



Graduate School of Development Studies

**Child Labour in Pakistan: Including the
Excluded**
**Subsidized Education and Subsidy: Tools to Combat the
Worst Forms of Child Labour**

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List of Acronyms

BLF	Bonded Labour Fund
BLS	Base Line Survey
CCI	Chambers of Commerce and Industry
CIWCE	Centre for Improvement of Working Conditions and Environment
CL	Child Labour
CLS	Child Labour Survey
CPWB	Child Protection and Welfare Bureau
CRC	Convention on Rights of Child
CSP	Child Support Programme
DWCP	Decent Work Country Programme
EFA	Education for All
EFP	Employers Federation of Pakistan
FBSP	Federal Bureau of Statistics Pakistan
FSP	Food Support Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HCT	Human Capital Theory
HDI	Human Development Index
HRCP	Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
ILC	International Labour Conference
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme for Elimination of Child Labour
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MLA	Minimum Learning Achievement
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NCsRCL	National Centre(s) for Rehabilitation of Child Labour
NFBE	Non-Formal Basic Education
NFE	Non Formal Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSCL	National Survey of Child Labour
PBM	Pakistan Bait-ul-Maal
PCMEA	Pakistan Carpet Manufacturer and Exporters Association
PEF	Punjab Education Foundation
PERSP	Punjab Education Sector Reform Programme
PES	Pakistan Economic Survey
PSLMS	Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey
PIHS	Pakistan Integrated Household Survey
PSTA	Pak Swedish Teachers Association

SCCI	Sialkot Chamber of Commerce and Industry
SIMAP	Surgical Instruments Manufacturers Association of Pakistan
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund
WFCL	Worst Form of Child Labour
WFsCL	Worst Forms of Child Labour

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background of the Research

‘Child labour has serious consequences that stay with the individual and with society for far longer than the years of childhood. Young workers not only face dangerous working conditions, they face long-term physical, intellectual and emotional stress. They face an adulthood of unemployment and illiteracy.’

United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan (1999).

Child labour is a serious and widespread problem in many parts of the developing world. As an issue child labour came to an age in 1990s and emerged due to two factors: the rising interest in human rights, specifically children rights and related to this, the movement for fair labour standards in the global economy (Fyfe, 2004:67). During the past two decades, this issue has received a dramatic attention by governments, civil society, media and international community.

At the beginning of the 21st century, 317 million young children in the world are working for the survival of themselves and their families (ILO: 2006). Every state and every region of the world has been affected by this issue. While the number of working children remains large but there is still ground for hope. The largest numbers of children in the world who are out of school, are concentrated in Indian subcontinent (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) and also accounts for almost half of all child labour world-wide (Fyfe, 2004:80).

Children from poor families in Pakistan, like in many of developing countries, tend to work at early age, and typically have lowest educational level and suffer other social disadvantages. According to the International Labour Organization (2008) estimates of Child Labour Survey of Pakistan 1996, 3.3 million (8.3 percent of the total children) out of 40 million children (in the 5-14 years of age group) are economically active on full time basis in various occupations of formal and informal sectors in Pakistan.

According to the sources of ILO, a considerable proportion of the working children in 5-14 years age group (46 per cent) are working more than the normal working hours, that is 35 hours per week, with 13 per cent working 56 hours or more per week (*ibid*). These children are working as low wage labourers and are over worked in bad working conditions, which illustrate the quantum of the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) in Pakistan.

It is also argued that all forms of child work may not be viewed harmful to children rather some may even be useful to them such as informal education and learning by doing trainings. The writers like Ray (2000) view that working of children along with their parents in household chores, in family enterprise or in agriculture may be helpful in creation of capabilities and learning potentialities in children, which usually are considered to be socially valuable

qualities. However, child labour is usually linked with low human capital investment, poor education and health, and future poverty incidence. Low rates of productivity growth further contribute to the intergenerational poverty trap and hamper economic growth. Therefore, in the present policy discussions of child labour, the emphasis has now shifted towards the WFCL, where children are exposed to physical, psychological and moral stress. These facts have led to the admission that child labour may be tolerated in poor countries in peculiar circumstances, at least in its non-hazardous forms and should be banned in its worst forms (ILO Convention 182: 1999).

Keeping in view these theoretical assumptions and approaches to the phenomenon of child labour, this persistent problem means a loss of future human resource development of country and the denial of children's birth right to education and recreation. There is a desperate need to find out effective tools for re-integration of children especially who are trapped in WFCL which may be helpful for reduction of child labour and eventually may eliminate this problem under the prevailing socio-economic conditions of the country. This research will be helpful as a useful reference in efforts to find out effective counterfactuals for eradication of WFCL in Pakistan.

1.2 Statement of the Problem and Justification

Child labour is a multidimensional and integrated phenomenon. The communities that live below the poverty line and at the margins of the society are more vulnerable to the WFCL. Children of households living in extreme poverty are vulnerable to higher risk of getting engaged in a process or occupation that is hazardous. Mainly child labour is concentrated in the informal sector of the economy and thus remains veiled from the statistical and planning procedures. These children do not enjoy basic amenities of life and are exposed to lasting physical and psychological impairment. This is a direct threat to the quality and length of their life and also damages the capability of their imagination and creativity.

The children who start working in early ages may destroy their learning abilities and ultimately their earning capacities. As Psacharopoulos (1996) suggests, the working children lose their educational attainment abilities as compared to the non working children of similar age groups. This issue was also analyzed on the basis of the household surveys in Bolivia and Venezuela and it was found out that child labour reduces educational attainment by about 2 years of schooling relative to the control group of non-working children. Grade repetition, a common phenomenon in Latin America is closely associated with CL. So it is a clear loss to the future human capital in person and at nation level.

Bhargava says (2002:22) that the child labourers are driven to work at a crucial formative age and burdened with hard labour, these children are deprived of nutritious food, playtime and education. Psacharopoulos (1996) has pointed out towards its detrimental effect on the accumulation of human capital and of course on the subsequent private and social returns. Thus losses to human capital aggravate the prevailing situation of poverty as competitive labour market demands skilled labour, consequently it perpetuate poverty. Low

credentials can only predict low earnings in future, which simply strength the vicious circle of CL to the next generation.

Elimination of child labour and achievement of universal basic education are complementary challenges that one can not be achieved without other. It has been realized by the international community that as long as child labour continues there will be a huge obstacle in the way of achieving Millennium Development Goals (MDG). UNESCO (2008) emphasis the achievement of universal primary education goal is inextricably linked with the progressive elimination of child labour. This relation has also been complemented in human right perspective in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 (CRC); as such child labour effects are highly discriminatory to the already socially excluded marginalized individuals and groups.

The key international human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Articles 25 & 26), the UN (CRC) 1989, the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (C182:1999) and Decent Work Agenda of ILO. These all denounce child labour as inconsistent with the principles of democracy and social justice. ILO Convention 182 stipulates to remove all children from the WFCL and provide access to free basic education and the Convention 138 regulates the minimum age at work with the completion of compulsory education.

Heady (2003:2) has observed education effects on child labour for two reasons. First, education is seen as fundamental to improving the quality of human life in developing countries, by lifting the educated people out of poverty and by improving the quality of human resources that are available for economic development. Secondly, the impact of child work on education is both easily believable (a child that is working cannot be at school or doing home work at the same time) and has been readily quantifiable from household survey data as measured by school attendance. The research investigates the effective deterrents against child labour in the presence of schooling cost and poverty.

Pakistan national laws declare that no child below 14 year of age should engage in any factory or mine or in other hazardous occupation or employment which prejudices his/her health or education or interferes with his/her physical, mental or moral development. The present child labour situation in Pakistan is also contradictory to the existing rules and laws of the country relating to the basic rights for children.

The Constitution of Pakistan, 1973 (Articles 11,17,18,25 and 37e) advocates the elimination of all kinds of exploitation and prohibits the employment of children below the age of 14 years in any factory or mine or in any other hazardous activity. All the specific enactments concerning elimination or regulation of employment of children including the Factories Act 1934, The Mines Act 1923, The Shops and Establishment Ordinance 1969, The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1992, and The Employment of Children Act 1991, are formulated within the framework of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973 and ratified International Conventions.

The study of the relation between poverty, child labour and schooling is significant from both theoretical and policy perspectives. It finds out this

relationship with reference to previous research, about the most poor and marginalized groups of the society. As Jafarey (2002:5) says that most of the theories of child labour, with little exception, are based on identical arguments and findings. Firstly, child labour is socially undesirable and its reduction is a worthy goal, secondly there are some more desirable activities like schooling and leisure for the children, and finally, child labour decision is prerogative of parents not of a child.

Recent inflationary trends and prices pressure have also badly struck the poor and underprivileged sections of the society across the world. Self-perpetuating cycle of child labour keeps the poor families entrapped. If it is unchecked, this trend will further impoverish the underdogs and enhance their vulnerability. This research explores policies/interventions for child labourers who are working in disadvantageous conditions of WFCL. Under the prevailing circumstances, it would be immensely helpful in achieving goals for elimination of child labour if the situation is properly analyzed. Though there is a lot of research in this field but my present endeavour is significant contribution in understanding this issue in a different perspective. However, my focus is to find out effective tools for sustainable dislocation of child labour and reintegration into mainstream education and ultimately reduction in child labour.

1.3 Specific Research Questions/Sub-questions

Following questions are addressed in the present study:

1. How can child labour be effectively channelled into formal education system?

Sub-questions.

1. What are the prevailing determinants of child labour in Pakistan?
2. What are the effective tools and interventions can potentially reduce CL/ WFCL?

1.4 Hypothesis of the Research

This research seeks to analyse potential for transition of child labour to the formal education system. Education is believed to be an effective antidote to the problem of child labour. Its hypothesis is that children drop out of schools because their parents may be too poor to afford schooling and require the additional earnings of their children for economic sustainability of the household. This decision of parents can be reversed if there are incentives circumventing income considerations behind child labour and replacing them with subsidized education and monetary support to the household.

1.5 Structure of the Paper

The paper is divided into six chapters. The next chapter discusses the key concepts and the theories that are used in the paper in order to place the problem in a broader perspective of literature. Chapter three is on Child Labour in socio-economic setting of Pakistan and its magnitude and situational

analysis. While chapter four deals with different approaches and perceptions, their linkages with internationally adopted goals. Chapter five summarises the main findings of a case study and gives conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2

Concepts/Theories/Framework

This chapter provides a conceptual framework, which is a theoretical foundation of present research. It begins with defining the concepts of 'child labour' and 'child work'. Then after explaining the dynamics and of child labour this chapter will elaborate various approaches and perspectives for analyzing the subject of research. It explains the research methodology for the case study for verification of the research hypothesis. This study also assesses as to what extent the idea of increasing human capital through education can play a role in reducing child labour.

2.1 Definitions

Child is an individual who is under the age of 18 years; it is based on the CRC 1989 and the ILO Convention 182 on the WFCL. Since it is accepted in International Standard Classification of Education (UNISCO:2006) that a child under five years of age is too young to be engaged in work or to start schooling. In the perspective of child labour, the concept of child is based on the ILO Minimum Age Convention 138, which is considered as a guiding instrument and places the general limit for employment at 15 years or under special national circumstances it is 14 years. The age notion sometimes leads to so many complications, for example in English these include the terms; infant, baby, minor, juvenile, adolescent, youth, young person (Bueren, 1995:32). Alternatively sometimes age may not be a sufficient basis for defining childhood, some social rites and traditional obligations may be required to be fulfilled to define adult and child status (Bequelle, 1986:11). The limit dividing childhood and adulthood is not well-established and rather varies across societies and cultural approaches.

According to ILO (2006) analysis economic activity, as a broad concept, encompasses children who are 'working' or 'at work' whether paid or unpaid, for a few hours or full time, on a casual or regular basis and legal or illegal, are economically active. It further counts that the children who work one or more hours for pay or profit or working without pay in a family farm or enterprise. Children engaged in unpaid activities in a market-oriented establishment and children working as domestic workers in someone else's household are considered as economically active as well. However, children engaged in domestic chores within their own households like water carrying, firewood collection and animal grazing, and schooling are not considered as economically active.

Concepts of 'child labour' and 'child work' are difficult to apply as different people hold diverse perceptions and define these two differently in terms of the age and activities. Child labour is the work done by children that harms them or abuses them physically, emotionally, morally or by hampering access to education. Child work is mainly described as that work which is not particularly harmful for the child and does not damage educational

opportunities (Arnal: 2003). There is no universally acknowledged definition of 'child labour' and a variety of definitions of this term are being used by international organizations, non-governmental organizations, trade unions and other interest groups. The concept of child labour is narrower than 'economically active children', it excludes all those children aged 12 years and older who are working a few hours a week in permitted light work and those aged 15 years and above but their work is not classified as 'hazardous'.

Generally it is difficult to differentiate work and labour, these activities of children are performed in various kinds and widely divergent conditions. At the one end child work is considered as beneficial for the learning process of children to achieve adulthood, while at the other end this is manipulative and detrimental to their physical and mental growth in certain conditions. As White, B (1996: 10) observes, it is impossible to draw a clear and unambiguous line between child work and child labour. However, in this regard Fyfe (1993: 9) has a convincing view that if work is done without any economic compulsion and it does not effect child growth, it is a work; while if it is done under economic compulsion or by force and it is exploitative and threatens the health, welfare, and development of children it is labour.

The WFCL is an agonizing impediment in the way of development of children. The fundamental international documents, that enshrine the principles and parameters to check and eliminate WFCL, are ILO Convention 182 titled 'Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention-1999 and Recommendation 190'. This convention has been ratified at the fastest ever pace in the history of the nations and is now almost a universally adopted convention. It aims at prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the WFCL. Article 3 of the Convention outlines the types of WFCL (Annexure III) and provides parameters of the types of economic activities which may be considered as hazardous. This article reads:

'work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children'

Hazardous work means where children are prone to physical, psychological or emotional abuse; work in unhealthy environments that may expose them to hazardous substances, temperatures, noise or vibration and work under particularly difficult conditions such as long hours, under bondage and forced labour that has severely dangerous implication to the physical/mental growth and health of children. The most of the occupational diseases are irreversible so it is required to be carefully handled. The vulnerable working children needed to be rescued first from the WFCL immediately at first priority. Nonetheless all forms of child labour are fatal for the child, community and country as well but it is difficult to prioritize as analyzed by Lienten and White (2001:9).

ILO Convention 182 in particular embodies the principle that it is both necessary and possible, even in the face of deep-rooted disagreements on many aspects of the child labour problem, to acknowledge a differentiation between more and less harmful forms of child work and to agree on priorities in a 'first things first' approach focusing energies and sources on the most serious forms of abuse and harm. On the priority basis strategy may be devised and

implemented for the exclusion of children from the hazardous occupations, bonded labour and other dangerous jobs. This detachment from the worst conditions must be supported by the sustainable reintegration of these children to the mainstream children of peer groups.

2.2 Global Scenario of WFCL

According to ILO (2006) estimation there were about 218 million economically active children (aged 5 to 17) in the world in 2004; could be regarded as child labourers. The corresponding figures for the narrower age group of 5 to 14 years olds are 191 million economically active children, 166 million child labourers and 126 million are to be considered in the WFCL. Boys continued to be more involved in dangerous jobs than girls. However, the decline is marginal in the Asia and Pacific region as it still has about 122 million of child workers aged 5-14 years, which is still the highest number worldwide (ibid).

The reduction in child labour is accredited to increased political will, responsiveness and concrete action, particularly in the field of poverty reduction and mass education. In spite of the ILO led movement against child labour, still several WFsCL are prevalent including bonded child labour, child domestic work, hazardous child labour, child trafficking, commercial sexual exploitation, recruitment and use of children in armed conflict or drug trafficking. Although there is situation of a high tolerance for child labour in many countries and political instability and conflict in certain others, for example in Afghanistan, Nepal, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Pakistan escalating the problem and can impede the implementation of action against it.

2.3 Dynamics of Child Labour

Child labour is not an isolated phenomenon rather it is an outcome of cause and consequences of multidimensional socio-economic factors. It has roots in poverty, lack of education, unawareness and lack of opportunities, higher population growth rate, obsolete social norms and traditions and a plethora of supply and demand dynamics.

2.3.1 Poverty and Child Labour Factor

The founder of modern day economics Adam Smith saw the ‘acquired and useful abilities’ (education and skills) of the people as part of capital or wealth of nations (Goode 1959:147; Kiker 1966:485). Human capital consists of knowledge, skills and attitudes and other acquired capabilities that can contribute to production. Thus gain in human capital incorporates knowledge gained through formal or informal education, skills and work, experience that leads to higher earning capacity of workers. It is an important tool for breaking poverty trap in future. As the former professor and first president of Tanzania Julius Nyerere once said, ‘Education is not a manner in which to escape poverty, it is a way to fight it’. So an increase in human capital through education might also mean an increase in the earnings of individual workers in the future.

Child Labour is considered to be the consequence of persistent poverty. The poor households use child labour to transfer income from the future to the present. Baland and Robinson (2000) describe that children, who work, do not invest in human capital that would make them more productive in the future. The household will choose to make this inter-temporal shift in household resources when current income is low relative to expected future income. Similarly, Canagarajah and Nielsen (2001: 75) say, child labour is used to reduce the risks of falling below the subsistence level of consumption of poor household, such as for subsistence farmer. Child labour is a way of reducing the potential impact of a bad harvest, whereas for urban households this might reduce the potential impact of job loss or rising food prices. The poor households use child labour as a way of augmenting income for survival rather than spending their earning on the education of children.

Amin, et al, (2004: 879) examine that in financial crunch these households are unable to bear the expenses of schooling and leisure for their children, rather child's leisure or non-work becomes a luxury, these families cannot afford. In such state of affairs, Grimsrud (2003:15) observes that the poor households consider the potential earnings of child labour greater than practical schooling benefits (including clothes, transportation and long hours out of home) by taking into account the payback in forms of increasing future income opportunities of children, even if the education offered to child is free of cost. Jafarey, (2002:5) analyse that they consider the present day welfare of the household by bearing undesirable consequences and cost of child labour due to the lack of awareness to future larger needs.

2.3.2 Socio-cultural Factor

In the traditional societies children are being considered as social assets and expected to assist and work with their parents in their household chores. Children have been put in apprenticeships to learn the trade of their ancestors and to keep family tradition alive. Some communities belonging to a certain caste, trade or occupation, have a culture of inheriting and keeping particular professions inter-generation as matter of routine or fate. Sometimes children are overburdened and these domestic errands affect their education and recreation. These traditional and cultural values occasionally form the conditions for child labour. Cultural factors may also contribute to the experiential child labour rates by influencing the costs and benefits as perceived by the household, in putting children to work but society's attitude toward child labour may nourish its prevalence if society is willing to tolerate it. Jonathan, S (1996) characterises the existence of bonded child labourers in Pakistan is a common practice among the lower castes and that most children regard bonding as a rite of passage into adulthood.

On the other hand higher population growth rate is a common feature in developing countries and is linked with asset markets, parents optimally investing in number of children to maximise the market value of the household. Baland and Robinson (2000) view this situation that as long as asset markets are functioning and there are transfers between parents and children, parents decide the quantity of child labour and that labour diminishes the future productivity of their children. They further explain that if the parents are generous toward their children and are determined to leave them a bequest, or

if children are altruistic toward their parents and intend to support and provide a transfer to them during old age.

2.3.3 Schooling Quality as Supply Factor

Education system in developing countries is featured with weak infrastructure and ineffective to attract and hold the children. The government spending in this sector is below the minimum 4 percent of GDP threshold as suggested by UNESCO. Poverty ridden parents can neither afford the so-called free education nor can afford leisure to their children at home. Conversely, various studies indicate the importance of school quality as an important determinant of schooling and work, but school quality is never calculated directly, like (Rosenzweig, M:1982) , (Lavy: 1996), (Nielsen:1998) and (Grootaert :1998).

The education attainment is low because of limited opportunities of schooling, such as inaccessibility of schools, inability of parents to afford schooling costs, irrelevance of school curriculum to real needs, and restrictions on girls' mobility in most parts of the developing countries. The role of schooling cost suggests that it may be acting as proxy for quality (Brown, D: 2002:20). Illiterate and unaware parents can not appreciate the worth of investment in education and consequences of child labour. Ultimately these children creep into the child labour pool.

A lot of studies about education and work trade off in developing countries highlight the problem of poor schooling or the irrelevance to future market requirements. Boyden and Levison (2000) analyse the impact of education on adult wages and conclude that an educated adult will earn on the order of 11 percent per year of education more than an uneducated adult in developing countries. However, education and health capabilities of the individuals are basic and important components of human capital for making them productive to raise their future earnings.

Developing countries tend to have adopted cheaper and labour-intensive technologies where children can be an alternative to adult labour. Similarly where sophisticated and advanced technologies are applied, the demands for child labour declines because, these require highly skilled and trained labour. On the other side, with low skills and capabilities the return to education would remain lower which discourage parents to invest in education. Poor parents, underestimate the value of education for potential future needs and overestimate the value of passing on their traditional skills in view of historical or present days usefulness (Grimsrud: 2003:8).

2.3.4 Globalisation and Flexibilisation of Labour

Globalisation has affected the world economy through free market competition, and because of this impact, there is a race to attract foreign investments among the developing economies that lead to the progressive dismantling of regulatory standards. The obvious disregard of workers rights has been tragic for workers, and children are made to suffer mentally and physically. According to Neil Kearney (2001), the General Secretary of the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers Federation (ITGLWF),

that 20 million children work, and that half of those in bonded labour in Pakistan. Globalisation has also contributed to rapid growth of informal sector marked with flexibilisation of labour. Resultantly implementation of law becomes either weak or totally disappears and has created enough room for child labour demand.

2.3.5 Usurper in Labour Markets

Child labour is a demand driven phenomenon with weak bargaining muscle, for this reason it is cheap and easily available in developing countries. Children are unaware about their rights, strengths and abilities in contrast to adult labourers. Because of their infancy, they are easily exploited to usurpers in the market. Characterized by non-organizational nature of children and family ties make them more exposed. Moreover their docile nature makes them more vulnerable. They are employed without any terms and conditions and have always been exploited. Most of the parents are conscious about the significance of education and harms of child labour but some of them are not altruist towards their children. In such cases, society may have broad interest in preventing parents from engaging them into child labour. Dessy and Pallage (2001) state that child- labour laws have a role to play even if parents are altruistic toward their children. They argue that inefficient child labour emerges as a consequence of coordination problems between households and firms as altruistic parents make decision and choices on their behalf.

2.4 Approaches for Combating Child Labour/WFCL.

There are different interventions and approaches for combating child labour across the world.

2.4.1 Participatory Approach

Child labour is a socially unacceptable issue closely connected with poverty, education and socio-economic settings of different societies. For resolving this problem, the coercive measures have their own brunt but collaborative efforts needed to resolve this issue. The children work to contribute economically to support and assist their families. If these are hastily taken away from the jobs it may inflict financial implications to the household to which they are supporting. In this situation participatory approach may be taken for gradual withdrawal and may be responsively rehabilitated. As Karen Moore (2000) states;

If the majority of the working children indeed feel that they have both the right to work, as well as the right to be protected from potentially adverse effects of harmful and exploitive work, then responsive policy interventions will increasingly be required to include those which support children in their working lives.

The children who are at risk considered to be the best protected by broadening social responsibility and solidarity with them through inclusion of those being excluded or marginalized in the society. It will be a test of a society how well a society meets its obligations to fulfil children's basic needs and

includes them into economic, political and cultural life as fully franchised citizens (ibid). Transition of child labour can be made through evolutionary approach as Bequelle (1991:11) suggests 'legitimizing child employment and ensuring that child workers are provided with legal protection'. Dachi and Garrell (2000) suggest another transition approach in the experience of a study in Tanzania that entails the use of legislation to eliminate the most exploitative types of child labour and to improve the working conditions more comfortable where the work is not in so harmful working conditions for child labour and simultaneously imparting education with additional programmes for the working children.

2.4.2 Micro Financing Approach

The era of globalization has witnessed an expansion of informal sector, flexi-security of jobs, flexibilisation of labour and poverty. Under-employment and joblessness are still serious issues resulting in low incomes especially for joint families and women. When it becomes a threat to the household survival it involves children into production processes at any risk. Increasing household incomes is critical to the success of any effort aiming to eliminate the WFCL. In situations of any financial crises households opt for borrowing loans and work in bonded conditions. They engage their children in labour for long hours to make bits of money for partial debt servicing of the loans taken by households. This WFCL labour is common for supplementing family earnings in brick kiln industry, agricultural and allied industries.

The International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) practises a multi-dimensional strategy to realize its objective and has been using income-generating activities for reduction in child labour since many years. The most common approach viewed by Doorn and Churchill (2004) is to provide microcredit to parents or guardians of child labourers to help them to start or expand an income-generating activity to replace the income formerly earned by child labourers. They further argued that besides stimulating additional income, microfinance can also play an even more important coping role for vulnerable households. The insurance and credit facilities may be premeditated during the times of financial crunch of households, so they can borrow the finances to keep their children away from child labour. If a child once dropouts out of school it will become difficult to regain the process of schooling, micro credit can provide opportunity of decent investment and earnings as well.

2.4.3 Liberation through Education

It is usually argued that child labour comes at the cost of schooling which eventually perpetuates poverty of children from poor households (Ravallion and Wodon: 2000: 158). Education has great implications; it enhances the capabilities of a person to become a productive adult but poor household do not afford education to the children due different reasons. Schooling is an important intervention for deterrence to child labour as Burra (1995) argues that for at least a part of day children would have mandatorily to remain in school. Despite the rhetoric role of education in achieving economic

development, Doftori (2004:18) argues that reforming society and nation-building, public school system has not been inclusive enough to enrol and sustain underprivileged children in developing countries.

On the other side private education is more expensive and poor household can not afforded free education with hidden extra cost. Similarly, there is very low enrolment rate in schools in Pakistan, only 57.4 percent in rural and 42.6 in urban areas, in gender terms boys enrolment is 56.9 percent as compare to 43.1 of girls (FBSP: 2005a). Although it is generally argued that education is a one of the most powerful instruments to reduce poverty/inequality and to lay the basis for sustained growth; therefore imparting education to the child labour may be an appropriate tool for eventual elimination of child labour. Nadvi, K (2004) explains a related approach to address the root causes of child labour through interventions on poverty alleviation and education, including support for schools, training and income generating activities, in collaborated effort for elimination of child labour in soccer ball clusters in Sialkot, Pakistan.

2.4.4 Subsidized Education Approach

The choice to impart education has an inter-temporal attribute, as considered by many authors, most notably Becker (1974) and Baland and Robison (2000). They observe a direct connection of human capital formation in child labour when calculating the efficiency characteristics of household decisions. They further argue that parents are benevolent toward their children, having ability to leave inheritance to their children as well as having free access to capital markets; at that moment investment in their children's education will be efficient for capitalizing the future income of household. Analysing poverty and other determinants of child labour in Bangladesh, Amin, et al (2004) find that poverty affects the probability that emphasis on education could decrease CL directly by increasing the time children devote to school and indirectly by increasing through investment in human capital will improve productivity and family income.

The Bolsa-Escola programme in Brazil featured by external financial incentive to the parents on the condition that their children go to school. Denes (2003) observe positive outcomes of the programme that children from benefiting families stay in school with almost no dropouts and display significant improvements in performance. According to ILO (2006) school attendance imposes limits on the hours of work and the nature and conditions of work. It further explains that full-time school attendance is largely incompatible with the WFCL. The ILO Convention 138 particularly describes free and compulsory education of good quality; up to minimum age for entering into employment is a key element for prevention of child labour. In many countries the establishment of universal schooling up to the age of 14 has signalled the effective demise of child labour.

Conversely there are some reservations on the initiative of schooling and subsidized education as a tool for elimination of child labour through transition to the formal educational system. In this context Ravallion and Wodon (2000:C158-175) argue that a motivated rise in school attendance, for

instance by lower schooling costs may occur at the expense of children's leisure with little or no reduction in child labour. They made a reference to a school enrolment subsidy in the form of monthly food rations to households in rural Bangladesh (Food for Education Programme) which reduced the rate of child labour. However, they emphasise that the decline in the incidence of child labour may be credited to the subsidy accounts for a small proportion of the increase in school enrolment, implying higher school attendance comes mainly at the cost of children's leisure. Thus, they conclude that child labour force participation may not be very responsive to education related policy measures.

In a study about a similar programme in Pakistan in perspective of intra-household labour and extra-household labour, Hazarika & Bedi (2003:32) suggest that a policy of reducing school costs is an effective way of curtailing only extra-household labour supply, their empirical analysis is based upon the data from Pakistan Integrated Household Survey (PIHS) 1991. Hence, in countries or regions where extra-household labour is the dominant form of child labour, a policy of school cost reduction may be effective. However, dominant form of child labour in many parts of the world is intra-household labour, their findings cast doubt upon the efficacy of a policy of school cost reduction in combating child labour (ibid: 58).

2.5 Theories

The researchers have identified a set of possible theories which can give an analytical basis to the research work. The preliminary theories which have been identified are based on 'Human Capital Theory' and 'Demand and supply Factors', how these concepts can be applied to the testable proposition, which can give analytical basis to work out. The study has analysed the cause and effect correlation of poverty, schooling cost and child work in existing socio-economic indicators of Pakistan. On the one hand higher population growth, unemployment, migration, educational system and poverty are the supply factors for child labour, on the other hand cheap labour, fit for particular jobs, docility and poor quality demand factors of child labour.

The Human Capital Theory (HCT) is premised on neo-classical analysis of labour markets, education and economic growth. Tharenou et al (2007) quoted Brennan (1993) who argues HCT assumes that people are productive resources and that more highly educated people are more productive than others. More importantly, the HCT is a cost and benefit analysis of educational investment. From this perspective, education represents an investment in human capital that can be justified according to the returns that are generated in terms of better skills and increased productivity (ibid). High skills and education raise the productivity and income that will reduce the poverty and child labour.

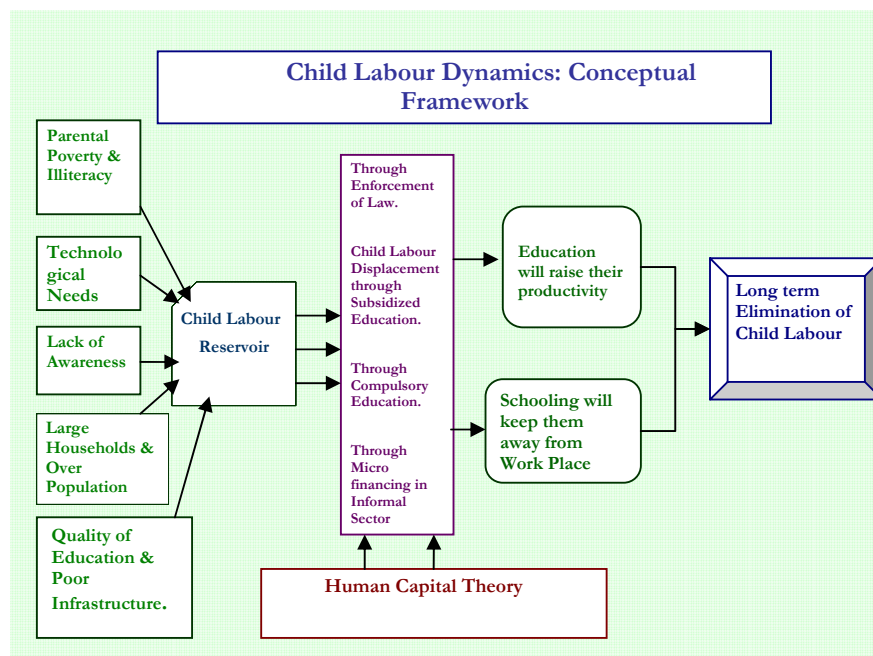
The theory suggests that human capital accumulation leads to innovation. During its formative years, the HCT was used to elucidate the economic rationale for individual investment in education, nutrition, health. It has however, undergone refinement and now moved from a micro to a macro perspective and often used to justify public expenditure on education. The main argument is that investment in human capital complements investment in

physical and technological innovation. The theory focuses on a rational investment in education or schooling that is firmly rooted in Neo-classical economics view.

Relevant literature supports the notion that the poor households cannot have enough money to send the children to school if the cost of schooling is too high otherwise income is too low. Writers such as, Jensen, P and Nielsen, H (1997) argue that human capital theory, therefore, may not be appropriate to describe the earnings of children. However, they maintain that a testable implication of the poverty explanation is given that the human capital theory is valid for child labour that means the ‘human capital variables have a negative effect on the probability to go to school’ human capital variables have a negative effect on the probability to go to school. Moreover, a positive correlation between expenses and school attendance would support the poverty hypothesis.

2.5.1 Conceptual Framework

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework



Conceptual frame work illustrates that different factors causing child labour which can be eliminated through different interventions. HCT suggests that investment in human capital leads increase in productivity and income that will break the poverty and CL trap. Free quality education will keep the child labourers away from work places.

2.6 Methods of data collection

The study aims to analyze the possibilities of reintegration of child labour through subsidized education into mainstream education system in the

light of data observations obtained from a case study. The research has adopted case study approach, because it was difficult to establish efficacy and sustainability of subsidised education intervention for the eradication of WFCL. The project of Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal (PBM) was in operation in 155 centres in different districts of the country. Data related to the topic was collected combining both aspects of qualitative and quantitative research. The qualitative methods generated information on perceptions and experiences of a number of respondents by interview tool while quantitative methods looked at the number of respondents and enabled the researcher to make comparison and to analyse objectives of this intervention.

2.6.1 Area of Study

The study was conducted in Wazirabad, district Gujranwala of Pakistan and the selection of this project facility of NCRCL, was made on the basis of accessibility of child labourers working in hazardous conditions of predominantly cutlery manufacturing industry area. This city was in the midpoint of the famous 'light engineering industrial triangle' (Gujranwala, Gujrat and Sialkot districts) of the country. The children between the ages of 5-14 years were being weaned away from hazardous labour environments and enrolled in the centre to provide free education, clothing, foot wear and stipend and subsistence allowance to their parents.

2.6.2 Sampling

The sample size was determined by selection of 10 students and their parents in order of twelfth number of the attendance list of 120 (Annexure-I) children in the Centre. Interviews with other two groups of reintegrated child labourers and key informers were conducted, which selected to look specifically into the experience and knowledge of the circumstances leading to this problem. The selection of key informers was made to collect information from vast canvas of society, such as chairman of local press club, chairman Employer Association, local industrialists and social workers.

2.6.3 Research Instruments

In present study semi-structured interview tool and secondary data have been used for the purpose gathering information. Considering the importance of this tool Gray (2004:214) has referred to Arksey and Knight (1999:32) who found it a powerful way of helping people to explicit things that have hitherto been implicit to articulate their tacit perceptions, feelings and understandings. So it is utilized to bring about the information from the core actors who are directly involved in the process of child labour and their reintegration process. For the purpose of conducting the semi-structured and open-ended questions interviews an interview guide was devised (Annexure - II). These semi structured interviews were started with general topics and most of questions were raised during the course of interviews for probing into detailed information.

2.6.4 In-depth Semi-Structured Interviews

Qualitative data was gathered through purposive sampling by conducting semi-structured interviews with 10 enrolled children at NCRCH and from their families to get un-anticipated responses and observations. These would have also provided the first hand knowledge about the reasons for not going to school rather going for child labour (in term of poverty/ household income, previous schooling and other factors). Interviews with organizations and administration of the local project who were responsible and closely involved in the process of displacement addressed the question of whether apathy of social actors failed to achieve optimal utilization of these efforts with comparison to other international programmes of this nature. An evaluation of success/otherwise of this intervention (NCRCL) through the sample frame students indicated whether such an institutional framework had sustainable effects and could be replicated in other areas or not.

2.6.5 Data processing, Analysis and Presentation

Data processing was done through different stages. The data collected from different interviews was organised and editing and cross checking was done. Based on the data collected from the Centre, the study tested the hypothesis of the research and presented in tabulated form. An attempt was made through data collection to assess the impact of subsidized education and subsidy to the parents, both at school level performance and household level impact. Finally, individual interpretations, judgements opinions and conclusions on the study were made. Quotations especially from qualitative data were noted.

2.6.6 Limitations of the study

The data was perceptual in most cases and mostly based on what respondents perceived to have happened rather than the actual observation of the happenings themselves. An attempt was however, made to overcome this limitation by asking respondents to mention some other counterfactuals as alternative solution. The data can not be generalised with accuracy to the entire programme or in all Centres. This is because only one district was used as a case study.

Chapter 3 Child Labour in Pakistan

The purpose of this chapter is to determine the extent of child labour in Pakistan and analyse its various characteristics in socio-economic conditions in Pakistan.

3.1 Child Labour in Socio-economic Setting of Pakistan

In many societies like Pakistan, a considerable number of children take part in economic activities and contribute substantially to household income. Since decades child labour has been an important feature in almost every sector of Pakistan's economy. Children have been working in the informal form of child labour in households either in the garb of lending a hand to family members in domestic chores or in the shape of domestic servants in homes and habitats. They have been working part time or full-time on regular or irregular basis in industries and enterprises, in shops and establishments, on roads and in restaurants or hotels and everywhere else. Similarly the majority of the working children work alongside their parents in agriculture operations and in informal sector.

Pakistan is basically agrarian country and majority of child labour (67 percent) exist in rural areas while 11 percent in manufacturing sector. The worst forms of child labour are bondage and forced labour, which is frequently present in brick kiln manufacturing and agriculture sector. Shujaat, Qindeel (2007:62) has referred Agriculture Survey of Pakistan and ILO's World Report 2005 that 1.7 million people are in bondage and majority of them are landless tillers working for feudal lords. Children are working under worst conditions along with there families to help them out in debt serving or bondage. Moreover, in Pakistan a large number of children are affected by devastating earthquakes, political unrest and war against terrorism in North-Western parts of the country.

3.1.1 Magnitude and Situational Analysis

Pakistan is a developing country of 160.9 million people, growing at an annual rate of 1.8 percent, having 54 percent of population below the age of 19 years (FBS: 2006-07a). This kind of structure is both an opportunity as well as a challenge for the planners and the policy makers to capitalize these huge investments as the upcoming cohorts are warranted for developing youth into a valuable human resource of the country.

For mapping this problem and calibrating its various facets, an up-to-date disaggregated national data on child labour/WFCL is unfortunately not available in Pakistan. However, according to ILO (2008) the last National Survey of Child Labour (NSCL) 1996, the total numbers of children in Pakistan in the age groups of 5-14 years were 40 million. The total numbers of economically active children were found 8.3 percent of the total children in the country, out of these child workers 73 percent were found to be boys, while 27

percent were girls and greater part of the child workers 58.6 percent were found in Punjab.

3.1.2 Poverty Condition

Poverty rose sharply in the rural areas in 1990s and the gap in income between urban and rural areas of the country became more significant. Historically poverty trends in Pakistan have remained higher in rural areas and lower in the urban areas. This trend has been attributed to a disproportionate impact of economic events in the rural areas. Del Ninno et al. (2006) estimate the incidence of vulnerability of poor household ranging between 47 to 67 percent, while analysing the vulnerability to find out which groups of households are more likely to be poor and remain poor in the near future. They have estimated that about one third (24-34%) of the whole population is vulnerable due to low level of resources, which is concentrated in rural areas. Individuals with high risk of being poor have low education and skill levels and they have included children less than 14 years of age, not immunized, and not in school.

Pakistan is predominantly a rural agrarian society with per capita income of US \$ 1085. On the one hand, there is a wide income gap between upper and lower strata of the society (Labour Force Survey 2006-07a). Low income levels and inequality of income are major factors of poverty; consequently fruits of economic growth have not been distributed to all strata in an equitable manner. On the other hand agriculture is the single largest sector and remains the main source of livelihood of 66 percent of people and employs 43.6 percent of the total Labour Force in Pakistan (ibid). Out of the total 40 million people living below the poverty line, 30 million live in rural areas, whereas percentage of population living below the poverty line is 32.7 (ADB: 2008).

A considerably large proportion of labour force is working below normal working hours (less than 35 hours) and may be considered as being underemployed, a majority is doing it on voluntary basis. This is particularly true in case of the female labour force. As females comprise almost half of the total as well as work-age population in Pakistan, it is vital to increase their participation in economic activities (State Bank of Pakistan: 2006). Children of poor, jobless households are more exposed to the risk of child labour. Economic growth must ensure availability of decent work for the youth with their training and education to make them employable.

3.1.3 Household Size and Higher Population Growth Rate

These working children commonly come from large family and low income bracket households. The average household size of working children in Pakistan was found to be eight members, which is higher than the national average (ILO: 1996). A higher portion of economically active girls falls under the category of households with nine plus members. The survey indicates that most cogent reasons given by parents/ guardians for letting their child work are to assist in house enterprise 69 per cent, and to supplement the household income 28 per cent (ibid).

The UNDP report (2007-2008) and Mahbbub-ul-Haq Human Development Centre, report (2005:51) show that in Pakistan 17 percent population has less than US\$1 per day income. This income is also consumed mainly on provision of food to a large family and can not be devoted to meet education expenses of children. If we take into account those who are surviving at US \$2 a day or less, the picture gets grimmer with 65 percent of population. Low income with large household pattern often has lack of employment opportunities. So a family will choose to make this inter-generational shift in household resources when current income is low relative to future income. That means poor households involve children in working to increase their income for their survival.

3.1.4 Situation of Literacy in Pakistan

The definition of literate is structured at the time of Population Census in Pakistan. In the 1998 Population Census, a 'literate' person has been defined as 'One who can read newspaper and write a simple letter in any language'; despite this fact, nearly the half of the population of Pakistan is illiterate. According to Ministry of Education, the literacy rate of population 10 years and above was 53 percent (Table 3.1), in 2004-05 showing an annual growth ratio of 1.5 percent since 1998 Census. Province wise literacy data (FBS: 2007a) shows that Sindh stood at 56 followed by Punjab (55), NWFP (45) and Balochistan at 37 percent (FBS: 2005a).

Table 3.1 Literacy Rates in Pakistan by Gender

		Total	Male	Female
Pakistan		53	65	40
Punjab		55	65	45
Sindh	Urban	72	80	62
	Rural	<u>38</u>	56	<u>18</u>
	Total	56	68	41
NWFP		45	64	26
Baluchistan		<u>37</u>	52	19

(Source: Pakistan Social & Living Measurement Survey 2004-05)

Literacy rate in Pakistan is lower than even the neighbouring countries. Women in villages of Sind Province are the least literate: only 18 percent women in Rural Sind are literate. Similarly the literacy rate of women in Baluchistan and NWFP is very low. Absence of educational facilities and lack of awareness are major causes leading towards WFCL.

3.2 State of Education

The lack of education is one of the major causes of child labour in Pakistan. Raza (2007: 96) claims that an estimated 25 million children are going to school and approximately 10 million are in CL. Furthermore he has added that poor or non-existent educational facilities, cultural obstacles for enrolment of girls, non relevance of curricula to the needs of labour market are some of the problems confronted by the education sector in Pakistan. It is greatest challenge ahead for the country to create an environment where every child can go to school. According to Ministry of Education, Pakistan, about six million children in primary education age bracket are out of schools. One-third of children in early childhood are attending schools with 40-50 percent drop-out rate at primary level. On the other hand, the total public spending on education was only 2.21 percent of GDP during the year 2005-06. Majority of buildings need repairs Table 3.2 portrays rather pathetic state of educational infrastructure in the country. This is indicative of overlooking education sector in the past and also highlights the impediment to universal access to education.

Table 3.2 Percentage Distribution of Educational Institutions by Building Condition

Area	NO. Of Institutions	Satisfactory	Need Minor Repair	Need Major Repair	Dangerous
Pakistan	216,490	51.6	26.7	16	5.7
Punjab	106,435	57.5	23.8	13.7	5
Sindh	46,862	46.8	28.2	18.9	6.1
NWFP	36,029	50.2	27	16.7	6.1

(Sources: Education Department, Government of the Punjab)

According to data of Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (PSLM) Survey 2006-07 (FBS: 2006), the overall school attendance (age 10 years and above) is 57% (69% for male and 44% for female) in 2006-07 compared to 51% (66% for male and 36% for female) Pakistan Integrated Household Survey 2001-02 (ibid). Province-wise school attendance data for 2006-07 as against 2001-02 shows Punjab to be on the top (60% Vs 54%) followed by Sindh (56% Vs 49%), NWFP (50% Vs 45%), and Balochistan (39% Vs 37%) at the lowest level (PEC: 2007-08). There is also a wide gap between the enrolment of girls and boys in rural areas which is 7.6 million and 11.5 million, respectively.

3.3 Working Conditions and the WFCL in Pakistan

The Child labour is not only a concern of socio- economic development of countries but a human right's issue as well. Children work in abject working conditions in Pakistan. They are always exposed to the risk of getting repetitive stress injuries, physical cuts and injuries, occupational diseases and lifelong ailments and disabilities. The life incomes of child labourers who lose the opportunity to get education are reduced by human capital and these losses becoming fuel to the vicious cycle of poverty. Moreover, child labour is ever more becoming a trade concern as requirement of social compliances turn into an essential part of responsible corporate business policies.

The WFCL includes that all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as sale of child, trafficking of children, debt bondage or bonded labour, forced or compulsory labour, commercial sexual exploitation of children, prostitution, pornography. Children for use in armed conflict and children used for commission of crimes by adults. It is especially complicated to make a precise estimate of the magnitude of WFCL on account of several limitations basic being a lack of data. The data presented in Table 3.3 from Labour Force Survey 1999-2000 (Ministry of Labour Pakistan: 2000) shows the employment tendency of child labour occupational groups and processes. Furthermore it illustrates how a vast majority of the child workers are employed in low tech and low skill occupations

Table 3.3 Employed children by major occupational groups aged 10-14 years (in thousands)

Major Occupational Groups	Urban			Total			Rural		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Total	275	61	336	1454	105	1559	1179	44	1223
Technicians & Associate Professionals	3	-	3	4	-	4	1	-	1
Service Workers & Shop & Market Sales	59	6	65	172	6	178	113	-	113

Workers									
Crafts & Related Trade Workers	27	184	39	262	301	105	12	117	157
Plant & Machine Operators & Assemblers	5	-	5	8	-	8	3	-	3
Elementary (Unskilled) Occupations	51	28	79	1008	60	1068	957	32	989

Employment status by wide-ranging categories show that about 70 percent of the working children are unpaid family helpers, out of them 33 percent working children are literate, boys being more educated than girls and urban children more than the rural children (ILO:1996). Considerable rural-urban disparities are observed in their employment standing. In rural areas, three fourth of the working children are working as unpaid family members, while in the urban areas this ratio is one third. About 46 percent of the working children work more than 35 hours per week and a good proportion work 56 hours or more. Nonetheless most of the parents surveyed say children work in order to assist in the household enterprises (ibid).

Chapter 4 Combating CL/WFCL Initiatives and Approaches in Pakistan

The Chapter 4 provides the matrix of a multitude of initiatives, approaches, policy level actions and programmes, projects, based on consultations with stakeholders for combating child labour in Pakistan.

4.1 Linkages with International Approaches and Perceptions

The national strategies are designed and connected to the internationally adopted development goals and reform agenda. Countrywide policies have been devised to achieve the goals of development envisaged by the political leadership, planners and policymakers in the perspective of international development agenda and obligations arising thereof. The progress on eradication of child labour especially the WFCL is intricately related to the various global commitments of every country. Observations on progress achieved on these commitments and seriousness of national implementers by the member countries are carried out at global level. Pakistan being an active partner in world-community has signed the declarations and reform agenda for elimination of this problem.

4.1.1 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

The United Nations (UN) Millennium Summit in September 2000 adopted Millennium Declaration to improve a set of targets with corresponding indicators, now recognized as MDGs, which are to be achieved by 2015 with reference to the base year of 1990. Poverty, health, education, and gender equality are the core targets. Pakistan has endorsed the MDGs and has initiated a number of policies, strategies and enhanced programmes to achieve different targets set in different sectors.

Table 4.1 Status of MDGs Indicators (Source, PES: 2006-07)

S.No	Goals	Indicators adopted	Ahead	On-Track	Lag
1.	Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	3	1	2	-
2.	Achieve universal primary education	3	1	-	2
3.	Gender Equality and women empowerment	4	1	3	-
4.	Reduce child mortality	6	1	3	2
5.	Improve maternal health	5	-	1	4
6.	Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria & other diseases	4	1	3	-
7.	Ensure environmental sustainability	9	2	3	4
	Total	34	7	15	12

Above Table 4.1 reveals the mixed progress on the sub-goals adopted for evaluation of the progress on MDGs through 34 indicators. The obliteration of the extreme poverty is a key MDG and child labour issue has been tackled in the poverty reduction strategies. (PRSP: 2003), Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of Pakistan, prepared after a long consultative process involving the line ministries, provincial and district governments, civil society, various interest groups, donors, and grass-root communities across the provinces has been placed on the Web site of the Ministry of Finance (GOP:2003). The commitment has been reiterated to combat child labour in the national policy and plan of action. However neither any goals have been set to eradicate the WFCL nor has resource allocation been indicated for this purpose in the PRSP.

4.1.2 ILO Conventions

The parameters and stipulations embodied in international conventions are shaping the relevant legislations, strategies, policies and programmes of countries. So far, Pakistan has ratified 36 Conventions of ILO, Table 4.2 gives list of main ratified conventions related to the protection of rights of children and young workers. Pakistan has also ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and its Article 32 is in conformity with Article 3 and 38 (a) of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973 that state shall ensure the elimination of all forms of exploitation and fundamental principles of getting work and payment to each according to its ability.

The Convention 138 along with Convention 182 forms the backbone of Core Conventions of ILO. This Convention provides various age brackets

for different kinds of activities by children and required the ratifying states to fix the minimum age for employment at 15 years. However, Pakistan has ratified it in 2006 by accepting 14 years as the minimum age for employment under certain conditions. The age limit for hazardous types of work is 18 years. The overall objective should be the protection of the full physical, mental, sexual, spiritual etc development of boys and girls during their formative stage.

Table 4.2 Child Labour related ILO Conventions ratified by Pakistan

Convention	Name of the Convention	Date of Ratification
C29	Forced Labour Convention, 1930	23.12.1957
C59	Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937	26.05.1955
C81	Labour Inspection Convention, 1947	10.10.1953
C90	Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1948	14.02.1951
C105	Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957	15.02.1960
C182	Worst Form of Child Labour Convention, 1999	11.10.2001
CRC	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989)	20.09.1990
C138	ILO Convention on Minimum Age for Workers (1973)	06.07.2006

4.1.3 Asian Decent Work Agenda

Asia has a vital role in shaping the social and economic indicators of the world with over 60 percent of the global workforce and economies, ranging from fabulous rich to very poor. A special Decent Work Agenda for Asia has been drawn at Busan in 2006. It involves opportunities of work that is productive and delivers a fair income, security on the workplace and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration, freedom for people to express their concerns, organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives and equality of opportunity and treatment for all women and men (ILO:2006b).

Decent work is the foundation stone of global, national and local strategies for social and economic growth. The timeframe of Asian Decent Work Decade is coinciding with the Pakistan time bound programme of elimination of the WFCL in 2008-2016 (Ministry of Labour Pakistan: 2008). It is fundamental in all efforts to reduce poverty, and a means for achieving equitable, inclusive and sustainable development. The ILO promotes decent work through its work on employment, social protection, standards and fundamental principles and rights at work place and social dialogue. This Agenda is also connected with Asian Decent Work Decade (2005-15) and is labelled with a core objective of poverty reduction in order to achieve MDGs for eliminating WFCL. Furthermore, the largest ILO programme (IPEC) is

aimed at the elimination of child labour through increasing educational alternatives, reducing family poverty and implementation of labour laws especially concerning the most dangerous forms of child labour.

4.1.4 Education for All (EFA)

The World Conference on Education for All, held at Jomtien, Thailand in March 1990, and marked a new beginning in the global quest to universalize basic education and to eliminate illiteracy. Followed by a decade of Jomtien experience, in the year 2000, the Dakar Framework for Action established 6 major goals of EFA and illustrated 12 strategies (Annexure IV). One of the strategies was focused on expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable, disadvantaged children. In the Principles of Policy, as envisaged in the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan stipulates that the state shall 'remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible time'. Pakistan government formulated an action plan based on these strategies but needs of the children who were engaged in hazardous and WFCL are not specifically addressed in the EFA Plan. The strategy of withdrawal of children engaged in WFCL followed by mainstreaming them needs to be launched with measurable targets.

4.2 Linkages with National Approaches and Perceptions

In pursuance of the national policy and plan of action a number of initiatives have been taken for the elimination of child labour. Some of these programmes are directly targeted at child labour, while others launched by other ministries and provincial governments address the root causes and factors contributing to WFCL. An overview of some selected pieces of legislation and initiatives targeting child labour are as following.

4.2.1 State Constitution

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973, advocates the elimination of all kind of exploitation, alongside prohibiting of all kinds of bonded and forced labour, it also bans the employment of children below the age of 14 years in any factory or mine or in any other hazardous work (Constitution of Pakistan 1973 Article: 11). In Pakistan, the issue of CL/WFCL has been addressed in a number of pieces of national legislation based on different international laws and instruments.

4.2.2 Employment of Children Act, 1991

The Employment of Children Act, 1991 is the main law regulating the employment of children in certain occupations and processes. This law defines 'child' as a person who has not yet completed fourteen year of age and regulates the conditions for employment of children in safer types of work. This governs their rights including working hours, rest breaks and other rights (Section 3 Part II). As follow up to the ILO Convention 182 on WFCL, 34 occupations and processes (Annexure-V) have been declared hazardous for

CL, through amendment in this Act after a series of consultations with national stakeholders for identification of hazardous forms of CL in year 2005.

4.2.3 The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1992

This Act prohibits all forms of bonded labour and puts prohibits every kind of forced labour. This is a landmark in the history of exploitative labour in Pakistan and has been liberating hundreds of bonded labourers in the country. All obligations on the part of the bonded labour to repay any bonded debt were cancelled and no suit could be filed for the recovery of such debt. This Act also operates through vigilance committees consisting of broad-spectrum representation of all sections of society, including local members of, provincial assemblies, district bars, journalist, NGOs and district administration. These committees give advice to the district administration on the matters relating to execution of law for freeing bonded labourers and provide necessary assistance in legal and rehabilitation issues. Furthermore, this Act proscribes employment of children in lieu of loan as advance wages and state that;

On the commencement of this Act, the bonded labour system shall abolish and every bonded labourer shall stand freed and discharged from any obligation to render any bonded labour.

(Section 4, the Bonded Labour System, Abolition Act, 1992).

4.2.4 The Factories Act, 1934

This Act proscribes employment of children who have not completed his/her 15 years of age and provides a full chapter on the regulation of the employment of children. This Act disallow the employment of children below the age of 12 years (Section 27 of the Factories Act, 1934). This Act also regulates working hours of the children that no child should be allowed to work in a factory more than five hours a day and spread over of work should not be more than seven and half hours in any day (Section 58 (1&2) of the Factories Act, 1934).

Some other enactments such as, Shops & Establishments Ordinance, 1969 prohibits employment of children under the age of 14 years in shops and commercial enterprises. Mines Act, 1923 prohibits employment of persons less than 15 years near mines, and under 18 years in underground mines. Road Transport Workers Ordinance disallows employment of less than 18 years person in any transport related work and fewer than 21 as drivers.

4.2.5 Punjab Education Sector Reforms program

The Government of Pakistan originated the EFA, National Plan of Action (2001-2015) based on the Education Sector Reforms (ESR). As a whole, it is addressing issues of low enrolment in schooling, educational inequalities by gender and location and lack of access to schooling. Table 4.3 shows the targets.

Table 4.3 EFA Targets by 2015

Universalisation of Primary Education		
Male by 2010 and Female by 2015		
	Adult Literacy(10+ age)	Early Childhood Education
Male	86 %	50 %
Female	86 %	50 %

(Source: Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan)

Halfway down the road, it appears that Pakistan will be unable to meet its commitment to ensuring that by 2015. The ESR focuses on a number of reforms at various levels that all children, including those belonging to marginalized groups, will have access to free primary education of good quality. It also includes a Comprehensive Literacy and Poverty Reduction Programme for rehabilitation/up-gradation of physical facilities in existing primary schools to improve quality of education through teacher education and training. Universal education will be an effective deterrence against child labour (Ministry of Education Pakistan: 2001).

4.2.6 Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal Supported Programme on child labour

The Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal started reintegration programme for children who are working in the WFCL. This programme comprises of two pronged strategy for combating WFCL, firstly, poverty alleviation of child labourers parent and secondly by addressing the needs of quality-education to the child labourers and their reintegration into formal education system. The detail about this intervention is available in chapter 5 of this paper.

4.2.7 Educational Voucher Scheme (EVS)

The Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) is an autonomous statutory body to encourage and promote education in the private sector, operating on non-commercial/non-profit basis since 1991. The Foundation objective is promotion of quality education through public private collaboration, to encourage and support the efforts of private sector through technical and financial assistance, to innovate and develop new instruments for opening up educational opportunities at affordable cost to the poor.

Furthermore, Education Voucher Scheme (EVS) is one of PEF's distinctive programmes, which is providing quality education to children of weak educational prospects of marginalized less affluent areas in urban slums and shanty towns of Punjab. This programme is targeting the children vulnerable to CL. PEF offers a stipend of Rs. 300/- per month to a private school for each child enrolled in the low income localities. This intervention gives some assistance for quality education in private schools to the under-privileged section of societies. So far this scheme is being implemented in 35 private schools in 5 low income areas in Lahore in Punjab province (ibid).

A similar intervention strategy was used by Colombia's PACES (Plan de Ampliación de Cobertura de la Educación Secundaria) 'Vouchers for Private Schooling in Colombia' in 1991. This voucher programme was one of the largest voucher programmes in the world, and shown positive effects on student outcomes after three years and through the end of secondary school. Henschel (2002) observed that after three years, students winning the voucher had higher test scores and on child work it demonstrated that the voucher winner worked significantly less than students who had lost the voucher lottery.

4.2.8 Child Labour Education Programme (SEF)

Sindh Education Foundation (SEF) has been working as a semi-autonomous organization to carry out educational initiatives in the underprivileged areas of the Sind province since 1992. SEF provides communities with direct access to educational facilities by opening schools/centres through its various activities. The Foundation supports more than one thousand schools across the province of the Sind which provides education benefits to more than 100,000 women and children. The Child Labour Education Programme is providing self-development opportunities to working and street children through integrating education and recreation. The Foundation upholds the belief that eradication of child labour per se, in the context of Pakistan, can perpetuate greater poverty, as that would result in a greater loss of income for concerned families (Sindh Education Foundation: 2000). Innovative ideas like boat schools and special initiatives for enhancing girl education have been launched. This intervention is another effort to check child labour through education.

4.2.9 Child Protection from Most Extreme Forms of Exploitation

A Child Protection and Welfare Bureau (CPWB), was established in Lahore by Home Department in 2004, to provide care, rehabilitation, education and training to destitute and neglected children. It is working for protection of children from criminals such as Child Trafficking and Street Children. The institution provides food and shelter and arranges reunification of these children with their parents and siblings and endeavours to make them useful citizens. Health and recreational services are also provided by the Bureau to rescued children.

Further, it runs an outreach programme; a 'Child Helpline' has also been set up to provide guidance, coordination for rescue and protective custody of children. So far, sixteen notorious gangs of internal child traffickers were caught and convicted. The Punjab Destitute and Neglected Children Act 2004, has been promulgated to provide a comprehensive legal framework for protective custody, care rehabilitation and institutional arrangements. Under the (CPWB) coverage seven facilities of Child Protection Institutions are functioning in Gujranwala, Faisalabd, Rawalpindi, Sialkot, and Rahimyar Khan. It has also reunited 600 child camel jockeys with their families who were rescued from United Arab Emirates. More than 3,500 children have benefited from the CPWB rehabilitation and reintegration services (UNICEF: 2008).

4.2.10 Elimination of CL in the Soccer Ball Industry in Sialkot

Atlanta Agreement was to eliminate child labour in the soccer ball industry and was signed in Atlanta (Georgia, USA) by the Sialkot Chamber for Commerce and Industry (SCCI), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and UNICEF. The NGOs Save the Children, Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal and Bunyad Literacy Community Council also joined the project. It was launched in 1997 aiming to eliminate the child labour under 14 in the football industry (Poos, Samuel: 1999). All these organizations have been working together to fulfil a common objective of prevention and elimination of child labour in the soccer ball industry in general and in Sialkot in particular.

As it is complicated to monitor child labour at home, the Agreement specifies that the stitching of footballs must be transferred to centres registered and monitored by the ILO. IPEC set up an external monitoring system to ensure the elimination of child labour in the stitching centres. During the project, 10,572 soccer ball stitching children were provided non-formal education, among them 5,838 have been mainstreamed into formal schools. The goal was achieved successfully mainly because of collaborative efforts of NGOs, and international organizations and soccer ball manufacturers of Sialkot. This project has been one of the most innovative and unique programmes of IPEC in many aspects. The programme received wide publicity and created awareness on how to address the child labour problem within Pakistan and abroad.

4.2.11 Combating Child Labour in the Carpet Industry in Pakistan

Pakistan Carpet Manufacturers and Exporters Association (PCMEA) concluded a partner's agreement with ILO-IPEC to combat child labour in the carpet industry of Pakistan. Drawing upon the experiences from the Soccer ball (mentioned at 4.4.9 section) the project entitled, 'Combating Child Labour in the Carpet Industry in Pakistan' was initiated in 1999. A notable aspect of this project was the active participation and contribution of finances by an employer's association. The PCMEA is working in close collaboration with the IPEC project management to establish an internal monitoring system since 2002 (ILO: 2005). The project objectives were pursued through two interconnected modules, particularly 'Prevention and Monitoring' and 'Social Protection'. Under the first module, if involvement of child labour was noticed, efforts would be made to ensure their removal from carpet-weaving as well as enrolment in non-formal education classes. These classes were conducted in the project-supported education centres located throughout the target districts.

The non-formal education programme comprises the main part of the social protection component of the project. Wherein pre-vocational education is provided to the carpet weaving children, as well as support is extended for income generating activities to carpet weaving families. Over a period of 9 years, the project has contributed significantly towards elimination of child labour from the carpet weaving sector, as over 26000 carpet weaving children and their young siblings (83 percent girls) have been reintegrated through non formal education through this project (ibid). The monitoring component of the

project has confirmed that due to their attendance in non-formal educational classes, these children were being removed and progressively alleviated from child labour.

4.2.12 Special Programmes and Projects

Efforts have been made by introduction of some counterfactuals targeting elimination of WFCL, like 'Establishing Sustainable Education Programme for Working Children' Department of Education Govt. of the Punjab, 'Targeting the Worst Form of Child Labour through Community Development' Federal Govt. of Pakistan, 'Non Formal Education Programmes' Districts Govt. Two of the notable projects addressing child labour issues are the multifaceted project on children working in the carpet industry managed by Thardeep in Tharparkar district in Sindh, and the children resource centre for working children established by the Sindh Education Foundation in Karachi (ILO:2008). Another notable example is the largest project named National Centres for Rehabilitation of Child Labour (NCRCL). There is a need to evaluate this initiative in terms of determining how far subsidized education can be an effective tool in elimination of child labour.

Chapter 5 Reintegration of CL through subsidized education: Case study

The child labour situation at NCRCL, Wazirabad has been analyzed and examined in this chapter with primary and secondary data. The focus is to address the research question to find out effective tools for elimination of child labour. This chapter upon most of the data and information relies on the basis of semi-structured interviews of four sample groups conducted by the researcher.

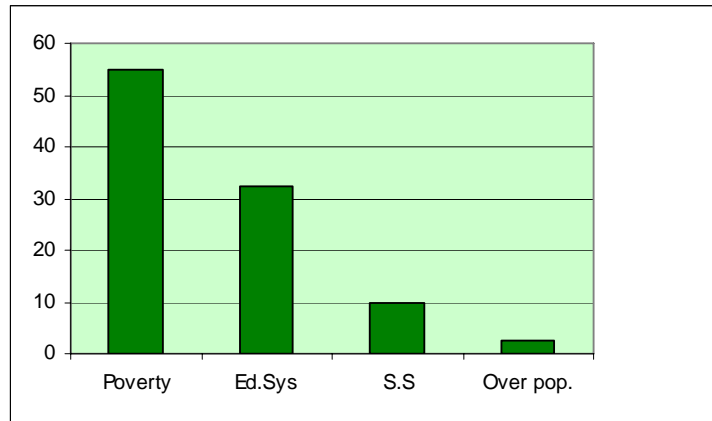
5.1 Introduction of NCRCH Programme

The Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal (Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal:2008), an autonomous body set up through an Act of Parliament in 1991, functions under the umbrella of Ministry of Women's Development, Social Welfare and Special Education. NCsRCL have been established countrywide by PBM since 1995. This programme is based on two pronged strategy of poverty alleviation of child labour household through subsidy and subsidized education, Secondly, dislocating child labourers through educational process. Children between the ages of 5-14 years are weaned away from hazardous and exploitative environment and enrolled in these centres, where they are provided free of cost quality-education, clothing, footwear and stipend as well as subsistence allowance to their parents. This is a nation wide programme, presently there are 151 Centres in Punjab, 66 in Sindh, 36 in NWFP and FATA, 25 in Balochistan and 14 in Azad Kashmir and Capital Territory of Islamabad, and 15,045 students are benefiting from primary education in these Centres. Uptil now 5,225 students have been passed out and 4,497 have been reintegrated into public schools for further education (ibid).

5.2 Determinants of Child Labour According to Interviewees

The main characteristics of respondents show that the mean age of the child labourers was 7.3 years and the respondent children ranged from 7-13 years. Most of the children told that they had started working when they were between 5- 9 years of age. Majority of the child labourers (70%) were involved in cutlery manufacturing processes of polishing, riveting, mouldings and packing in cutlery industries. Others were employed in different occupations such as bicycle mechanic, motorbike mechanic, hair dresser, street vender and service boy at restaurant. They were working in dangerous environment and manufacturing process without health and safety measures. Majority of student at NCRCL reported worst working conditions like injuries during work, verbal abuse, long working hours, fewer wages and physical punishments from mentors and employers.

Figure 5.1 Reasons for child labour (Percentage)



A careful analysis of the determinants of child labour problem in the light of information provided by the all four groups of the respondents reveals that there are a variety of factors responsible for this question. Greater part of respondents (55 percent) viewed poverty as main cause of child labour, 32.5 percent blamed the educational system and rest of opined unavailability of social security during odd times. Most of the children (90 percent) attended school initially but later, on different accounts, they could not continue their study. Majority of the children 60 percent at the Centre gave up education due to extreme poverty, 40 percent for poor educational system, and 10 percent for non availability of School. Among the reintegrated students 80 percent started child labour due to parental low income and rest of 20 percent were the reported as the victims of education system.

Data gathered tended to show that when household income fell short to meet the needs of its members, the parents left no choice except to put their children on labour for their survival. One of mother of child labourers says;

His father earns only 90 rupees daily. Rent of house was 1100/ month electricity bill was 250/month and our earnings could not meet household expenditure... There was no public school (in their community) and private schooling was very expensive... We have not other resources or fixed earnings (interviewed on 12-07-2007).

Most of parents on the other hand send their children for labour only for the survival of household. Despite the fact they are well aware of the importance of education. The poverty factor is linked with other corresponding factors, like unavailability of social security, small loans and weak enforcement of laws and regulations. The data shows that the wages of the parents were less than half of minimum wages as announced by the government. On the other hand parents group reported (60%) that they had no regular earnings. One of the respondents from key informer group viewed the causes of child labour as;

Financial disparities and compulsion, poverty, 50 percent males do not work because of drugs, rest of works but wages are not appropriate. Parents always argue that they have meagre resources. Though education is free but uniform

and stationery have to be arranged by the parents (Date of interview, 08-07-2007).

The second important factor in the light of data analysis of child labour was the educational system of the country. Most of the respondents showed their discontent over the poor schooling in public sector. Majority of the children initially attended school but later 32.5 percent of them could not continue their studies due to poor quality education, inaccessibility to distant school and non professional attitude of the teachers. They believe that teachers are having obsolete techniques and skills of teaching, their children do not learn any thing from schools. All parent respondents were very cautious about the quality of education and its impact on the children, though they were not highly educated. One mother from the parents group said about the significance of education:

Education changes the vision of a child. It enhances the capabilities of child to progress. It was my earnest desire and wish that my child may get good education but we could not afford good education. Our domestic condition may improve... School was about 200 meter away and children walked to school. Monthly school fee was 10 rupees and stationery charges were 300. Nevertheless that school was worthless to attend, teachers attended school for a short while. There were a lot of children in the classes... Students sit on the floor and they learn nothing from school (interviewed on 14-07-2008).

Though all parents aspired for quality education for their children but majority (70%) were dissatisfied over the quality education. They anticipate better jobs of their children with education and better support in their old-age. Majority of students (90%) were also annoyed with the quality of education, improper infrastructure of schooling, such as conveyance for sparsely located school, teachers and food unavailability. The children at NCRCL reported about the poor infrastructure of schooling, 40 percent students had attended the school on foot to the distance of more 1 kilo meter. One of respondent mother informed;

Previous school was about one kilo meter away and girls' school was at more than 2 kilometre distance from our house. Children used to go to school on foot... We have to pay many contributions for school. Teachers of English and Mathematic were private and we had to pay their fee. We had to bear the expenses of uniform and stationery (interviewed on 15-07-2008).

One of the fathers of child labourer informed;

At the age of 7years, we put our child on labour as we failed to bear the expenditures of schooling which seemed to be worthless. Education was also not good in that school, children know nothing only they make their clothes dirty. Government School was far away from here, it was at about 2 kilometres distance. There were many expenditures of education even in government schools, some time we had to pay for mattresses, ceiling fans and books... There is not any girl's school in our vicinity... I had to pay the expenditures of the household and I was aware about that... When I compared the education and its cost, I decided myself that it was not beneficial. It was our dream that our children might get good education.

Educated children can get better jobs and my child was not getting any beneficial thing from that education. (interviewed on 18-07-2008).

The quality of schooling comprises multifarious factors that include physical facilities and inputs, teacher availability, and meaningful curriculum transaction leading to interactive and enabling classroom processes (Doftori 2004:18 quoted Nambissan 2003: 125). Children are prone to dropout as curricula generally fail to hold their interest in education and particularly in schools, which converge into pushing dynamic towards dropout and ultimately infiltration to child labour pool. Choices available to the children for education are directly influenced by the household income status of household income. Private schooling is more expensive and out of the reach of poor household. Though education in public school system is free but parents have to bear the expenditure of stationery and uniforms.

Unemployment and insecurity of jobs make the life of poor people more miserable when any misfortune comes at their doorstep. There is no social security system in widely expanded informal sector which may help downtrodden in odd hours. All of children told that their parents have no social security and job security in sickness and unemployment. One of the respondent mothers said;

My child is orphan. We can not meet the expenditures of our house. There is no source of income for us. I was not enabling to pay the school fee of my child. (interviewed on 12-07-2008).

Another respondent who was father of a child labourer said;

I have no other source of income except my labour. If I fell ill we have to starve or have to borrow (interviewed on (18-07-2008).

The most of the parents were uneducated, unaware about the consequences of child labour but all of them were aware about the importance and essentiality of the education for the children. In the child labour scenario, Brown (2002:9) analyses the situation that parents borrow from the future by putting their children to work rather than investing in human capital that will make their children more productive in the future. In the absence of social security and access to credit markets parents have to rely on their internal assets. They usually decide the fate of their children at the opportunity cost of today's needs.

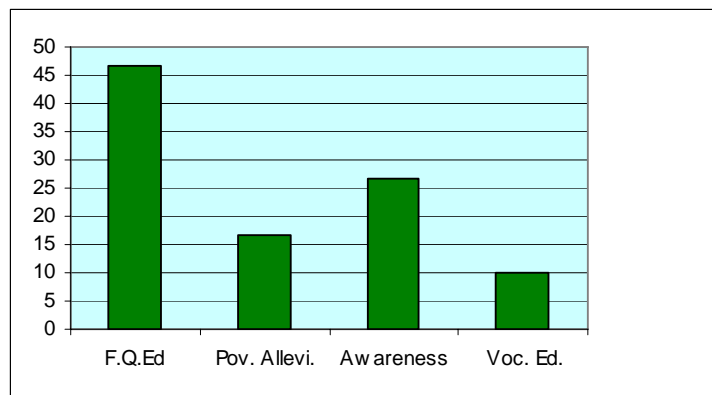
Income and needs depend upon the size of family. Large families are the common feature of respondents, who were directly affected from child labour. This phenomenon leads to increase in the expenditure of the family, which pushes the members to engage every one towards earning activities. Generally working children belonged to large families with average family size 8.4 (excluding grand parents). Culturally the grand parents also lived in same household, due to large family every one has to contribute in production. Conversely, the assumption of poverty attributes to child work has been criticised by Bhalotra and Heady (2003), while analysing the data from Ghana and Pakistan, the households of larger holdings of lands tend to make their children work more. It means that only greater poverty leads to greater child labour is not a true. Emonds and Turk (2002) have complemented the same

argument that in Vietnam households which start their own business and involve their children to work for more productivity. So the problem lies in the perception of the issue, only the social and cultural values set the priorities in the context of peculiar circumstances. The study results show the obvious factors causing CL are the poverty and educational system in Pakistan.

5.3 Subsidised Education as Tool of child labour Elimination

Majority of respondents, 46.6 percent, considered the subsidized education and cash subsidy most appropriate tool to combat the problem child labour. Another notable number (26.7 percent) of respondent believes that awareness is the best tool to address this issue, rest of the respondents thinks poverty alleviation and vocational education are the most suitable remedial measures.

Figure 5.2 Tools for Elimination of child labour (Percentage)



It is evident from the data that most of the parents are well aware of the importance of education and they sent their children in school even if they have low earnings. But due to poor quality of educational system with hidden expenditure on so-called free education the poor household can not sustain their children in schools. One of the respondents' children at NCRCL group stated his point of view and has explained the prevailing situation;

In the beginning I studied in a government school. The education was not good in that school... Teachers remained busy in their gossip with each other in the school time. I could not understand any thing... School was half kilometre away from our house and my elder brother takes me there on foot. Fee was 2 rupees, 5 rupees for electricity bill. Uniform cost 200 rupees. Books were free of cost. My father is a tenant of a land lord and his wage is only 2000 rupees per month (Interviewed on 08-07-2007).

In cases of extreme poverty they sent their children to work to contribute some earnings for the survival of household, on the other hand they did not find free, quality education for their children. Many interventions have been practised in the developing countries to tackle this bifacial problem. Food for Education programme in Bangladesh had the main objective of keeping children of poor families at schools. The targeted households receive free

monthly rationing of wheat and rice as long as their children attended school. This intervention showed strong positive results on school attendance and a negative effect on child labour on the other hand (Ravallion and Wondon: 2000).

All of the respondents believed in the importance of human capital investment in education for children. They considered it an important tool for breaking inter-generational vicious circle of poverty. Subsidized education along with some cash support not only lessens the burden of education cost but also helps them to pullout their children from the child labour trap. The parents are generally altruist towards children but they need some support in the face of poverty to bear the extra cost of quality education. One respondent described;

I have a desire for quality education for my children. Therefore, we sent our child to school from 1 and 1/2 km distance for education. If rickshaw did not come we bring him to school by ourselves. If parents are better off and can bear the full expenditures of education of children, child labour will be eliminated (interviewed on 10.07.2008).

A similar intervention was used in Colombia through a voucher programme providing quality education with subsidy. This programme demonstrated positive effects on lessening child work moreover their household devoting more sources than the scheme itself (Henschel: 2002). The reintegrated child labourers in the formal education commented on subsidized education as tool for bringing child labourers back to education.

It is a nice way to bringing children back in studying environments. Otherwise, once a child slips from school, it is difficult to bring him back [...] 160 rupee was the monthly fee of the previous school, and about 300 rupees was the other charges.

(interviewed, 08-07-2008)

Another from the same group said;

this school is very good, there is no fee, we get about 600 rupees/ month from here. I started child labour in 2005, because household expenditure could not meet in our income. There was no public school nearby and private school was very expensive that was out of our reach. We have no support or permanent earnings. (interviewed on 12-07-2007).

They believed that public education system is not good as it did not produce any capabilities. Apparently it is presented as free of cost but it requires a lot of extra expenditures, for the low income households it is not affordable. It is believed that the students who are not integrated into the formal education after passing primary level, because of only basic reasons for this problem. Sabir Hussain Butt, Chairman Press Club Wazirabad, said about the NCRCL, Wazirabad;

After passing out this Centre children again enrolled in government schools. Whereas in the city areas these schools are imparting better education but in rural areas there are deplorable condition. (interviewed on 14-07-2007).

Some respondents proposed inclusion of vocational education in the curricula of Centres and stipends amount equal to their earnings for a further sustainable integration to mainstream educational system. The most fitting strategy in the above referred scenario could be amid at poverty reduction and free of cost quality education to the children. Then both of the major issues will be resolved. In Brazil a related intervention was introduced through the Child Labour Eradication Programme (PETI) for increasing educational attainment and reducing poverty. Simultaneously, it focuses on eradication of WFCL. Poor families receive stipends on the children attendance of school, their participation in after school activities and on agreement of their not working. Estimates indicate a massive 25 percent reduction in child labour and negative impact on the probability of child work attributed to the programme (World Bank Report: 2001).

NCRCL is the largest programme in Pakistan principally working on poverty alleviation and social safety net for child labourers who are involved in the WFCL. About 12,955 students have passed out 9910 have been admitted in mainstream schools. Moreover the programme is suitable for replication in WFCL affected areas in the country(Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal:2008).

5.4 Conclusion

The research has attempted to find out the effectiveness of subsidized education aligned with the determinants of child labour for elimination of child labour. By using the analytical concept of supply and demand factors of child labour and human capital development, the study has focused on the effective ways to channel the child labour into education system as an effective tool for elimination of child labour. The results of this study suggest that both economic and sociological variables are important determinants for the choice between school attendance and child labour. Similarly; we also find support for the capital market explanation with imperfect capital markets and full control over the income of offspring. The assessments of socio-economic conditions and educational system show that these are not only unproductive but also causative to the children's entrance into the labour market.

It has been observed through out this paper that poverty and education system are the obvious reasons of CL/WFCL along with other factors in prevailing socio-economic conditions of Pakistan. The observed evidence suggests that most of households are unable to afford education. Interestingly the results of the only child labour survey in Pakistan (1996) are still true and same after a lapse of one decade of time. Poverty and defective educational system are the basic factors which induce parents to send their children for labour. Otherwise in general, no parents, especially mother would like that a tender aged child may work in a factory in adverse conditions, instead of enjoying their childhood and schooling.

Child labour is a multitude problem intricately linked with many socio-economic factors which are involved in this social illness. If we do not ensure people have a decent childhood, we basically undermine the chances for decent work as adults and thus create inequalities which are hard to change (Shujaat 2007:50). A poor quality education system and high opportunity costs of

school attendance constitute demand and supply factors that may result in a low evaluation of the child's return to formal education. The formal education system is not inclusive, alluring and relevant to the labour market needs. The firms on the one hand are unenthusiastic to invest capital in markets that requires a supply of skilled labour. On the other hand parents are hesitant to educate their children if there are no jobs for skilled labour or low return on education. In these circumstances, laws that prohibit child labour and imposing compulsory schooling can give the required indicators to firms and equilibrium in the labour market.

The paper suggests revamping of the socio-economic system along with educational system for the provision of qualitative free and accessible education. Since fundamental changes can not be possible in short-run, the best strategy is the immediate removal of vulnerable working children from the WFCL. Though other forms of child labour are also fatal for the children, community and country but it is difficult to priorities as analyzed by Lienten and White (2001:9). They view;

ILO Convention 182 in particular embodies the principle that it is both necessary and possible, even in the face of deep-rooted disagreements on many aspects of the CL problem, to acknowledge a differentiation between more and less harmful forms of child work and to agree on priorities in a 'first things first' approach focusing energies and sources on the most serious forms of abuse and harm.

The parents who have not enough income send their children to work. Since many poor households often rely on the earnings of their children that may represent a significant portion of their income. This indicates that the lack of access to borrowing induces parents not to send their children to school. To dealing with the issue of WFCL does not simply require forcing the removal of children from their work place or mere providing of free education. Hence, simply free education would do little to help either the children or the rest of the family. A compensatory cash subsidy or an alternative source of income generation is an appropriate mechanism to facilitate the transition process. The insurance and credit facilities may be premeditated, during the times of financial crunch households can borrow the finances to keep their children in the schools.

Microfinance can be a potent instrument for self-empowerment by enabling the poor, especially women, to become economic agents of change, as a result by empowering the families, particularly women microfinance can become a effective tool to reduce hazardous child labour. Individuals around the poverty line are vulnerable to shocks such as illness of a wage earner, weather calamities, joblessness or other such events. These shocks create enormous constraint on the limited financial resources of the family unit, and, in the absence of effective financial services, can drive a family so much deeper into poverty and make their children vulnerable to WFCL. The findings of the study also suggest most of families put their offspring in child labour on account of unavailability of financial resources. Rehabilitation of child labour affected household may be supported by micro financing and social security programmes.

In the light of circumstances narrated above, the main thrust of recommendations is to coincide integration of child labour to the education system while taking into account of basic causes responsible for this phenomenon. Education can be the best tool to combat this problem, because primary education and child labour are interactive to each other. It is also proven in the findings of the study; these both can not run together. A child attending full-time school is less likely to fall prey to child labour, because there will be very little time after school for working opportunities (Grimsrud quote Awan: 2002). Similarly ILO (2006) also supports this argument that full-time school attendance is largely incompatible with the worst forms of child labour.

The study results also suggest that a combination of some subsidy for poverty alleviation and quality educational programme is considered a very effective and appropriate strategy in combating the problem of child labour in Pakistan. Though it is difficult to provide subsidy to the all children but effective programmes should be designed to eliminate the WFCL at the principle of first thing first approach. If they are provided subsidy in lieu of child's wage and free quality education to their children, it has given positive response in shape of child labour elimination and reintegration of child labourers. Similarly it is argued by Sing (2003) in the background of empirical evidence of other poor countries that, where parents have been compensated for the loss of children's earnings and school are available, children do not work but go to school.

It is not surprising that there is no single simple measure to get rid of this problem. Its persistence through centuries is clear indication that there is no easy way out. Yet today we have a much better understanding of the causes of child labour and thus opportunities to craft policies that can sharply reduce and ultimately eradicate it. On the priority basis national laws may be made and implemented for the removal of children from the hazardous occupations, bonded labour and other dangerous jobs. This detachment from the worst conditions must be supported by the sustainable integration of these children. Child labour is not a disease that can not be cured but with political will, commitment and unacceptability to child labour by government and civil society at large. The ultimate abolition of the WFCL could only be possible if it has become a part of an overall strategy, which does not only focus on poverty alleviation and educational reforms to strengthening education component, but also ensure the participatory role of civil society. The best antidote for this social illness is better inclusion of those being excluded or marginalized in the society. The coercive measures have their place but collaborative efforts are needed in this regard. The children who are at risk are considered to be the best protected by broadening social responsibility for, and solidarity with them.

Annxure-I

**List of Enrolled Children at NCRCL, Dhounkal
Road, Wazirabad, Month of the August, 2008.**

S.No	Name of Student	Parents Name
1.	Jehanzeb	Mohammad Jehangir
2.	Kashif Ilyas	Mohammad Ilyas
3.	Mohammad Noman	Mohammad Nazir
4.	Sulman Nazir	Mohammad Nazir
5.	Adeel Abbas	Abbas Ahmad
6.	Umar Ali	Mohammad Siddique
7.	Intasar Mustafa	Mustafa
8.	Noman Ansar	Mohammad Ansar
9.	Waqas Rasheed	Mohammad Rasheed
10.	Qamar Zaman	Mohammad Zaman
11.	Wasim Massih	Sharifan
12.	Adnan Munir.*	Mohammad Munir
13.	Mohammad Ramzan	Mohammad Ashraf
14.	Gul Nawaz	Mohammad Nawaz
15.	Ali Raza	Neelum Shahzadi
16.	Ibrar Ahmad	Shahida Perveen
17.	Noman Shah	Kubra Bibi
18.	Noman Aslam	Mohammad Aslam
19.	Zeshan Haider	Mohammad Iqbal
20.	Nabeel Khalid	Mohammad Khalid
21.	Usman Sohail	Sajiddah
22.	Hamza Anwer	Nasreen
23.	Amanat Ali	Sajiddah
24.	Ali Ahmad*	Mohammad Aslam
25.	Farooq Khalid	Khalid Mahmood
26.	Asad Ali	Ghulam Mohammad
27.	Allah Ditta	Mukhtar
28.	Sattar Ali	Iftekhhar
29.	Ilyas Ali	Mohammad Sarwer
30.	Haseeb Khalid	Mohammad Khalid
31.	Usman Rasheed	Mohammad Rasheed
32.	Bilal Gulbaz	Rasoolan Begum

33.	Suleman Younas	Khalida Bibi
34.	Mohammad Amair	Ghulam Fatimah
35.	Ali Raza	Firdous Begum
36.	Mohammad Sulman*	Mohammad Younas
37.	Noman Tassawer	Mohammad Tasswer
38.	Naeem Bhutta	Intazar Yasimin
39.	Aaqib zamir	Sakina Bibi
40.	Ahmad Mustifa	Asmat Bibi
41.	Farhan Ahmad	Frida Bibi
42.	Ali Shan	Abidah Perveen
43.	Arif Saleem	Niyyazan
44.	Zulqarnain	Najma Bibi
45.	Usman Munir	Mussarat
46.	Amir Hamza	Zahida
47.	Danish Arif	Robina
48.	Haider Ali*	Mohammad Aslam
49.	Adeel Ahmad	Rukhsana
50.	Husnain Ali Zafar	Malik Younas
51.	Husnain Ali	Ali Murtiza
52.	Awais Ashraf	Sajidah
53.	Ali Raza	Farzana Kousar
54.	Ali Ahmad	Farzana Kousar
55.	Fraz Haider	Shabana
56.	Rehaman Ali	Raheela Bibi
57.	Furqan	Maqbool Bibi
58.	Afzal	Mohammad Hanif
59.	Haroon	Naseema
60.	Haseeb *	Mohammad Khalid
61.	Rizwan Ali	Raheela Bibi
62.	Mohammad Jamil	Arshad
63.	Sameer	Shahnaz
64.	Ghulam Ali	Ali Murtiza
65.	Shahzeb	Shahzada
66.	Abu Bakkar	Nasreen
67.	Usman	Mohammad Boota
68.	Shamshair	Mohammad Riyaz
69.	Bilal	Mohammad Riyaz
70.	Abbas	Rasheedah
71.	Ali Hamza	Mohammad Boota

72.	Ali Shan*	Mohammad Waris
73.	Aqeel	Riaz Ali
74.	Waqqas	Riaz Ali
75.	Arsalan	Rehana
76.	Noman	Rehana
77.	Saleem	Mohammad Tufail
78.	Hamid	Nasreen
79.	Aleem	Mohammad Tufail
80.	Chand	Surrayya
81.	Umair	Muddassar
82.	Abul Rehaman	Shahidah
83.	Najeeb	Kousar
84.	Usman Rasheed*	Rasheed Javaid
85.	Adeel Abbas	Abbas Ahmad
86.	Chan Ali	Shaziya
87.	Qummar Nawaz	Mohammad Nawaz.
88.	Majid Iqbal	Sara
89.	Sher Afghan	Safia
90.	Shahnawaz	Rehana
91.	Abdul Rehman	Sadia
92.	Usman	Sadia
93.	Babar	Zulfiqar
94.	Hamza	Farzana
95.	Ali Raza	Riaz
96.	Faizan Anwer*	Mohammad Anwer
97.	Zafar Iqbal	Safia
98.	Burhan	Rehana
99.	Ahmad Raza	Mohammad Aslam
100.	Qasim	Maskeen
101.	Aftab	Sagheir
102.	Zaman	Robeena
103.	Waris	Abdul Mujeed
104.	Adnan	Mohammad Yousaf
105.	Hunain	Zakar Husnain
106.	Hasan Mahboob	Fatimah
107.	Shahbaz	Nusrat
108.	Shahzaib*	Mohammad Fiyyaz
109.	Mazhar	Shaista
110.	Ibrar Ahmad	Noshaba

111.	Awais	Manazza
112.	Shahzaib	Rehana
113.	Ibrar Khalid	Mohammad Khalid
114.	Shanawer	Laviaza
115.	Mujeeb	Laviaza
116.	Hammad	Nasreen
117.	Chan Ali	Shazia
118.	Qammar Nawaz	Sajiddah
119.	Sajid Iqbal	Sara
120.	Aakash Shoukat*	Shoukat Massih

Annexure-II

Questionnaires.

Sample Group: 1 (Children at NCRCH)

1. Name.....
2. Father's name.....
3. Age.....
4. Sex.
5. Cast.....
6. Occupation.....
7. Address.....
8. `Class.....
9. Date of entry in this school....
10. Date of interview.....

1. What did you do before joining this centre?
2. When and why did you start child labour?
3. How much you were earning and what did you do with money?
4. Did you wish for going school?
5. How did you get this school?
6. Did you do still any work?
7. How many brother and sisters you are?
8. Did you go to school and why you left?
9. What is your parents think about your education/work?
10. What you think, work and education can be done together?
11. What about your earlier school, how far was it, how did you go there?
12. What was schooling cost, other cost, girl's schools?
13. What did you know about teachers and learning in school?
14. Who encouraged you for work/ education, who was decision maker?
15. What were the working conditions/ violence at work places?
16. What's your father do? If he is cultivator then what is holding size, or other income sources?

Sample Group: 2 (Parent)

1. Name.....
2. Father's name.....
3. Age.....
4. Sex.
5. Cast.....
6. Education.....
7. Address.....
8. Size of family.....
9. Occupation.....
10. Date of interview.....

1. How did you find this school?
2. Did you wish for quality education for your children?
3. When and why did you put your child on labour?
4. What do you expect from your child for education?
5. What can be else remedy that your child may not go for child labour?
6. What do you think is the value of education for your children?
7. Who asked for education/work for children and who decided?
8. What is the remedy of child labour?

9. How far school from your home was, how did they go there?
10. What was the schooling cost, other cost, girl's schools?
11. What do you know about teachers and learning in school?
12. What do you think work and education can go together?
13. What are your earnings? If you are a cultivator then what is your holding size, other source of income?

Sample Group: 3 (Reintegrated Students)

1. Name.....
2. Father's name.....
3. Age.....
4. Sex.
5. Cast.....
6. Education.....
7. Address.....
8. Occupation.....
9. Date of passing out NCRCL...
10. Name of school.....
11. Date of entry in this school ...
12. Date of interview
1. When and why did you do child labour?
2. How did you get NCRCL and did you work during study?
3. How did you feel in formal school?
4. Why all of students could not be reintegrated?
5. Is there any other way of re-integration of child labour?
6. How far was your earlier school and how did you go there?
7. What was schooling cost, other cost, girl's schools?
8. What did you know about teachers and learning in that school?
9. Who encouraged you for work/ education, who was the decision maker?
10. Weather you think work and education can be done together?
11. What's your father do? And source of income?
12. What is other rehabilitation way of child labour?
13. Did you still do any labour?
14. What were the working conditions/ violence at work places?

Sample Group: 4 (Officials/ NGOs)

1. Name.....
2. Father's name.....
3. Age.....
4. Sex.
5. Position.....
6. Name of organisation.....
7. Address.....
8. Date of interview.....
1. Since how long do you know about this Centre?
2. How do these children reach there?
3. Why did they do child labour?
4. Why all of students were not integrated into formal schools?
5. Is there any other effective way to relocate these children?
6. How do you distinguish child labour in this region?
7. How can this rehabilitation process be improved?
8. What about the education system of the country?
9. What were the working conditions/ violence at work places?

Appendix III

Types of ‘Worst Forms’ of CL ILO Convention 182

The types of “worst forms” of child labour are outlined under Convention 182 and are further elaborated under the Recommendation 190 of the ILO:

- a. work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse;
- b. work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;
- c. work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads;
- d. work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health; and
- e. work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.

For the elimination of WFCL, Convention No. 182 requires ratifying member States to:

- apply the Convention to children under 18;
- take immediate and effective measures to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labour;
- designate monitoring mechanisms;
- adopt programmes of action;
- ensure effective enforcement, including penal or other sanctions;
- take preventative measures for the removal from work, rehabilitation and social integration of the children concerned;
- ensure access to free basic education;
- take action of the special situation of girls; and
- take steps to assist each other through international cooperation and / or assistance.

Appendix IV

Dakar Framework for Action 2000, Education for All goals and targets.

- 1) Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable disadvantaged children;
- 2) Ensuring that by 2015 all children with special emphasis on girls and children in difficult circumstances have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality;
- 3) Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning, life skills and citizenship programs;
- 4) Achieve a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults;
- 5) Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality; and
- 6) Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

Annexure V

The Schedule

Part 1 Occupations

Any occupation connected with;

- (1) transport of passengers, goods or mail;
- (2) work in catering establishment at a railway station, involving the movement of a vendor or any other employee of the establishment from one platform to another or into or out of a moving train;
- (3) work relating to the construction of railway station or with any other work where such work is done in close proximity to or between the railway lines; and
- (4) a port authority within the limits of any port.

Part 2

Processes

- (1) Work inside underground mines and above ground quarries including blasting and assisting in blasting.
- (2) Work with power driven cutting machinery like saws, shears, guillotines and agricultural machines, thrashers, fodder cutting machines.
- (3) Work with live electrical wires over 50 volts.
- (4) All operations related to leather tanning process e.g., soaking, dehairing, liming, chrome tanning, deliming, pickling, defleshing, ink application.
- (5) Mixing and manufacture of pesticides and insecticides; and fumigation.
- (6) Sandblasting and other work involving exposure to free silica.
- (7) Work with exposure to all toxic, explosive and carcinogenic chemicals e.g., asbestos, benzene, ammonia, chlorine, manganese, cadmium, sulphur dioxide, hydrogen sulphide, sulphuric acid, hydrochloric acid, nitric acid, caustic soda, phosphorus, benzidine dyes, isocyanates, carbon tetrachloride, carbon disulphide, epoxy resins, formaldehyde, metal fumes, heavy metals like nickel, mercury chromium, lead, arsenic, beryllium, fiber glass.
- (8) Work with exposure to cement dust in cement industry.
- (9) Work with exposure to coal dust.
- (10) Manufacture and sale of fireworks and explosives.

- (11) Work at the sites where liquid petroleum gas (LPG) and compressed natural gas (CNG) is filled in cylinders.
- (12) Work on glass and metal furnaces; and glass bangles manufacturing.
- (13) Work in the cloth weaving, printing, dyeing and finishing sections.
- (14) Work inside sewer pipelines, pits and storage tanks.
- (15) Stone crushing.
- (16) Lifting and carrying of heavy weight (15kg and above) specially in transport industry.
- (17) Carpet weaving.
- (18) Working two meters or more above the floor.
- (19) All scavenging including hospital waste.
- (20) Tobacco processing and manufacturing including *niswar* and *bidi* making.
- (21) Deep-sea fishing, commercial fishing and processing of fish and seafood.
- (22) Sheep casing and wool industry.
- (23) Ship breaking.
- (24) Surgical instruments manufacturing specially in vendors' workshops
- (25) Spice grinding.
- (26) Work in boiler house.
- (27) Work in cinemas, mini cinemas and cyber clubs.
- (28) Mica-cutting and splitting.
- (29) Shellac manufacturing.
- (30) Soap manufacture.
- (31) Wool cleaning
- (32) Building and construction industry.
- (33) Manufacture of pencils including packing.
- (34) Manufacture of products from agate.

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