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WHY DO PARENTS MAKE THEIR CHILDREN WORK? EVIDENCE FROM MULTIPLE INDICATOR CLUSTER SURVEY

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ABSTRACT

Since few decades ago, the issue of child labour has detained the global attention. This study highlights the supply side determinants of child labor in case of Punjab, Pakistan. Multiple indicator cluster survey 2007-08 for Punjab was used. Probit model was used to capture the objectives of this research. Results shows that the absence of mother's education, household head's education, large family size, low level of family income, less education of child etc. were the factors that pushed the children into work that is often damaging to their development.

Key words: Child labour, MICS, Pakistan.

1. INTRODUCTION

Among the major international agents in the field, in particular the ILO, UNICEF, and the World Bank, a consensus has been reached to focus efforts to curb the worst forms of child labour because it violates the basic human rights of children and deprives them from education, better health and other leisure of life. It not only affects their physical, psychological and spiritual life, but it is also harmful for economic growth of the country. Child labour generates unskilled and uneducated labour force for country [1]. Uneducated and unskilled labour force not only creates poverty for their selves, but also create problem on macro level for the country.

Recent ILO estimation depict that around 217.7 million children (ages from 5-7) are engaged in child labour, in which 126.3 million are working in poor condition. In Asia and Pacific 122.3 million children (ages from 5-14) are economically active in labour, while in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Caribbean they are 49.3 million and 5.7 million respectively. Almost 30 percent of the child labour belongs to least developed countries, while the share of developed countries is 16 percent. Asia contributes 12 percent; Africa contributes 29 percent to the total world's child labour. Latin America and Caribbean, East Asia and Pacific, Middle East and North Africa contribute the 10 percent for each. West and Central Africa is at highest position, contributing 35 percent, while Eastern and Southern Africa is at second position contributing 34 percent to whole world's child labour. Roughly 13.4 million child labour belongs to other regions. Sectoral distribution shows that agricultural sector employed

69% of total world child labour, while industrial sector and services sector engaged 9% and 22% child labour respectively (see Fig. 1).

After the Minimum Age Convention passed by ILO in 1921, the world has endeavored to protect the education rights of children and prevent the child labour which is at the cost of their school attendance. The minimum age for admission to employment was 15 years, passed in the ILO minimum age convention 1973. In case of poor educational and economic facilities this limit was 14 years.

Since 1990, due to the ingress of Convention on the Rights of the Child, the rights of child's are sheltered from "any work that is probable to be harmful or to hinder with the child's education" (Article 32) and "primary education will be compulsory and available free to all" (Article 28). The ILO convention 182 of 2000 provided more protection to children. In 2004, the 150 countries sanctioned the 182 prohibited worst forms of child labour defined under 2000 convention. These forms are illicit activities, all forms of slavery and similar practices, work that is likely to harm the health, child prostitution and pornography and safety or morals of children.

Along with other nations Government of Pakistan is also taking steps to tackle this growing problem. Government of Pakistan implemented Employment of Children Act (EOCA), the most inclusive law in the history of Pakistan against child labor in 1991, after passing the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989. There is no restriction of child work in the sectors like establishment, enterprises, agriculture sector and in family business. In case of agriculture sector child work is prohibited in these areas, where dangerous chemicals and sprays are utilized. However, there are restrictions of child labor in the large number of sectors¹. A child is prohibited to work for more than three hours without taking a break and also sets that he or she cannot work for more than seven hours per day.

The present study examines data from Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS). This survey program was administered at the level of the household. Using MICS 2007-08 this study seeks to find out supply side determinants of child labor in Punjab province of Pakistan.

Following this introduction, Section 2 presents situation of child labor in Pakistan. Review of literature is discussed in section 3. In Section 4, data and methodology will be discussed. In section 5, the results of a regression analysis of the determinants of child labour are discussed. Section 6 concludes the paper with a summary of the main findings.

¹ Any occupation connected with transport of goods, passengers or mails by railway, cinder picking, cleaning of an ash-pit or building operation in a railway premises, work in a catering establishment at a railway station, work relating to the construction of a railway station or any other such work where such work is done in close proximity to or between railway lines, a port authority within the limits of any port, work relating to selling of crackers and fire-works in shops with temporary licenses.

In the manufacturing sector, Bidi making, Carpet weaving, Cement manufacture including bagging of cement, Cloth printing, dyeing and weaving, Manufacture of matches, explosive and fireworks, Mica-cutting, Soap manufacturing, Wool-cleaning, Building and construction industry, Manufacture of slate pencils, including packaging, Manufacture of products from agate, Manufacturing processes using toxic metals and substances such as lead, mercury, manganese, chromium, pesticides and asbestos.

2. SITUATION OF CHILD LABOR IN PAKISTAN

In Pakistan child labour is present in all the sections of the economy. Informal sectors and home based industries are the main abode of child labour. Moreover, particularly children's are found in brick kiln industry, sports industry, leather tanneries, cottage industry, power looms, food processing, building and road construction, chemical industry, footwear industry, surgical industry, hotels and canteens, carpet weaving etc. In agriculture sector they are working in dairy sector, fisheries and poultry farming. They also work in services sector as an assistant of cobbler, barber, domestic servants, painter etc. (UNICEF, 1992). In 1996 Federal Bureau of Statistics conducted the National Child Labour survey in order to measure the child labour in Pakistan. It was found that 3.3 million of the 40 million children (age's from 5-14) were working on a full-time basis. The 73 percent of total child labour was belonged to boys while, 27 percent were girls. The number of economically active children in the 10-14 years age group is more than four times the children in the 5-9 years age group. Agricultural sector engaged 67 percent of child labor, manufacturing sector engaged 11 percent, while wholesale and retail trade, and restaurant and hotels sector engaged 9 and 8 percent respectively (see Fig. 2).

Percentage of child labour in elementary unskilled occupations was very high. It includes the occupations like manufacturing and transport, agricultural fisheries related labour, sales and services labor and construction and mining labour. About 71 percents of child were engaged with elementary occupation, while 19 percent were engaged with craft and related industries. Among 3.3 million children, 46 percent were working for 35 hours per week, which are more than normal working hours. 13 percent worked for 56 hours per week, of which 14 percent were boys and 8 percent were girls. In rural areas 42 percent child labour was working more than normal work hours, while in urban areas this was 73 percent. 54 percent of the children were working because they assist the household enterprise. 27 percent children worked because they want to give income supplement to their family. The children contributed about 31.3 percent to household income (the household having income group from rupees 1001-1500). The children contributed 20.1 percent to household income (the household having income group from rupees 1501-2000) and contributed 18.2 percent (the household having income group from rupees 2001-3000) whereas, 14 percent children were doing household chores [2].

In different regimes different parties put emphasizes on this problem, but seems to be unable to control. In 1996, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto announced to control child labour. In 1998, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif pointed out that child labour problem is in priority agenda of government of Pakistan. In 1999, Federal Minister for Labour and Manpower Shaikh Rashid highlighted the four point's policy to eliminate child labour. In 2002, Federal Minister for Labor and Manpower Omar Asghar Khan announced that before 2005 there would be no child labour and bounded labour in Pakistan. Moreover, government also announced to sanction rupees 100 million for rehabilitation and elimination of child labour and bounded child labour. Mostly there is a difference between government and private statistics about child labour in Pakistan. Mostly the research is based on a town, villages or some cities.

Among 40 million children (aged 5-14 years), 3.3 million were economically active, of which 2.4 million were child laborers. Among 2.4 million 73 percents were boys while, 27 percent were girls. 33.2 percent were from formal education system. Pre-metric percentage of male child labor was 40.4 percent, while 11.2 percent were female child labor. Table 1 shows the quantum of child labor in Pakistan by provinces, age, sex and area (see table 1).

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Cartwright et al. (1999) focused the child having age group of 7-17 years and tried to find out the determinants of child labour. Study used household survey of Bolivia. Multinomial Logit regression results showed that child labour was a function of family income. Child labour in boys was more than girls. Moreover, older children have a higher incidence of labour. There was a negative relationship between sibling hold by household and child labour. Most important result was that the reduction in poverty was negatively related with school enrolment, while school enrolment was negatively related with child labour [3].

Ray and Ranjan (2000) found that there was a positive relationship between child labour and poverty and negative relationship between child schooling and poverty in case of Pakistan, while this was not confirmed in case of Peru. In case of Pakistan there was a great tendency that income of child labour reduces poverty but a low tendency in Peru. Strict Islamic laws were the main reason for low female school enrolment. Proportion of children who ever attended school was higher in Pakistan than Peru [4].

Maitra and Ranjan (2000) analyzed the relationship between child labour and child schooling by using the data of Pakistan, Peru and Ghana. Results showed that through awareness from education, provision of near school for female would reduce child labour. Logit regression results found that child labour was due to poverty. Moreover, increase in family size was the main reason of child labour [5].

Cigno et al. (2001) used household decision framework in order to find out causes and consequences of child labour. Study found that imposition of school attendance and prohibition on child labour make situation worse. Instead of these strict policies, it is need to reduce school attendance cost and provision of such policies that remove the prohibition on household level. Better health facilitations will enhance school attendance hence produce educated labor force [6],[7].

Ray (2001) tried to explore the determinants of child labor hours and schooling experience in Nepal and Pakistan. Three stage least square (TSLS) technique results showed a trade off between child schooling and child labour. There was a gender bias and this gender bias was strong in case of Pakistan as compared to Nepal. Boys worked longer hour than girls, again this disparity was more in case of Pakistan than Nepal. Adult education significantly positively affect child schooling. In Pakistan rural children were poor than urban, while it was opposite in case of Nepal. Moreover, inequality has an inverted U-shaped impact on child's poverty [8].

Khan and Ejaz (2001) tried to analyze the supply side determinants of female children by using the primary data of 60 females in Multan during 1993. Study found that 75 percent of children start working during the age of 4-8 years. Their daily wage was from rupees 10-60. The children who work for 6-12 hours, their wage were rupees 50-130 per week. Unhygienic working atmosphere was the main factor of their poor health. Poor

economic condition was one of the main factors of child labor. Their father's income was less than rupees 1000. An inverse relationship was found between parent's education and supply of child labor. Moreover, large family sizes, fear of unemployment were the other main factors of female child labour [9].

Brown et al. (2001) tried to evaluate the child labour programs. It was also the aim of the study to find out the primary determinants of child labour. Study found that schemes such as incentives given to families to choose education rather punishment, has no significant impact in the reduction of child labor. Policies started by UNICEF, UNESCO and ILO needs more funds and empirical evaluation. Education subsidies have a little impact on parent's decision about child labour. Study suggested that education subsidy is better than implementing laws about compulsory education and work age restriction [10].

3. DATA AND METHDOLOGY

The data of multiple indicator cluster survey (MICS) for Punjab 2007-08 gives household as well as child specific details that are necessary to quantify the child labour. First round of survey was conducted in 2003-04 and second round was completed in 2008. The survey was conducted by the Bureau of Statistics, Government of Punjab, Planning and Development Department with technical support of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). MICS 2007-08 consists of more than 70 indicators, which were 40 in MICS 2003-04, and the coverage has been extended down to tehsil level. The survey covered 6,368 clusters and 91,280 households in urban and rural areas of the Punjab province.

To explore the determinants of child labour, binary dependent variable is used in Probit model. Binary dependent variable represents the child labour and non child labour status of respondent. Explanatory variables include age, gender, region, household head education, mother's education, household head gender, family size and household income. The specification of the model with educational dummies variables is as follows:

$$Childlabor = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 age + \alpha_2 gender + \alpha_3 region + \alpha_4 HHedu + \alpha_5 Mtedu + \alpha_6 HHgen + \alpha_7 fsize + \alpha_8 income + \epsilon$$

Where

Child labor = dummy variable equal to 1 for the child who work during last week or last year and zero otherwise.

Age = age of the child who works during last week or last year.

Gender = Dummy variable equal to 1 if child is male and zero otherwise.

Region = Dummy variable equal to 1 if child belongs to urban area and zero for rural area.

HHedu = Household head complete year of education.

Mtedu = Mother's complete year of education.

HHgen = Dummy variable equal to 1 if child's household head is male and zero otherwise.

Fsize = Number of family members in the household.

Hincome = Monthly income of household in rupees.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

All the variables are significant and according to expectations, except family size and household income. Coefficient of age is positively significantly related to child labour, which shows that probability of doing work as the age of the child increases. Negative sign of the coefficient of household head education depicts that if the household head is educated probability of child work decreases. Mother education is also very important determinant of child labour. Our result shows that probability of being child labor decreases if child mother is educated. Gender of household head is positively related with child labour, which shows that probability of doing work from child increases if household head is male. Positive sign of the coefficient of family size depicts that with the increase in family size, probability of work from child increases. Coefficient of region is significantly positively related with child labour, which shows that probability of child labour increases if the child belongs to urban areas. Moreover, the probability of doing work increases if the gender of the child is male (see table 2).

5. CONCLUSION

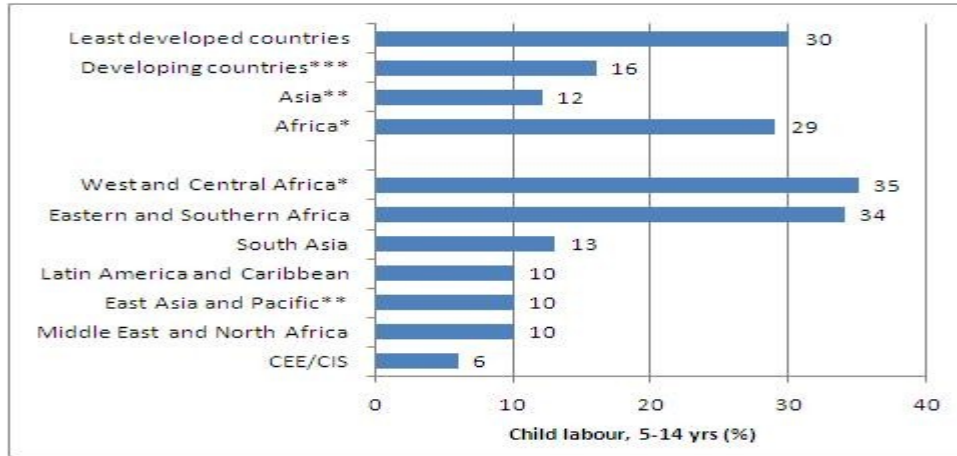
The aim of the present study was to identify the supply side determinants of child labour. Multiple indicator cluster survey 2007-08 for Punjab was used. According to this study children are pushed into work that is often damaging to their development due to these factors: absence of mother's education, household head's education, large family size, low level of family income, less education of child etc. On the basis of our results the study gives certain policy options. Low level of family income drives children into hazardous labour. The parents of child labourers are often unemployed or underemployed, desperate for secure employment and income. Yet it is their children more powerless and paid less that is offered the jobs. Immediate effort is required to eliminate hazardous and exploitative child labour and in this regard government should provide employment opportunities for the adult member of those families whose survival depends upon the earnings of the children. Hazardous and exploitative forms of child labour, including bonded labour and work that hampers the child's physical, social, emotional or moral development, must not be tolerated, and governments should take necessary action to stop them. Governments must ensure primary education free and compulsory for all children. Data on child labour are scarce and inaccurate. Government should take special attention to the forgotten areas of child labour like child labour within the home, or in the family form. Monitoring by communities themselves is important, and working children should actively participate in assessing their situations and in proposing ways to improve their conditions.

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Appendix

Figure 1: Children aged 5–14 engaged in child labor (%), by region (1999-2008)



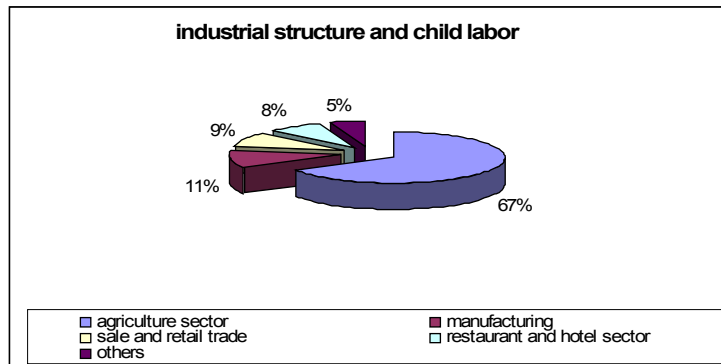
Source: UNICEF SOWC 2010.

* Excludes Nigeria

** Excludes China

*** Excludes Nigeria and China

Figure 2: Industrial Structure and Child Labor.



Source: Child labor Survey, 1996.

Table 1: Child Labor Force Participation Rates in Pakistan by Provinces, Age, Sex and Area.

Age Group	All Areas			Rural			Urban		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Pakistan									
5-9	2.65	2.98	2.30	3.39	3.64	3.11	0.64	1.08	0.20
10-14	14.86	22.17	7.15	18.71	27.47	9.56	5.95	10.9	1.50
5-14	8.72	11.78	4.54	10.26	14.16	6.05	3.24	5.60	0.82
Punjab									
5-9	1.78	2.31	1.20	2.17	2.69	1.57	0.74	1.22	0.28
10-14	16.60	23.66	9.10	21.14	30.00	12.39	6.42	10.48	1.98
5-14	8.59	12.04	4.86	10.68	14.50	6.49	3.58	5.89	1.10
Sindh									
5-9	0.66	1.20	0.10	0.81	1.48	0.10	0.43	0.78	0.09
10-14	6.64	11.71	1.18	8.08	14.28	1.49	4.71	8.34	0.74
5-14	3.46	6.18	0.59	4.16	7.37	0.75	2.49	4.50	0.40
NWFP									
5-9	9.01	8.55	9.48	1.02	9.36	10.71	0.96	1.76	0.20
10-14	23.51	36.65	10.29	25.44	39.02	11.58	9.00	17.69	1.17
5-14	5.76	21.54	9.86	17.18	23.04	11.12	4.81	9.30	0.67
Baluchistan									
5-9	0.16	0.31	-	0.18	0.33	-	0.10	0.18	-
10-14	1.34	2.56	0.08	1.26	2.41	0.04	1.82	3.41	0.29
5-14	6.66	1.23	0.03	0.63	1.19	0.02	0.84	1.51	0.13

Source: Child labor Survey, 1996

Table 2: Probit model results

Probit regression

Log likelihood = **-3534.152**

LR chi2(8) = **478.12**
 Prob > chi2 = **0.0000**
 Pseudo R2 = **0.0634**

child_labor	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
age	.0968417	.0058243	16.63	0.000	.0854264	.1082571
hh_h_edu	-.0680784	.0106701	-6.38	0.000	-.0889913	-.0471654
mthr_edu	-.0398314	.0151823	-2.62	0.009	-.0695882	-.0100746
gender_hh_~d	.0939412	.0803797	1.17	0.243	-.0636002	.2514826
family_size	.0020467	.005416	0.38	0.706	-.0085685	.0126619
sex	.1574859	.0318529	4.94	0.000	.0950554	.2199163
hh_income	7.94e-07	1.05e-06	0.75	0.451	-1.27e-06	2.86e-06
region	.3727456	.0362857	10.27	0.000	.3016269	.4438643
_cons	-2.959373	.1058534	-27.96	0.000	-3.166842	-2.751904