues and the number of child labourers continue to rise. UNICEF (1997) stated that these children will never be able to break out of the cycle of slavery: they will spend their lives on the plantations, marrying there and giving birth to the next generation of slaves.

4.2.2 Adult Literacy and Child Labour

Another important determinant of child labour is adult illiteracy (Bura 1995). The parent's perception of the value of schooling is a main determinant of child employment. Parents who are educated understand the importance of schooling. As a result, parental education plays an important role in determining child schooling and employment (Tienda 1979). Table 6 provides below empirical evidence in this regard.

Table 6. Distribution of Working Children by Adult literacy Child Schooling

No. of literate Adults in the family	No. of children	No. of school going children in family			
		0	1	2	3 or more
0	47	36	7	4	0
1	28	14	8	6	0
2	16	6	7	3	0
3	7	2	1	2	2
4 or more	2	0	0	1	1
Total	100	58	23	16	3

Table 6 shows that there is a positive relationship between adult literacy and child schooling. The higher the number of literate members in a family, the more is the probability of the child going to school and vice-versa. About 47 percent of working children belong to the families in which there are no literate adults, followed by 28 percent children who have one

literate adult in their family. Only 9 percent children have more than two literate members, and more children go to schools in these families. As the number of literate members in a family increases, the number of children going to school also increases which shows a linkage between literacy and a tendency to send the children to school.

4.3 Schooling System and Child Labour

Table 7 shows that there were 37 percent children who were once admitted in schools but they left after some time. More than 50 percent children left schools because of financial problems. They were not in a position to pay for the school fee and buy books. However 16 percent children left school because of the schooling system, the teacher’s attitude, distant school location etc., 13 percent children were out of schools because of cultural and traditional factors like their parents believing that schooling does not add to children’s productivity. Only 5 percent left school to learn some skill. An additional factor in parental decision making about a particular child’s education and child labour is likely to be the needs and prospects for their other children. Often parents may assign different values to their children and they try to manage their affairs by sending some children to work in order to finance the schooling of other family members. This phenomenon involves a certain number of children going to school while others work.

Table 7. Reasons for Leaving School

Reasons for Leaving School	Frequency	Percentage
Cultural factors	5	13.51
Family occupation	5	13.50
Financial problems	19	51.35
Schooling system	6	16.22
To learn skill	2	5.41
Total	37	100

Another objective of the present study was to learn about the age group in which concentration of working children is the highest. Table 8 shows that one fifth of the total working children are from the age group 5 to 8 years and too young to work. Most of these children work in workshops or in brick kilns where the environment is not suitable for their physical and mental development. The survey indicates that 48 percent of working children are below 10 years of

age as compared to 52 percent children who are from the age group 10 to 14 years. One interesting finding of the present study is about female working children. About 45 percent female children are from the age group 10 years and above. The analysis shows that the situation is not serious for the females as they belong to the relatively upper age group. The girls older than 15 years are not allowed to work outside homes because of traditional factors. Such traditional and cultural practices restrict the employment of older girls outside their homes. This implies that for the elimination of female child labour more weight must be assigned to the age group of 5 to 10 years old. On the other hand, concentration of working male children is high for the age group 10 to 14 years and so more attention must be paid to this group for boys.

Table 8. Distribution of Working Children by Age and Sex

Work place/ age	5 to 8		8 to 10		10 to 12		12 to 14		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Workshops	5	0	4	0	3	0	4	0	16
Service Station	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	4
Embroidery	0	1	1	3	2	3	3	1	14
Tailoring	0	0	0	2	4	2	5	1	14
Metal Work	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	4
Wood Work	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	4
Brick Kilns	3	2	4	1	1	1	0	0	12
Shops	1	0	2	0	3	0	2	0	8
Homes (servants)	2	1	5	1	3	1	3	0	16
Hotels (helpers)	1	0	2	0	2	0	3	0	8
Total	16	4	21	7	21	7	22	2	100
percent age	20		28		28		24		100

An important objective of the study was to identify a relationship between child labour and variables such as poverty, family size, adult literacy and schooling system etc., to know about the main determinants of child labour and to provide policy guidelines to eliminate the problem. The analysis shows that at certain levels of poverty, child labour plays an instrumental role in the economic survival of the family. Poverty is one of the major sources of child labour. Population growth rate is another important determinant of child labour. Uneducated or poorly educated parents are also a cause of child labour.

Children seek employment also simply because there is no access to school (distance, no school at all) or the school system is so poor that it does not deliver quality education. When there is access to school, the low quality of education often makes attendance a waste of time for the students. Schools suffer from problems such as overcrowding, inadequate transport facilities, and poor quality of teachers and most important are fees and the cost of books associated with it. Thus, schooling problems also contribute to keeping the children away from schools and add to child labour.

The determinants of child labour were also ranked according to their significance. Table 9 shows the overall results of the survey in this respect. There were 24 percent children in the labour market due to poverty and these children were mostly working in workshops or as servants in homes. About 12 percent children work because of debt liabilities and these children are mostly concentrated in brick kilns. The schooling system is responsible for 8 percent children in the labour market. About 11 percent children are in the labour market because the field of work is the same as their family occupation and they are trying to acquire some skills. One interesting feature is that there are 17 percent children who are in the labour market because they like it, the other option is school, which is not preferable to them. Such an answer may be expected from the children only when they are fully aware of the consequences.

Table 9: Reasons for Child Labour

Workplace	Child Like it	Debt Liabilities	Family Occupation	Poverty	Schooling System	To Acquire Skill	Traditions or culture	Total
Workshops	0	1	0	9	1	3	2	16
Service Station	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	4
Embroidery	3	0	3	1	1	4	2	14
Tailoring	4	0	3	1	0	5	1	14
Metal Work	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	4
Wood Work	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	4
Brick Kilns	0	10	0	2	0	0	0	12
Shops	4	0	2	1	1	0	0	8
Homes	3	1	0	6	2	0	4	16
Hotels	3	0	1	0	3	0	1	8
Total	17	12	11	24	8	16	12	100

4.4 Consequences of Child Labour on Working Child Labourers

Working conditions and health status of child labour is very important. The payment given to a child as his reward is also considered important in terms of the exploitation of children. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) reported that children work the longest hours and are the worst paid of all labourers (Bequete & Boyden 1988). These aspects were also analysed for the study area.

4.4.1 Working Conditions

Table 10 indicates the working conditions of children in the city (ies). The table shows that 55 percent children work for more than 10 hours per day. 27 percent children reported that the attitude of their boss is good with them, while only 27 percent children are happy with their bosses. However, 37 percent children reported that the behaviour of their bosses was bad with them. These children are not allowed holidays or off days even after months. The work imposed upon them often warps their personality and makes them physically and psychologically ill. Children are exposed to dust and fumes in repair shops, wood work factories and metal work factories.

Table 10: Distribution of the Working Hours & Work Conditions for Children

Working hour per day	No. of children	Attitude of Boss		
		Good	Normal	Bad
2-4	4	2	1	1
4-6	6	2	1	3
6-8	10	4	4	2
8-10	25	5	15	5
10-12	30	7	8	15
12-14	15	5	4	6
14-16	10	2	3	5
Total	100	27	36	37

Children are often forced to drag loads of molten metal from blowing furnaces and amid noise levels that could cause deafness, besides losing or forgoing the opportunity of an education and enjoying childhood. There is additional cost in terms of health hazards. The eyes of children

involved in doing embroidery work are affected within 5-8 years of employment. Table 11 shows the health status of working children. More than 40 percent children feel that their health status is worse than before as compared to only 24 percent children who stated that their health is better than before.

Table 11. Distribution for Health Status of Working Children

Workplace / Health status	Same	Satisfactory	Bad	Total
Workshops	5	3	8	16
Service Station	1	1	2	4
Embroidery	4	5	5	14
Tailoring	3	4	7	14
Metal Work	2	0	2	4
Wood Work	1	1	2	4
Brick Kitns	6	0	6	12
Shops	5	3s	0	8
Homes (servants)	4	5	7	16
Hotels (helpers)	4	2	2	8
Total	35	24	41	100

Table 12 shows the monthly earnings of the children. About 24 percent children work with out any payment or reward. There were 23 percent children who received only Rs.100 per month¹². This is not even enough for one week's food for a child. The percentage of children paid more than Rs.1000 per month is zero.

¹² It is less than \$2 per month. In other words these children were paid less than 7 cents a day.

Table 12. Distribution of Monthly Earnings of the Children

Earning of Children Income group	No. of Working Children	No. of Working Children				% age
		5 to 9 year		9 to 14 year		
		Male	Female	Male	Female	
No wages	24	14 (17.50)	4 (20.0)	5 (6.25)	1 (5.0)	24.38
0-100	23	10 (12.50)	3 (15.0)	8 (10.0)	2 (10.0)	23.75
100-200	19	6 (7.50)	1 (5.0)	7 (8.75)	5 (25.0)	23.12
200-500	24	5 (6.25)	0	15 (18.75)	4 (20.0)	22.5
500-1000	10	0	0	10 (12.50)	0	6.25
1000-1500	0	0	0	0	0	0
1500 and above	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	35	8	45	12	
% age	100	43		57		100

The numbers in parentheses show the percentage.

Only 10 percent children earn more than Rs.500 per month but less than Rs.1000.

The remaining 90 percent of the children are paid less than Rs.500 per month. It means that about 90 percent children were paid around \$8 per month.

Children are put to such type of work that injures them. These children do not have a healthy environment for their physical growth. The children are at greatest risk from exploitation at work that results in ruining their eyesight and bone deformities, chronic lung diseases, and sometimes

incidence leading to death. Those who survive pay a high price in the shape of lost physical and mental development, often passing that price on to their own children, forging the shackles of poverty, ignorance and servitude across generations.

Conclusion and Policy Implications

This paper focused on pointing out the major determinants of child labour in the Dera Ismail Khan City of Pakistan. Efforts were made to identify relationships between child labour and variables such as poverty, family size, adult literacy, schooling system and traditional factors in order to learn about the main causes of child labour in the city. Additionally, the age group of children who were the main victims of the problem was to be identified. Moreover, these variables were to be ranked as per their significance.

The analysis shows that poverty is the main cause of child labour in the city but there are other factors contributing to it such as family size, schooling system and illiteracy of parents. The analysis shows that at certain levels of poverty, child labour plays an instrumental role in the economic survival of the family. The child has economic value at present so parents maximise their utility by making the best use of their economic assets at present for the satisfaction of basic needs. Another important factor causing child labour is large family size. When family size is large, the family cannot afford food, clothing, education and other necessities and thus more children are sent to work. Parents below the poverty line cannot afford to send their children to schools, where a child spends a lot of time and money on books and school fees, and ultimately he is unable to get a job or their education does not add to their earnings. The parents face a trade off; sending their child to school means waiting for the next 10 to 15 years. They think it is better for a child to learn some practical skill and be able to earn something immediately, rather than sending them to school for a longer period. In some cases children are sent to work, as it is their family occupation. The parents believe that the child should learn and acquire a skill from childhood so that he can earn more in his field within 5 to 10 years. The child labour scenario is not serious in the case of females. Given the traditional social values, females were less exposed to child labour. Besides, there was no working female from any family with income above Rs.3000. Our findings do not confirm that the female child labour problem is as serious as that of male's, as identified by the national survey. Thus child labour by sex differs across regions of the country.

Children work the longest hours and are the worst paid of all labourers in the city. They are exposed to dust and fumes in repair shops, woodwork and metalwork factories. Children are put to work in ways that destroy the right to normal physical and mental development. Children are at greatest risk from exploitation at work which results in ruining their eyesight, causes bone deformities, chronic lung diseases, and sometimes it leads to death. The majority of child labour belongs to the middle age group of children.

For policy formulation an integrated approach to education, skill training, credit provision and income-generation will help in addressing the problem of child labour. Education in particular is a key strategy to combat child labour. The education offered must be effective, it must be affordable, of good quality and should improve the productivity of children. There is also a need to provide free basic education and also supplement the income of the parents so that they can send the children to school. Adult education programmes must be introduced effectively which will also help to reduce child labour. Education may be linked with skill training and provision of credit to attract the children and parents. Moreover, family planning must also be introduced through education and schools. This will help to reduce fertility and ultimately reduce family size and child labour. The present system of family planning is not helping achieve fruitful results. Along with these measures, enforcement of labour laws is essential.

Appendix Table 1: Location of Work Places in Dera Ismail Khan City

S. No.	Work Place	Locality
1	Brick Kilns	Alongside Bannu Road and University Road
2	Embroidery	Gomal Market, Khyber Market, Hiyatullah Mohalla
3	Homes (servants)	Cantt area, Circular Road, within Circular Road
4	Hotels (helpers)	Different areas
5	Metal Work	Rahim Bazar
6	Service Station	Tank Ada and surroundings, Baanu Ada, University Road
7	Shops	Gomal Market, Khyber Market, Hiyatullah Mohalla
8	Tailoring	Gomal Market, Khyber Market, Hiyatullah Mohalla
9	Wood Work	Rahim Bazar
10	Workshop	Tank Ada and surroundings, Baanu Ada, University Road

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