CHAPTER V

CAUSES AND IMPACT OF CHILD LABOUR

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5.1 Introduction:

A child is an invaluable asset of any society and has a definite role to play in the development of the nation. The future of a country depends on how its children are being nurtured to become the future citizens of the country. Some of the children, forced by their socio-economic conditions, take up work at a crucial formative age. A child whose legitimate place is at school is found to be holding a chisel in his hand to supplement the income of his family. This not only prevents these children from getting basic education but also is highly detrimental to their health and leads to the intellectual and physical stunting of their growth. Deprivation of the life of academics and other activities of joyful childhood leads to underdevelopment of their innate capacities, which further perpetuates a scenario of poverty, illiteracy underdevelopment and deprivation.

Though there are clear provisions in our Constitution to safeguard the interest of children by ensuring that they receive education and are not forced to work for a living, it is unfortunate that the problem of child labour exists to a large extent in our country. In fact, child labour is the result of various ills in the society. Poverty and illiteracy are two such manifestations, which are visible but there are many other factors inbuilt in our society, like the position of women in the family, traditional and cultural practices and feudal attitudes in the country, perpetuating this problem.

In order to combat child labour it is must to understand the forces
that give rise to it. In this chapter a wide range of factors considered whose importance may vary from one situation to the next. The main interest is on the role of families and economic pressures, although other aspects also considered as well.

5.2 Causes of Child Labour

It is possible to take help of sociology and economics to organize the list of factors we are about to examine in finding causes of child labour. Sociologists like to distinguish between “internal” and “external” forces. Internal forces are those acting within a family to produce particular outcomes such as child labour. An example would be the health or child-rearing practices of a parent. External forces are those working on families from the outside, and are therefore likely to affect many families simultaneously. Economists prefer to sort factors according to whether they operate on the “supply side” or “demand side” of markets. A market is an institution which brings buyers and sellers together to determine what will be exchanged at what prices. In the case of child labour, the market includes those who provide child labour, such as the households the children live in, and those who utilize it. So demand-side factors refer to those things that make households more or less willing to offer children’s labour, while the supply side is influenced by employers of this labour. Of course, when the child is employed within the household the two sets of individuals will be the same, but the factors can still be distinguished.

These distinctions are similar but not identical. In this chapter internal and external approach was used while discussing sociological factors and supply and demand side while discussing economical factors.
5.2.1 Poverty

In most of the parts of the world the poor often describe their lives as ‘living life clutching on to a knife’. This phrase is a vivid and painful description of the conditions that poor tolerate, just to live. It is under these situations that children are sent by their families to work in hazardous and dangerous conditions.

The problem of child labour continues to pose a challenge before the India. Government has been taking various pro-active measures to tackle this problem. However, considering the magnitude and extent of the problem and that it is essentially a socio-economic problem linked to poverty, it requires concerted efforts from all sections of the society to make a dent in the problem.

Way back in 1979, Government formed the first committee called Gurupadswamy Committee to study the issue of child labour and to suggest measures to tackle it. The Committee examined the problem in detail and made some far-reaching recommendations. It observed that as long as poverty continued, it would be difficult to totally eliminate child labour and hence, any attempt to abolish it through legal recourse would not be a practical proposition. The Committee felt that in the circumstances, the only alternative left was to ban child labour in hazardous areas and to regulate and ameliorate the conditions of work in other areas. It recommended that a multiple policy approach was required in dealing with the problems of working children.

At a symposium on 'Child Labour-Legal and Moral Conflicts' Supreme Court Judge Justice Dalveer Bhandari said “Poverty is the root cause of child labour and unless the problem is addressed no amount of
legislation can eradicate it. India is home to about 400 million children out of which 125 million are working as child labourers and no country's future can be bright in such a scenario. Child labour was a serious human rights violation.¹

The concept of child labour is based on the widely accepted premise that abject poverty leads to child labour. However, social activists like Magsaysay winner and crusader for abolition of child labour, Shanta Sinha, are now trying to turn this theory and ideology on its head by saying that it is child labour that perpetuates poverty.²

The link between poverty and child labour dominates much of the debate on this topic. Does poverty “cause” child labour, or does child labour “cause” poverty, or both? If poverty is the culprit, does it make sense to pursue other policies, like national legislation, as long as poverty persists? Do the poor need child labour to make ends meet?³

Child labour is both a consequence and cause of poverty. Thus strategies of poverty reduction and elimination need to be address this problem.

Poverty has been described as a situation of “pronounced deprivation in well being” and being poor as “to be hungry, to lack shelter and clothing, to be sick and not cared for, to be illiterate and not schooled...Poor people are particularly vulnerable to adverse events outside their control. They are often treated badly by institutions of the state and society and excluded from voice and power in those institutions.”⁴ Using income as a measure of poverty, the World Development Report refers to the “deep poverty amid plenty” in the world and states that a fifth of the world’s people live on less than $1 a
day, and 44% of them are in South Asia. Lack of access to resources or assetlessness is a unifying characteristic of poverty in all its manifestations. The poor lack ownership of or access to assets such as land, water, forest, dwelling units, credit, literacy, longevity, voice and capital—both physical and social.

Those who are severely below the poverty line are largely involved in subsistence type activities for which they get exploitatively poor returns despite suffering extreme physical hardship and undertaking grave risks so as to earn a meager income. Since earnings are below even the margins of existence, expenditure and survival needs exceed income. This often results in the need to borrow small amounts of money at usurious interest rates of as much as 120% per annum. When borrowing is not possible, hunger is suffered. Their inability to change the power relationships results in scarcely available common resources (such as even drinking water) or public funds meant for poverty alleviation being misappropriated and diverted through manipulation by the locally powerful or corrupt. Since there are no mechanisms for grievance redressal this could result in social tension, despair or a combination thereof. The poor can be classified into two sub groups - those who are poor over an extended duration or chronically poor and those who are transiently poor. The Chronic Poverty Research Centre tries to focus on the chronically poor segment of those who are deprived so as to draw attention to those who find it hardest to emerge from poverty. The Chronic Poverty Research Centre defines chronic poverty in terms of — severe poverty, extended duration poverty and multidimensional poverty.
Table 5.1 Rural - Urban Distribution of the Poor in India, 1973-74 to 1999-2000 Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No of Poor in Rural Areas (In Million)</th>
<th>No of Poor in Urban Areas (In Million)</th>
<th>Total Population Below Poverty Line (In Million)</th>
<th>% of India's Poor Located in Rural Areas</th>
<th>% of India's Poor Located in Urban Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>261.3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>321.3</td>
<td>81.33</td>
<td>18.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>264.3</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td>328.9</td>
<td>80.36</td>
<td>19.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>322.9</td>
<td>78.04</td>
<td>21.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-88</td>
<td>231.9</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>307.1</td>
<td>75.51</td>
<td>24.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-94</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>320.3</td>
<td>76.18</td>
<td>23.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>193.2</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>260.2</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Over 80% of the poor were located in rural areas in the 1970s. The substantial decrease in the number of rural poor by 32.4 million between 1977-78 and 1987-88 changed the distribution of the poor between rural and urban areas in that the proportion of the rural poor declined steadily from 80.3% in 1977-78 to 75.5% in 1987-88. The number of urban poor increased by 10.6 million during the same ten year period partly due to migration of the poor from rural areas. There was therefore an increase in the relative share of urban poverty from 18.7% to 24.5% during the period from 1973-74 to 1987-88 and it has fluctuated around this estimate since then. The data indicates that in 1999-2000 there is slight decline in rural poverty and increase in urban poverty. Table 1 shows the distribution of the poor between rural and urban areas.

Child labour is a menace which threatens the future of this society. Its predominance in the society over other problems can be felt by the
child work participation rates which are higher in Indian than in any other developing country. A study conducted by the ILO Bureau of Statistics found that "Children's work was considered essential to maintaining the economic level of households, either in the form of work for wages, of help in household enterprises or of household chores in order to free adult household members for economic activity elsewhere". Child labour is the primary source of income for poor families. In some cases, the study found that a child's income accounted for between 34 and 37 percent of the total household income. This study concludes that the child's income is important to the livelihood of a poor family. There is a questionable aspect of this study. A survey was conducted, and the responses given by the parents of child labourers were startling. Parents would be biased into being compelled to support their decision to send their children to work, and said that it was essential for the toddlers to work. They may be probably right: for most poor families in India, alternative sources of income are almost non-existent. There are no social welfare systems such as those in the European countries, nor is there any easy access to loans or grants.

5.2.2 Illiteracy

Illiteracy is directly related to poverty and underdevelopment, circumstances that force millions of children to leave school before they become fully literate and work in conditions where they are easily exploited. The International Labour Organization has estimated that throughout the world, 250 million children, aged between five and 17, were engaged in child labour, 155 million in Asia alone.

Education is crucial for the development of the human personality. It provides knowledge, skills and shores up the individual's self-
confidence. Indeed, the lowest paid job in any sector is no longer available to the uneducated. Education is the sine qua non for development - material, intellectual and spiritual. Unfortunately, 60 years after India’s independence, 56 per cent of the population remains illiterate.

Female education influences demographic factors and improves the educational status of children. A proverb rightly observes “If you educate a man, you educate a person, but if you educate a woman you educate a family.” Educating a mother directly influences the levels of motivation, achievements and study habits of their children. The gender disparity and poverty in India is obvious.

It is evident that very few children from disadvantaged households are able to complete the VIII grade education. Kerala, with a per capita income of Rs. 11,936, has succeeded in bringing a significant share of the poor into the education system, with a higher percentage of female. So, supply side factors play a vital role.

Political commitment and government policies are the factors that play a decisive role. The lack of commitment to education is reflected in the low public spending on education when viewed in the context of overall budget on education. Though the total amount spent on education rose but still quality education is away from the poor.

Illiteracy has been blamed for various social evils among the youth. Low literacy levels are responsible for low employment, or employment in lowly-paid and unskilled jobs, which often generates frustration and lawlessness among youths. However, it is hoped that the implementation of action-oriented programmes, such as Total Literacy Mission and Adult
Literacy Programmes, will improve the situation and actually turn the country.

As per the Supreme Court judgment on the elimination of child labour, delivered on December 10, 1996, a child labour rehabilitation-cum-welfare fund was to be created at the district level for depositing compensation money collected from those employing children in contravention of the present Act. However, hardly any State government has resorted to this. The apex court also asked the Centre and the States to provide compulsory education, vocational training and health facilities to working children, either by directing the industries to do so themselves, or in coordination with the State Governments. Since it is a nation-wide phenomenon, the Union Government must be approached to set up a National Commission for Children to eliminate child labour. In the 11th round of the Janmabhoomi programme, the Government gave nodal officers and personnel a direction to identify the State's child labour and illiterates, so that it could initiate measures to achieve cent per cent literacy and eradicate child labour.

The major factor responsible for child labour is poverty. Even though children are paid less than adults, whatever incomes they earn benefit the poor families and sometimes to an extent that the family will perish without them. In addition to poverty, the lack of adequate and accessible sources of credit, forces these poor parents to engage their children in harsher forms of child labour bonded child labour.

Some parents also feel that a formal education is not of any help, and that children gain skills through labour at a young age. Such narrow views do not take the long term developmental benefits of education into account. Another determining factor is the access to education. In some
areas, education is not affordable, or is inadequate. Without any alternatives, the children are pushed to spend their time working.

A prominent indicator of child labour is low literacy level and high dropout rates in the most vulnerable parts of India. The educational system is required to be made more accessible for those vulnerable sections of the society. However poverty also plays a role in the ineffectiveness of the educational system. Dropout rates are high because children are forced to work in order to support their families. The attitudes of the people also contribute to the lack of enrollment – parents, in such cases parents hardly understand or wait for the greater good, but instead feel that work develops skills that can be used to earn an income, while education does not help in this matter. Compulsory education may to deal with this attitude. Sri Lanka and Kerala are good examples which show that compulsory education has worked in those areas. Child labour cannot be eliminated by focusing on one determinant, for example education, or by mere enforcement of child labour laws. The government of India must ensure that the needs of the poor are filled before waging a war against child labour. If poverty is addressed, the need for child labour will automatically diminish. No matter how hard the government tries, child labour will continue to persist until the need for it is removed.

The development of India as a nation is being hampered by child labour. Children are growing up illiterate because they have been working and not just attending the school. A cycle of poverty is formed and the need for child labour is reborn after every generation. If child labour is to be eradicated in India, the government and those responsible for enforcement need to start doing their jobs with a bit commitment. Policies can and will be developed concerning child labour, but without enforcement they are all useless.
It argues that child labour cannot be totally eradicated till poverty remains. It added that illiterate parents are not able to appreciate the value of education in poverty eradication and that could be another cause for continuation of child labour.

In his essay on Social Infrastructure As Important As Physical Infrastructure published in India Development Report 2002, Kirit S. Parikh had pointed out, “With a literacy rate of 65, we have 296 million illiterates, age seven years and above, as per the 2001 census. The number of illiterates today exceeds the population of the country of around 270 million at Independence, age seven and above.” The largest segment of the world’s illiterates is in India.

In his book The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture and Identity, Amartya Sen notes, on the basis of investigations by Pratichi Trust, set up with the proceeds of his Nobel award, carried out in West Bengal and Jharkhand, that absenteeism of comparatively well-paid teachers, particularly where bulk of the students come from scheduled castes and tribes, poses a major problem. Students are circumstantially forced to go in for private tuitions. He concludes, “Sometimes the very institutions that were created to overcome disparities and barriers have tended to act as reactionary influences in reinforcing inequality… The teachers’ unions, which have a very positive role to play in protecting the interests of teachers and have played that part well in the past, are often turn into an influence that reinforces the neglect of the interests of children from desperately underprivileged families. There is evidence of hardening of class barriers that separate the newly affluent teachers from the impoverished rural poor.”

Child labour, as seen against the perspective of this study, is
different from the work in which children are engaged in households. "It is not always true that they have left school for work, if not they would have continued their studies. It was observed that there are other reasons for dropping out. Irrespective of caste and class differences, children are engaged in household activities. But it is more among households from lower classes. However, even among the upper castes and classes, children are engaged in household activities. Working for wages is prevalent in the lower castes. Ignorance and illiteracy of parents are the supportive factors for child labour all over the world. They hold a pessimistic view of the benefits of education. This has led to increase in the drop-out rate, temporarily though, as children’s assistance is sought in a variety of household and farm-based activities.

There is absence of an environment to inculcate in the minds of parents, the value of education. Therefore, despite being at school, children lack discipline, study habits, etc and can be easily distracted from studies by many forces working in the opposite direction. They include other children who are drop-outs. Parental attention is lacking in many cases where poverty and landlessness have driven the parents to work outside the village and for long hours. Girl children are obliged to assume adult roles like house-keeping when the mother is away at work. Restriction on girls’ education is strong as the village lacks its own school facility. Early marriage of girls is another reason behind drop-out. Girls are expected to learn household duties at a young age.

Single parent households perceive children’s earnings as quite essential since they depend on them for survival. Such households are common because of the other parent having migrated owing to persisting drought in the district. In broken families, in the absence of an adult to take care of children’s needs and wellbeing, older children tend to the
younger ones. Thus, incidence of child labour is high in such cases. There is a sharp contrast in exploitation of educational opportunities between the rich and the poor from the same village. Convent education is sought after by the rich, while the poor find infrastructure at the local school bad and poor.

5.2.3 Family Background

Family is the main institution in shaping the child’s personality. Therefore the form and character of the family is of utmost importance for developing the child’s personality.

In most societies, the family is both the child’s immediate emotional influence and its introduction to living in society, and then its first avenue of contact with the outside world. Most children start work by helping their families, before they go out to work for others. They do so partly because of poverty but also, in many societies, because cultural values and expectations view this as a natural and “right” way to introduce a child to the roles and responsibilities linked to being a member of a family and to growing up. This occurs throughout the world in millions of agricultural families. If the family owns land or works on the land of others, the child will start by spending the day in the fields alongside its parent, doing very easy jobs at first and then progressively more demanding ones. Where exactly to draw the line between acceptable work for children and work that is child labour - work that is harmful and/or interferes with the ability to benefit from education - is not always easy. Often, it is necessary to know the specific circumstances of a case before one can do so. In some societies, as many as three quarters of all economically active children under the age of 18 are unpaid family workers, assisting in both agricultural and non-agricultural enterprises.
These are not always children from the very poorest strata of their societies. In fact, there is some evidence that points to an even greater need for the children’s help if the farm family is more well-to-do - there is more land and there are more farm animals to take care of. Agriculture initiates children into work earlier than other kinds of economic activities, and it often does so within the protective environment of their family. It would be wrong to exaggerate the protective and “nurturing” aspect of this picture, however, and to forget that farm children are subject to myriad hazards – the dangers of using agrochemicals and farm machinery, among others and that working on a farm, even a family farm, is not as harmless an activity as it might at first appear. The pattern of children helping parents is common in many societies.

Children assist their parents in small shops and commercial activities, or in small home-based businesses. In societies in which rural home work predominates (families making things in their homes for others, usually piecework), children participate as part of the household during the hours they are not at school, or else they stay at home to work rather than go to school at all.

There is much less of a tendency for children to help their parents or share their parents’ workload and workday when the parents work in urban or institutional settings such as factories or offices. In this case, if a child goes to work, it will probably be in some setting where the family is not present. Working children’s families tend to be larger families – larger than the average for the area where they live -, and the child who most often goes out to work is the eldest, or the second oldest. It is quite common for the economic burdens of the family to fall on the oldest children first. Apparently, this is not only due to traditional values but also to the fact that as younger children grow up and start doing some of
the household work, the older children can be sent out to earn wages. Sometimes, this means migrating to urban centres to work, even at a young age, and sending remittances (earned money) back to the family. Sometimes the family is in debt. Indeed, indebtedness seems to be a significant factor in contributing to family vulnerability, and the child may be sent out to work in order to pay the debt off this is one cause of debt bondage, a form of forced labour.

Child workers are present among all castes and communities. However, their incidence was high among the SC and ST communities. Engaging the children in household and farm-related activities was on the low side amongst the upper castes. The most important reason for the prevalence of child labour is poverty. This is reflected in children accompanying the adults to the farm, for cattle rearing and for certain non-economic activities. Among the upper classes, children were used only for household work if they were girls and for agriculture and related activities if they were boys. However, parents in such cases ensured that the children did not miss their school. Thus they worked only before and after school hours and not for money. Among the lower classes and castes, children undertook employment to contribute to household income. However, some households from the lower class have preferred to send their children to school, instead of jobs. This speaks of the rising mobility aspiration among such households.

5.2.4 Family Indebtedness

One of the main causes of child labour is indebtedness in marginalised communities. There are so many poor families under the debt in India. The interest rates are quite high on the debts. The indebtedness leads to families to send their children to work.
Millions of children are forced to work away their childhood in horrific conditions to pay off debt, or simply the interest on it. In India alone, estimates suggest up to 15 million children could be enslaved by somebody else's debt, many involved in illegal, hazardous and dangerous work.

5.2.5 Unemployment

Unemployment in India is rising to levels that exceed those of the so-called "lost decade" created by the debt crisis of the 1980. At the same time that the jobless rate for adult workers is setting records in many parts of the region, child labour is growing even more rapidly. With millions of Indian workers left without jobs and masses confronting grinding poverty, the social scourge of child labour has become prevalent throughout the region.

The unemployment numbers are very high in India, and especially disturbing is the problem of underemployment (a person not earning enough to be above the poverty level). To make the ends meet, more members of the family have had to work, including the children.

As you can see, the problems of unemployment and child-labour in India have entangled relationships. If the parents had adequate employment, perhaps they wouldn't send their children to work. If so many children didn't work, perhaps there would be more employment opportunities for adults. If the children didn't enter the workforce at a tender age, they can command better wages. Even the two scenarios of child labour one meant for child's development, and another forced by the circumstances of economics are interrelated.

Despite encouraging progress in cutting poverty and improving the
working lives of people in Asia under the Millennium Development Goals, unemployment reached a new record high in the region while jobs growth remained disappointing. New data show that some three quarters of the world’s poor— or close to 2 billion people subsisting on less than the equivalent of US$ 2 a day—live in Asia7. The new ILO study provides a stark analysis of a growing “employment gap” in the Asia region, says the creation of new jobs has failed to keep pace with the region’s impressive economic growth. Report says that between 2003 and 2004 employment in Asia and the Pacific increased by a disappointing 1.6 per cent, or by 25 million jobs, to a total of 1.588 billion jobs, compared to the strong economic growth rate of over 7 per cent. During the same period, the total unemployed edged up by half a million reaching 78 million, the fifth consecutive year-on-year increase since 1999. In addition, underemployment remains widespread. It manifests itself in many forms: millions are working involuntary less than full time or are taking jobs below their qualifications or skills. And many public enterprises are overstaffed.

Young people aged 15 to 24 are bearing the brunt of this employment deficit, the report says, accounting for a disproportionate 49.1 per cent of the region’s jobless although they make up only 20.8 per cent of the labour force. Generally, the ILO said youth unemployment is two to three times that of adults. Moreover, there is a cruel irony in the co-existence of youth unemployment with child labour: millions young people are jobless or underutilized while many jobs are filled by children who should be attending schools.

“It isn’t just the lack of jobs available that should concern us, the quality of jobs and of opportunities is just as important,” said Mr. Shinichi Hasegawa, Regional Director, ILO Regional Office for Asia and
the Pacific. "Jobs which do not allow people to earn enough to keep themselves and their families, or work that is unsafe or unhealthy, is no solution to poverty. This report shows that the problems spotlighted by the Millennium Development Goal's are all interlinked – poverty can't be tackled unless issues as diverse as child labour, gender equality, youth employability are addressed".

The report said that young women suffer more unemployment than young men - a particularly worrying trend in some countries where female labour force participation is still low. Women in these countries have limited employment opportunities and, if employed, generally earn less than their male counterparts.

5.2.6 Legal Framework

Through different laws and notifications government is prohibiting child labour and working conditions of children have been regulated in all employments which are not prohibited under the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act. The government has also prohibited employment of children in occupation processes like hotels and dhabas, domestic works, abattoirs and slaughter houses, printing, cashew nut descaling and processing, and soldering.

Children perform a variety of jobs - some work in factories, making products such as carpets and matches; others work on plantations, or in the home. For boys the type of work is very different because they often work long hours doing hard physical labour outside of the home for very small wages.

The government has made efforts to prohibit child labour by enacting Child labour laws in India including the 1986 Child Labour
(Prohibition and Regulation) Act that stated that children under fourteen years of age could not be employed in hazardous occupations. This act also attempted to regulate working conditions in the jobs that it permitted, and put greater emphasis on health and safety standards.

However, due to cultural and economic factors, these goals remain difficult to meet. For instance, the act does nothing to protect children who perform domestic or unreported labour, which is very common in India. In almost all Indian industries girls are unrecognized labourers because they are seen as helpers and not workers. Therefore, girls are therefore not protected by the law. Children are often exploited and deprived of their rights in India, and until further measures are taken, many Indian children will continue to live in poverty.

The absence of a coherent government policy and non-implementation of existing laws complemented with poor surveillance, enforcement and intervention mechanisms due to lack of resources and corrupt practices sustains the phenomenon of child labour in all countries of South Asia.

5.2.7 Substandard Education

As interest in child labour has increased in intensity during this decade so has the understanding of the relationships between education and child labour. In education, research and field experience addressing both access and quality have pointed to the need for a much improved comprehension of child labour. Those concerned with access to education have noted that work commitments are a major reason for children's non-participation in education. Conversely, the lack of education opportunities is a key reason for children being available for
Professionals addressing the quality of education find that, while education often remains highly valued, a number of educational and cost factors contribute to making children's participation difficult. Schedule conflicts, long work hours, and extraordinarily difficult working conditions make it virtually impossible for children to exercise their right to education where it is available, or fully benefit from it when they gain access. Increasingly, there is wide acknowledgment that no solution to child labour will be possible without simultaneously addressing education for all - that these are inter-related challenges.

Educators from a wide range of organizations and institutions have been trying to address child labour for a number of years through innovative projects. The increased attention to the topic provides an excellent opportunity to give these smaller efforts more visibility and to identify ways in which action might be replicated on a larger scale resulting in greater impact on the improvement of children's lives. While much remains to be known, there is a sufficiently sound knowledge base on which to advocate, inform policy development, and improve and expand programmatic interventions.

Education is an essential and cost effective component of any comprehensive strategy to eliminate child labour. Education is a right. Education is also an enabling right that enables children and adults to exercise many of their other rights throughout their lifetimes. When it is readily available in terms of access, affordability, quality, and relevance it is a critical factor, both in preventing child labour and in providing children who have been removed from child labour, with a more appropriate environment in which to grow and develop. Children tend to
be available for and more ready to participate in child labour when education is not available or when the available form of education does not meet the criteria of affordability, quality, and relevance. To reach a comprehensive strategy requires close integration of economic and fiscal policies with labour policies and policies in education and training.

Fundamental changes need to occur in education systems if they are to contribute to the elimination of child labour. To respond to the need for more places and to accommodate the educational rights and needs of children who are excluded and are working or recently removed from intolerable forms of child labour, education systems must be more flexible, more inclusive, and of higher quality. There is also a need for more diversity in education systems to meet the differing learning needs of children, such as working children. Examples of this diversification include "second chance" opportunities, accelerated learning, and flexible scheduling. This calls for attention to reform or, indeed, transformation of a variety of components of an education system. One of these components is resource allocation, which has been shown to be a major, but not the sole, reason for low educational quality. Public spending on education is often inefficient, or there may be misallocations among sub-sectors. Yet another component is determining how children might participate more actively in the learning process. In calling for systemic changes there is explicit recognition of the necessity for seeking sustainable responses by strengthening existing education systems. This may require identifying ways to link the many different and often disparate providers of education into a more coherent, unified system even if they keep their individual identities. Separate "innovative" non-formal education projects for working children may be important for piloting approaches, but they will not be sufficient for education to
contribute to ending child labour. Furthermore, there is the attendant danger to be avoided of fostering a parallel system.

5.2.8 Mode of Production and Patterns of Landholdings

The predominantly agricultural economies, along with the feudal landholding pattern, also perpetuate the phenomenon of child labour in the region. For instance, the pattern of landholdings in India, due to a limited land reform programme, has increased the debt burden of rural labourers and marginal farmers, forcing their children to work. The migration from rural to urban areas to escape rural poverty and search for jobs is fairly widespread in India, which also contributes to child labour. In Nepal, only 30 percent of the land is arable, resulting in slow agricultural growth and sluggish economy, thus perpetuating poverty levels. In order to avoid poverty, children often migrate to cities, thus providing a permanent pool of labour. The feudal system in Pakistan also sustains child labour, bonded child labour in particular.

5.2.9 Cheapest Labour

Since 1788 when industrial revolution started, the burden to make profits was on children. To get more and more profit, children were used as cheap labour not only in factories but also in the production of the raw material, in agriculture. Major industries are dependent on agriculture for raw materials. Further, the industry-led initiative fails to call for concrete steps to ensure that farmers are getting a fair price for their product, which significantly impacts the use of child labour, as farmers are forced to reduce production costs and rely on the cheap labour of children. The major reason for hiring children has nothing to do with economic efficiency. Children are easier to manage than adults - although less
skilled, they are less aware of their rights, less troublesome, less complaining and more flexible - and ultimately expendable. For some employers they constitute a reserve of casual labour to be hired and fired at will. When their labour is illegal, they and their parents are less likely to complain to the authorities for fear of losing whatever meager income they bring to their families. Moreover, some employers genuinely consider that they are doing a favour to the children whom they employ by offering them work and income. Thus, declaring child labour to be illegal may in some cases have the perverse effect of depriving child workers of much of the protection provided by labour legislation to adults. This only serves to highlight the point that prohibition alone will not suffice. Simple bans on child labour are not successful if they are not supplemented by a range of other measures. It has to be understood that it is not the responsibility of children to develop a country but it's the responsibility of the country to develop a child. We need to put all the national and international legislation effectively.

The countries and cooperates should think of this issue seriously and abide by the agreements that they have made nationally and internationally. There should be proper monitoring system to check that there is no child labour used in the production of raw material as well as in any segment of supply chain.

Children being the cheapest or free labour which result in adult unemployment and low wages, which further fuels poverty. This situation is worsened by absence of legal enforcement or inadequate laws, inefficient schooling and health facilities.

Children are a country's natural resource, not for cheap labour but for a rich future. Only by investing in them through education will any
country grow and realise its potential.

5.2.10 Traditional Expectations

There is a dark side to the expectations about children’s work. The harder and more hazardous the jobs become, the more they are likely to be considered traditionally the province of the poor and disadvantaged, the lower class and the ethnic minorities. In India, many remain unperturbed about lower caste children failing to enroll in or dropping out of school and if they end of doing hazardous labour, it is likely to be seen as their lot in life.

The rigidity of the caste system in Indian only dramatizes what is time in most of the world. The northern Europe, child labourers are likely to be African or Turkish. In the US, they are Asian on Latin American. In Canada they are Asian. In Brazil, they tend to be the descendents of slaves or the children of indigenous people with no political clout. In Argentina many are Bolivian and Paraguayan. In Thailand fishing industry, many are from Myanmar

5.3 Impact of Child Labour

Child labour is an insidious evil. Leaving aside pathological cases of child abuse and abandonment, it exists because it is the best response people can come up with to intolerable circumstances. It is particularly dangerous because it involves the sacrifice of a child’s future welfare in exchange for immediate benefit, and difficult to combat because it involves questions of agency and power within households.

The primary cost of child labour is the associated reduction in investment in the child’s human capital, which occurs chiefly because.
5.3.1 Hazards of Child Labour

The hazards of child labour can be classified into three categories, namely (i) physical; (ii) cognitive; and, (iii) emotional, social and moral:

I. Physical hazards

There are jobs that are hazardous and affect child labourers immediately. They affect the overall health, coordination, strength, vision and hearing of children. One study indicates that hard physical labour over a period of years stunts a child's physical stature up to 30 percent of their biological potential. Working in mines, quarries, construction sites, and carrying heavy loads are some of the activities that put children directly at risk physically. Jobs in the glass and brassware industry in India, where children are exposed to high temperatures while rotating the wheel in the furnace and use of heavy and sharp tools, are clearly physically hazardous to them.

II. Cognitive hazards

Education helps a child to develop cognitively, emotionally and socially, and needless to say, education is often gravely reduced by child labour. Cognitive development includes literacy, numeracy and the acquisition of knowledge necessary to normal life. Work may take so much of the children’s time that it becomes impossible for them to attend school; and, even if they do attend, they may be too tired to be attentive and follow the lessons.

III. Emotional, social and moral hazards
There are jobs that may jeopardize a child’s psychological and social growth more than physical growth. For example, domestic job can involve relatively ‘light’ work. However, long hours of work, and the physical, psychological and sexual abuse to which the child domestic labourers are exposed, make the work hazardous. Studies show that several domestic servants in India on an average work for twenty hours a day with small intervals. Moral hazards generally refer to dangers arising from illegal activities in which they are many times forced to be engaged, such as trafficking of drugs, the sex trade, and for the production of pornographic materials.”

5.3.2 Health Implications due to Child Labour:

1. One of the major types of disease that labourers contract is occupational disease and these diseases have greater impact on children because of their tender age. Occupational diseases are rampant among child labourers. Reasons for occupational diseases in children:
   a. Age, mental tension, work environment, work timing etc.,
   b. Work pressure, type of work, food habits etc.
2. Respiratory diseases like cough, asthma, breathing problems etc. which are prominent among children who are working in hazardous industries like cracker industries.
3. Usually children working in garages are vulnerable to heart diseases because of the excessive consumption of carbon-monoxide and lack of oxygen.

5.3.3 Illiteracy

The Industrial Revolution changed the way to do business. The
explosion of this new era brought in profits for textile mill owners, factory owners, and other manufacturers. As industries grew, products became cheaper and the need for cheap labour increased. Children began putting in longer hours for cheaper wages; they were caught in the industrial bandwagon. Due to the long hours of hard work, children lacked the time and energy for school. Illiteracy among children grew and education was not considered a priority as much as financial survival.

As of the year 2000, about 250 million children between the ages of 5-14 perform some sort of labour or service. In many developing countries, child labour is a serious problem. From the period of 1877 to 1910, the government of Mexico, although politically secure, did not set up a public education system. This meant that children who could have been in school doing productive work become a target of industrialist looking for cheap labour. Girls are more likely to be kept away from schools than boys because of their stereotypical domestic roles.

Education could mean freedom from oppression and poverty. However, these desperate parents do not encourage the children to attend school and they do not emphasize the importance of knowledge. There are many children who would like to attend school. There is no doubt about the positive effects it can have for children's future. However, for the other millions who do not attend school because of exploitation or poverty, their future becomes much more limited than it already is. Their hopes and dreams of a satisfactory life is left behind as they step into the role of hard working adult, ready to take on the toil and sweat of trying to survive.

The possible importance of reduced learning achievement is well recognized as one of the major harmful effects of child work, and this has
been reflected in a number of projects around the world that are designed to mitigate this effect. Although child work has a number of other possible harmful effects, including damage to health and psychological development, particular attention has been paid to its educational impact for two reasons. First, education is seen as fundamental to improving the quality of life in developing countries, by lifting the people who are educated out of poverty and by improving the quality of human resources that are available for national economic development. Second, the impact of child work on education is both easily believable (a child that is working cannot be at school or doing homework at the same time) and has been readily quantifiable from household survey data, at least as measured by school attendance.

It is important to note that the strong empirical evidence that child labour declines and school enrollment increases with household income does not imply that increases in wages necessarily reduce child labour. Wages of adults and children tend to move together, and an increase in child wages induces a substitution effect that tends to increase the incidence of child labour. This substitution effect, if sufficiently strong, could outweigh the effect of increasing real income.

It is also clear that child labour has important detrimental effects on schooling attainment and thus on the future income of children. As already noted, not all work by children has this effect. Ideally, such benign work by children (occasional light work on the family farm, or limited household work) is excluded from data collection on child labour. An important question to resolve is the extent of work by children that does have the consequence of interfering with schooling and thus future earnings.
Households that are very poor are much more likely to send their children to work, and child labour contributes to poverty in the next generation by reducing schooling attainment. This circular pattern of positive feedback between poverty and child labour may lead to a vicious cycle of poverty, in which the descendants of the poor remain poor because they were poorly educated. This cycle can be the foundation of a classical ‘poverty trap’. However, if the cycle can be broken the same positive circular causation can contribute to a take-off into sustained growth. If schooling attainments can be improved, then the next generation’s income is higher and their children can in turn become yet better educated. It is essential, therefore, to understand the specific mechanisms that can trap people in the awful equilibrium of persistent poverty, excessive child labour and low education over generations.

5.3.4 Poverty

There is work that profits children, and there is work that brings profits only to employers. The object of employing children is not to train them, but to get high profits from their work.

The Industrial Revolution exploded all over the world. The new technology in the industry became an important factor for entrepreneurs. The abundant natural resources, new inventions, and high consumer demands helped increase the influence of the new industrial ideologies.

In the 21st century, the practice of child labour was frowned upon and laws were put in place to keep the children safe. However, many developing countries still practice child labour and lack the power to eradicate it. Many children work in manufacturing factories, mines, farms, and some work as prostitutes, domestic workers, and even soldiers.
Poverty creates a need and the effect is that businesses can employ children because they are willing to work for lower wages than adults. They like to hire children because they are willing to work for lower wages than adults. This means more profit for the business. However, there are those who have no choice and are "enslaved" by others and forced to work.

Sex industries are exploiting thousands to millions of children every day; children, as young as seven years old, are forced to have sex. This industry draws in about a million children each year. This industry is a multi-billion dollar sex trade. Tourists from all over come to foreign countries, where prostitution is an every day trade. Unfortunately for the millions of children, they can only hope for their government and their economy to help them out of this inhumane form of service.

Employment of child labour leads to unemployment of adult workers as child labours are cheapest labour in the market. This will lead to unemployment of their parents which leads to poverty.

Many economists argue that child labour is a symptom of poverty and that its reduction can most effectively by accomplished through the alleviation of poverty. It is surely correct that child labour is a symptom of poverty: rarely do well-off parents sacrifice their children's education by sending them to work. However, child labour is also a cause of future poverty, so direct measures to move children from work into school can make an important contribution to poverty alleviation and to development in general.
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