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Economics of Child Labor: A Multidimensional approach

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LIST OF DEFINITIONS

HDI: GNI Per Capita: Aggregate income of an economy generated by its production and its ownership of factors of production, less the incomes paid for the use of factors of production owned by the rest of the world, converted to international dollars using purchasing power parity (PPP) rates, divided by midyear population. HDRO calculations based on data from World Bank (2012), IMF (2012) and UNSD (2012).

Child Labor: Percentage of children ages 5–11 who, during the reference week, did at least one hour of economic activity or at least 28 hours of household chores, or children ages 12–14 who, during the reference week, did at least 14 hours of economic activity or at least 28 hours of household chores. UNICEF (2012).

School Dropout Ratio: Percentage of students from a given cohort that have enrolled in primary school but that drop out before reaching the last grade of primary education. It is calculated as 100 minus the survival rate to the last grade of primary education and assumes that observed flow rates remain unchanged throughout the cohort life and that dropouts do not re-enter school. UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2012). Data Centre.

Under-5 mortality rate: Probability of dying between birth and exactly age 5, expressed per 1,000 live births. Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation

Multidimensional Poverty Index: the global Multidimensional Poverty Index is an international measure of acute poverty covering over 100 developing countries. It complements traditional income-based poverty measure by capturing the severe deprivations that each person faces at the same time with respect to education, health and living standards- Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative.

Human Development Index: value composite index measuring average achievement in three basic dimensions of human development—a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living. See Technical note 1 for details on how the HDI is calculated. HDRO calculations based on data from UNDESA (2013a), Barrow and Lee (2013), UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2013b), United Nations Statistics Division (2014), World Bank (2014) and IMF (2014).

Public Services: Services provided by the government or its agencies

Essential Public Services: may refer to a class of occupations that have been legislated by a government to have special restrictions in regard to labor actions - Such as not being allowed to legally strike. Examples medical, electricity, water supply, police, the provision of food to pupils of school age and cleaning of schools among other.

Abstract

This paper is a multi-county, multi-dimensional rigorous analysis of immensely critical and continuously expanding socio-economic crisis that has engulfed many developing countries which calls for immediate action to preserve our present and future. This paper is an embodiment of study of all factors that are seriously

responsible for promoting child labor in most of the less-developed, low-income, emerging, middle-income countries. Based on empirical data, and other research articles, this paper investigates the problem from political, social and economic and cultural aspects. This paper identifies the roots of crisis and attempts to bridge the existing gap between policy and implementation so as to make the world child labor free.

First chapter deals with impact of poverty on child's education, living conditions, well-being, future and their opportunities under poverty and the second chapter goes beyond income and well-being and answers to some of the most critical questions of our time related to childhood, society and public services and the third chapter namely the intergenerational perspective focus on policies and its failure and its continues impact on our societies and young at large and finally the conclusion chapter

The primary objective of this paper is to investigate how varied factors destroy the destiny of young children and future of most of the countries sequentially and secondly to pin-point years of inefficiency in dealing with problem and finally pursued governments to refocus and act proactively. In essence, this paper explores poverty that is beyond income poverty. This paper enlightens various hidden facts that are key and more important than income poverty. The intensity of this on-going crisis in many countries explains a structural gap between policies and implementation and the gap between research and policy design. And Ironically this year is the deadline year for the Millennium Development Goals [MDG's] set in year 2000, but even after 15 years of continued investment and commitment many of the goals haven't been achieved yet, so ultimate propose of this paper elaborate a broader roadmap for achieving the MDG's sooner. The centrality of this research project focuses on gap between state commitment and outcomes why and how prescription failed to deliver or achieve targets. But MDG's haven't been discussed in this paper as those the beyond the scope to this research, but its helps in creation of complete understating of failures and helps in creating a system that effectively address these issues.

Key Words: Child Labor, Poverty, Public Services, Poverty Alleviation, Policy

Academic Discipline: Socio-Economic

Subject Classification: Development Economics

Method: Empirical

Research Purpose

One day around mid-morning, I visited the corner shop close to my home to buy some house-hold things, and I saw 2 young children below the age of 12 working in that small shop weighing, sweeping and packing household items like lentils and salt and I asked one of the boys; why do you work here? He replied, 'Mummy sent me here'. And I asked why? Don't you go to school? And he replied mummy want me to work here, I can't go to school, and she also work in neighboring homes, and again I asked where your father is? He's no more, the boy replied. This brief conversation inspired me to study it in its entirety. This explains how the death of bread-earner of the family affects everyone associated with him, secondly how the absence of proper benefits for the needy in the society like widow benefits affects the future of the child and thirdly it explains poverty behind. Fourthly it explains the reasons for leaving school; fifthly it also explains ineffectiveness of rules and regulation on child labor. Numerous analogies can be made out of this conversation but what is needed is to eradicate this socio-economic malice from our societies. After careful observation and precise focus on individual factors and the entire problem I realized the need to specifically elaborate the interconnections between factors augmenting it and how each factor is seriously responsible for expanding the child labor crisis in various countries. Micro-economic approach of analysis has been followed in this paper in order to capture the problem from multiple dimensions.

In a battle against child labor, a set of laws have been tried, on national and supranational levels, through international organizations such as the ILO, WTO and the UNICEF, but the determinants of child labor are rather

difficult to evaluate and the choice of an "international labor standards is complex" (Alice FABRE, MARCH 2004) the process of converging the determinants might be complex due to the fact that variety of inter-connected factors are at work in different countries, for example in India lack of income for sustenance might be the single largest factor responsible for pushing children to work but on the contrary in Benin or Ethiopia child's own survival and sustenance might be the primary reason because on the event of death of parents [due to illness] children are forced to work to feed themselves.

In another brilliantly drafted paper Poverty Alleviation and Child Labor (Schady., 2011) shows the relationship between Bono de DeBartolo Humane program child labor in Ecuador. It shows that \$15 a month through BDH program reduces child labor in Ecuador to some extent. The study concludes that impact of winning a lottery on child's time allocation on work is negative and furthermore it says that there is 10% reduction in paid employment for children and moving forward it also states that there's 19% reduction in unpaid economic activity. It shows the relationship between child time allocation to work and monthly cash received through this program.

This paper essentially follows empirical methodology with a handful of ratios and index readings and after a lot of study and acute observation I decided to write a paper systematically incorporating and diligently focusing on the array of factors responsible for pushing children to work in different countries based on theme of universal applicability with primary focus on low-income countries. Micro-economic approach helped to develop strong insights, classify each variable according to its impact on this crisis and helped in recognition of policy and structural lags so far in redressing it thereby ultimately deepening our understanding about the nature of connections between factors responsible for child labor in many countries.

Introduction

One of the most shameful socio-economic problems observed in developing countries characterized by low per capita income is child labor. "On average one in every seven child can be classified as a child laborer" (United Nations, Child labour Vital statistics, 2014). Eventually this complicated issue has turned into a big crisis and a distinct feature of low income countries since a long time. Child labor is a failure resulting due to policy failure designed and adopted by the state. More generally it is the consequence of multiple failures associated with policies implemented concerning population, employment creation and poverty eradication and health care, and sanitation. "An estimated 150 million children worldwide engaged in child labor" (UNICEF, Current Status +Progress Report, 2015) furthermore if we look as region wise Africa ranks on the top of the list in child Labor. "Asia and the Pacific still has the largest number almost 78 million 9.3% of child the population but Africa continues to be the region with the highest incidence of child labor with 59 million or 21% of the child population. (Organisation, Child Labour, 2013)

Complex set of varied different factors influence child labor and it requires holistic approach to understand and redress it. Labor in the society should not be a reflection of economic helplessness or deprivations and perhaps child labor showcases socio-economic problems that remain largely unrecognizable in many countries. It explains how income poverty and other factors have evolved in the country or region and how these factors gradually changed the destiny of millions of children world. Child labor is a multifaceted highly complex problem that poses a direct risk to the future of the country it left unchecked; and from demographic perspective it adversely damages the socio-economic set-up since it hampers their ability to go to school and crushes the opportunity of learning new skills, and ultimately restricts lives under low-income stagnant cycle.

If we view poverty as the only factor responsible for child labor and design policies and implement programs that support growth in per capita income helping to reduce poverty than the whole issue of child labor and its determinants are not being addressed. Hypothetically if a patient is suffering from multiple health complications from a long time and if medical experts in a five-star hospital just decided to inject blood to the patient by assuring his family that he will recover immediately rather than initiating treatment on primary illness or factors responsible for his primary illness, than chances of healthy recovery might dramatically reduce and health of the patient might badly deteriorate further. This is truly not the right approach to deal with such a critical patient.

Indeed if a patient is facing renal failure then diagnosis must have started with understanding the results from the blood tests rather by prescribing painkillers and steroids.

Similarly in case of child labor too, factors behind such activity/phenomenon must be investigated rather than adopting programs and framework which is to large extent one-way in nature may not bring the considerable change in the society and may not help achieve the targets set under the framework. Naturally a question might arise that if poverty is not the primary factor then what are those factors greatly responsible for creating a socio-economic situation that pushes young children to work?

In order to answer these question we need to understand various factors leading to such an activity it may be due to low family income, or due the lack of affordable health care of even free health care system or even due to death of income earners in the family which eventually calls for young children to take up the responsibility of earning for the family o it may due to death of parents or it may be due to civil crises in the country of region, or it may due to inaccessible higher education for people living in rural areas or hilly areas or it may be due poverty, so ultimately one-way approach or say huge spending just on primary education may not seem to be the sufficient condition for improvement of living conditions.

Child labor is in highest proportion in Asia-pacific region compared to the world, where 18.5 million of 650 million 5-14 olds are renegeed in work and further the region has moderate progress in eliminating child labor compared to Latin America and Caribbean (Organisation, Child Labour in Asia and Pacific, 2014). But over the last 15 years worldwide remarkable success has been achieved but still in many countries this crisis is yet to show signs of weakness. "Child labor is declining, but the progress is too slow and too uneven". (UN, 2014) In the year 2004, there were 218 million children engaged in child labor, excluding child domestic labor and some 126 million children aged 5-17 are believed to be engaged in hazardous work. It is estimated that children represent 40-50 percent of victims of forced labor, or 5.7 million children are trapped in forced and bonded labor. (UNICEF,2006)

In broader perspective the relative affect and the degree of intensity of this crisis may variate depending on countries in focus and markets under consideration. Perhaps in countries where the population growth is slow and labour market regualtion is weak coupled with lack of essential public services, impact of chlid labour on entire society will be dangerously harmful.

Primarily, there will be apprent shrotage of skilled labour in the market because proportion of labour that could have turned into skilled labor or that could have created large pool of highly skilled labour is shrinked due to the fact that young chlidren opted to work rather then study. This will be reflected in literacy ratios, patent application in the country, discoveries in medicine, science & technology and other. Ironically litracy ratio present a very broad picture of over all labour quality in the market and over all effect of policies and schems dedicated to eradicate child labour, even though it can be sensed straihforwardly.

And secondly in countries where population growth is quite rapid, income gorwth is low, poverty is rampant, labour ragulation is gravely ineffective in curbing out child labour

This research paper sequentially elaborates and investigates issues behind this crisis by developing strong in-depth insights into the problem based in classification of factors into many different economic and social categories that promotes and pushes young child to take up the work.

Chapter1

Child Labor and Poverty

Wherever there is poverty there is child labour*.Poverty gives birth to child labour and in effect child labour gives birth to illiteracy, unemployment and economic backwardness. Child Labour is any work done by a child that may be harmful to their physical, emotional, intellectual and social development. Children being the future

of every nation and most productive resource of the all resources available, but we see these resources are left under the shackles of poverty, destitution and helplessness. Then tomorrow a country may have every required resource needed for prosperity but not the basic and preeminent factor that is human capital. Since children today is human capital tomorrow. Poverty can be defined as a phenomenon that gradually leads to lowering standards of living, a process that eventually destroys the capacity to get out of poverty cycle, a situation where people loses their opportunities for better employment avenues, where people get deprived of life's basic amenities such as health care and justice. Poverty remains at the heart of the problem and it doesn't just lead to child labour but also withers away the prospects of bright future and healthy life. And perhaps child labour is one of the most unethical, shameful aspect related to modern labour markets in most of the least developed countries "Child labour is a complex problem and numerous factors influence whether children work or not. Poverty emerges as the most compelling reason why children work." (UN, 2014)

The relationship between poverty and child labour is so strong and complicated that we can't imagine reducing child labour without developing effective and progressive measures that help reduce income poverty. "It is work that children should not be doing because they are too young to work, or – if they are old enough to work – because it is dangerous or otherwise unsuitable for them. Not all work done by children should be classified as child labour that is to be targeted for elimination. Children's or adolescents' participation in work that does not affect their health and personal development or interfere with their education is generally regarded as being something positive. Whether or not particular forms of "work" can be called "child labour" depends on the child's age, the type and hours of work performed and the conditions under which it is performed, as set out in the ILO convention

Country	Child Labor 2012	HDI:*
Chad	26.11%	\$2,130
Ethiopia	35%	\$1,500
Haiti	24%	\$1,750
Kenya	26%	\$2,890
Mauritania	15%	\$3,700
India	11.80%	\$5,750
Sierra Leone	26%	\$1,830
Equatorial Guinea	27.8%	\$22,480

GNI per capita in PPP terms constant 2005 intl \$ 2014

Source: Source: Human Development Report 2014, UNDP for year 2013, Accessed from Google Public Data system

The above chart provides overview of relationship between Per capita incomes in PPP terms constant 2005 intl \$ for the year 2014 and Child Labour for six countries for the year 2010. Child Labour figures adopted from Human Development Indicators, Human security Section from Google Public Data.

"Poverty is associated with the undermining of a range of key human attributes, including health. The poor are exposed to greater personal and environmental health risks, are less well nourished, have less information and are less able to access health care; they thus have a higher risk of illness and disability. Conversely, illness can reduce household savings, lower learning ability, reduce productivity, and lead to a diminished quality of life,

thereby perpetuating or even increasing poverty. Poverty is often defined in absolute terms of low income – less than US\$2 a day, for example. But in reality, the consequences of poverty exist on a relative scale. The poorest of the poor, around the world, have the worst health. Within countries, the evidence shows that in general the lower an individual's socioeconomic position the worse their health. There is a social gradient in health that runs from top to bottom of the socioeconomic spectrum. This is a global phenomenon, seen in low, middle and high income countries". (WHO, 2014)

Country	Multidimensional Poverty Index	Child Labor
Chad	NA	26.11%
Ethiopia	0.54	35%
Haiti	0.24	24%
Kenya	0.23	26%
Mauritania	0.36	15%
India	0.28	11.80%
Sierra Leone	0.41	26%
Equatorial Guinea	NA	27.8%

Source: Human Development Report 2014, UNDP for year 2013, Accessed from Google Public Data system

Percentage of the population is multidimensional poor adjusted by the intensity of the deprivations. In the above chart it can be seen that relationship between MPI, and child labour is stronger and much deeper. The higher the MPI the corresponding figure on Child labour is also tend to be higher. In case Ethiopia the MPI is 0.54 and total child labour stands at 35%. And in case of India where MPI index is 0.28 and corresponding child labour figure is at 11.80%. And furthermore, in case of Madagascar too the data presents the similar picture. In generally showcases the complexities and connections between MPI and Child labour and its derivatives. In 2013 the MPI index for Madagascar was 0.42 and 28% of young children were engaged in Labour, it indicates the a very broad fashion the interrelation between various factors affecting or promoting child labour and the real impact of action taken by respective national governments.

With development of measures of judgment in evaluative circumference of working of the economy, child labour emerged as one of reliable source for understanding the true effect distribution of national income in the country and relative direction of economic progress. Economists and policy makers especially in least developed countries have exhibited increasingly higher levels of concern for child labour through formulation of redistribution policies and strategies as a part of their attempt for equitable distribution. But in reality, lot of more serious work needs to be done which naturally calls for measures that effectively enhance per capita income. Sluggish income growth is the core of all the crises and it's a key element. It is the inability of labour markets and government policies in structuring economies so as to gradually enhance per capita incomes. Claire Hajj, communications officer at UNICEF's Iraq Support Centre in Amman said, "poverty was the driving more children to work on the streets". (IRAQ, 2007) Fundamentally, policies failed, regulation over child labour was less effective, poor people automatically got more isolated from fast growing commercial activities (due to illiteracy, bad health, and being away from urban areas) and ultimately public services were seriously inadequate and as consequence per capita income of poorest of poor stagnated. Child labour persists even though laws and standards to eliminate it exist. "Current causes of child labour are similar to causes in the US 100 years ago, including poverty, limited access to education, repression of workers' rights and limited prohibitions on child labour. Poor children and families may rely upon child labour in order to improve their chances of attaining

basic necessities. More than one-fourth of the world's people live in extreme poverty according to 2005 UN estimate". (IOWA)Child labour is not really a desired form of employment in every society, but a product manufactured in factories of poverty and economic dualism. "In developing economies child labour is often performed at the expense of education, which makes it an important issue warranting further analysis". (Niels Hugo Blunch, 2000)

Child labour represents deprivation of basic human rights at a very early stage even when it can be prevented. Young children who step out for work inherit poverty, desertedness and hunger that forcibly put these young children into the dark dungeons of hopeless future; where they start living under conditions which are arguably worst than what their parents had gone through in their childhood because it is clear by the fact that if parents had gone through all these miseries in their early age they would have surely rescued their children from falling into similar conditions where they carry forward the legacy of poverty, hunger and hopelessness. But for the sake of argument suppose that if parents had much better living conditions during their early childhood but now they are compelled to send their children to work by depriving their basic right of education, even in this situation it is quite apparent that standard of living has suffered badly, income levels lowered, opportunities for a better life vanished, poverty expanded, mass of people got deprived of basic right of affordable health care and medication, scarcity of clean drinking water still haunting, food supplies falling short of demand and hunger reached its zenith ultimately led to starvation.

Country	HDI [2012]	Child Labor[2012]
Chad	0.37	26.11%
India	0.59	11.80%
Ethiopia	0.44	35%
Haiti	0.47	24%
Kenya	0.54	26%
Mauritania	0.49	15%
Madagascar	NA	NA
Gambia	0.44	NA
Sierra Leone	0.37	26%
Equatorial Guinea	0.56	27.8%

Source: Human Development Report 2014, UNDP for year 2013. Accessed from Google Public Data system

Here the human development index too exhibits the similar pattern of activates and situation in several countries that are under the study. In this case the relationship between HDI and Child labour is not so strong and less enlightening as in the case of MPI and Child labour, but a comparison is crucial for the study of interconnections between poverty and child labour and other undesirable factors affecting it.

In this case to the weaker the HDI figures the stronger and disappointing child Labor statistics for the year 2012 for Chad the HDI was 0.37 and more 26% of young children were engaged in some form of labour. In Ethiopia for the same year the HDI was 0.43 and proportion of young children working was staggering 35%. Similarly, for India the HDI was 0.58 and surprisingly only about 12 of young children were at work!

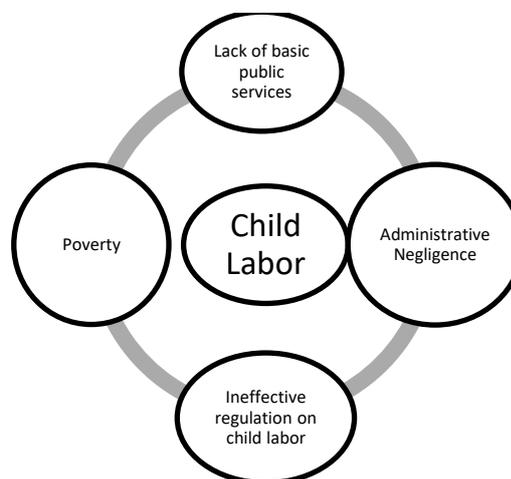
According to UNICEF New Zealand, Children enter into work for many reasons.

- Being born into a poor family and working to earn money to help them
- In order to get food

- Working to pay off their parents owe
- Being head of their household (there are lot of child-headed households in Africa, because of HIV and AIDS)
- Being taken against their will and being used by or sold to corrupt peoples
- It is easier for employees to get children to work in bad conditions than adults. They are cheaper to employ. (UNICEF New Zealand Child Labour, 2014)

Major demand for child labor comes from its huge supply coupled with low costs compared to an adult and due to the existence of an unregulated labor market. "Employers may prefer to hire children because they are "cheaper" than their adult counterparts, can be dispensed of easily if labor demands fluctuate and also form a docile, obedient work-force that will not seek to organize itself for protection and support". (UN, 2014)

Primarily, labor by a person is accepted upon completion of a certain age, but when we find instances of child labor, factual socio-economic reasons have to be investigated that expand the child labor market. Many economists have recognized that child labor will cast an adverse effect on future generations (that will be discussed later) and on the present too. Child labor is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and perhaps its roots are embedded in economic poverty, social repression and political inaction and negligence and crisis. It would not be wrong to term child labor as "economic epidemic". Policies should be adjusted so as to increase the socio-cultural compatibility along with economic capacity, to understand its ill effects on families and on society and to eliminate child labor. It can be said that child labor is in fact a true representation of ineffective policies from formulation to implementation. Public policy concerned with socio-economic or demographic aspects of the society must be more vindictive in nature and should progressively address those factors that perhaps are collectively responsible for social degradation in terms of opportunities and development. Poverty is the foundation of child labor because parents tend to send their young children to work only when they feel that their current level of income is falling short to achieve the basic necessities of life for the whole family. The second reason why poverty is the driving force behind child labor is that orphan children in many war-torn countries accidentally and unwillingly enter into child labor to earn money to satisfy their own basic requirements.



"Since last year we have observed a huge increase in the number of children on the streets, and the number of orphans resulting from sectarian violence has also increased. This is disastrous for the future of Iraq because those children are not getting an education and are exposed to drugs, prostitution and sexual harassment," Professor Salah Faris, a social and economic analyst at Baghdad University, said, adding: "There are few projects tackling child labor in Iraq today. This is unacceptable." (IRAQ, 2007) Third reason for why child labor exists even today is the failure of authorities to establish an efficient, adequate and most importantly reliable system of public services namely health and sanitation. Even today in remote and interior areas of many developing countries people lack health care facilities, people are living under miserable conditions because of lack of clean drinking water, sanitation and electricity. Perhaps not all these factors are directly responsible for child labor but in reality

it indirectly creates a situation where people due consequences of these problems adopt to send their children to work. For example, millions of children have been affected by the HIV pandemic. Many children live with HIV, while an even larger number have been orphaned or made vulnerable by AIDS. If a parent falls ill due to HIV or AIDS related illnesses, the child may have to drop out of school to care for family members (United Nations Global Issues, 2008) But however poverty is not the only factor influencing child labor but in reality host of other factors like little or no access to education, weak regulation overlooking child labor, intergenerational poverty and other also responsible.

*Poverty that inevitably leads to reduction or lessening of economic opportunities of the people more importantly having a negative effect on future on the people.

Chapter 2

DEMOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

Demographic analysis of child labor provides much wider, deeper insights behind the real agony of society by successfully enveloping multitude of issues and causes behind child labor based on rigorous analysis of connections between demographic variables and public services. Through the lens of demographic instrument, the roots of child labor and its real causes that literally goes beyond income poverty becomes apparent and more clearer and eventually helps in making a sound judgment and also helps in designing an effective policy framework to deal with it. On the contrary, micro economic analysis of child labor [as we have previously seen above] primarily exhibits that capacity to earn for sustenance or livelihood and size of the family are in fact seriously responsible in shaping the future of young children. The better the family income, and brighter the future of children, but this analogy is perhaps self-contradictory if we broaden our perspectives and understanding about it. It can be observed that in some countries children are forced to contribute monetarily to the family income or the household in order to expand economic capacity, which is in fact true, but on the other hand intuitive exercise and versatile approach to the problem reveals the evolution of child labor which is deep-rooted, convoluted phenomenon calling for multi-dimensional broad based study to combat it. This can undeniably be seen through the demographic prism that is indeed the primary target of this chapter.

Let's begin with education and school drop-out rates for few countries.

The Primary school dropout rates* in Chad for the year 2012 was 61.9% and similarly school dropout rates for Madagascar was 59.3% in 2012. Ironically The Gambian experience is more awful. In this case primary school dropout rate for the year 2012 was 17.2%. And we look at same ratio for an advanced country, say Norway it was 0.7% in the year 2012. Similarly for it was 4.4% for Sweden for the same year. But here the question is why primary school dropout rates are considered? This is because the connection between school dropout rates and children leaving school for work is quite high.

Country	Ethiopia	Chad	Madagascar	Mauritania	Eq. guinea	Gambia	Sweden	Norway	India
School Drop-Out Ratio*	63.4%	61.9%	59.3%	18.8%	27.9%	17.2%	4.4%	0.7	NA
Child Labor	35%	26.11%	NA	15%	27.8%	NA	NA	0	11.80%

Source: Human Development Report 2014, UNDP for year 2013, Accessed from Google Public Data system. For the year 2012.* Primary School Drop Out ratio

School-drop-out rate is intrinsically a downward pulling factor for attainment of education for the younger generation if the proportion of adult illiteracy is high. The sole purpose of leaving school is work in most of the cases in many countries. If parents had earlier received very little education then chances are high that their siblings might inherit the legacy of getting deprived at least from being literate. "the prevalence of child labor increased with decreasing parental education and socio-economic class" (Bolanle M Fetuga, 2005) Family cost of illiterate parents is very deadly in a sense that their children might not be able to reach the school due to limited knowledge of their parents over actual benefits of education.

"Illiterate parents tend to have lower expectations and aspirations regarding education for themselves and their children. Illiterate parents cannot read to their children, nor encourage a love of learning. UNESCO defines functional illiteracy as "measured by assessing reading, writing and mathematical skills in the various domains of social life which influence individual identity and insertion into society. From this perspective, literacy involves not only reading and writing but also the acquisition of the skills necessary for effective and productive performance within society" (Dr Anthony Cree, 2012)

The relationship between literacy rates of present generation and immediate previous generation is strong, and school drop-out rates today indicates the continuing legacy of lower literacy rates leading to increase number of children in engaged in work. The school drop-out rates is fundamentally a measure of effectiveness of socio-economic policies in the country, and precisely reflects the true state of level of income and standard of living indirectly.

Box 1

View on state of Health Care.

Brief analysis of another demographic variable [presented below] reveals significance of health care services, exemplifying our understating of factors behind children adopting work, based on some of the basic health statistics of few countries.

Under-five mortality rate in Chad stands at 173 per 1000 live births in 2010 compared to just 3 in Norway for the same year. In Norway physicians per thousands are 4.1 in the year 2009 compared to 0 in Chad for the same year. In Equatorial Guinea physicians per thousand people just above zero standing at 0.3 for 1000 people in the year 2009 and similarly in the United States the same ratio stands at 2.7 for 1000 people in 2009. (Program, 2014).

Here in this case death rates of children just under 5 years of age are being considered because certainly it shows the degree vulnerabilities in the health care system in very systematic way. The aim is to elaborate the significance of public services. Firstly according to the data above dearth of physicians can directly be attributed to subdued investment on health care system in the country. Because on the contrary if there had been required number of physicians per 1000 people together with easily accessible and affordable health centers then scenario would have been different as it is in the case of US and Norway.

It clearly distinguishable that even lack of health care facilities are equally responsible in launching an assault on child's future that ultimately as a consequence shifts children from study to work. Again we need to rework on our demographic equation which tells us that child labor is indeed a multifaceted and complex problem by reintroducing the repercussions of illiteracy. "Illiteracy significantly limits a person's ability to access, understand and apply health-related information and messages. This results in poor household and personal health, hygiene and nutrition. Illiterate people, particularly mothers, are more likely to adopt poor nutritional and hygiene practices in their homes". (Dr Anthony Cree, 2012) It a complicated, twisted loop of interconnected elements that must be brought to surface for better and more effective policy making in future.

At the outset it is very common to believe that poverty is the most decisive element in degradation of status of children from potential student to an innocent labor which is overwhelmingly true, perhaps a further stretch of analytical focus based on above arguments and facts that it's not only economic incapacity but it's also the lack of basic essential public services plays a significant role in determining the destiny of young children. "Inadequate access to safe water and sanitation services, coupled with poor hygiene practices, kills and sickens thousands of children every day and leads to impoverishment and diminished opportunities for thousands more". (UNICEF, Water, Sanitation and Hygiene, 2013) In this regard it can be said that second most detrimental factor behind child labor is undoubtedly the lack of essential public services, like access to clean drinking water, medical facilities in proportion to population, housing and access to food. All these factors are greatly responsible for changing the dynamics and destiny of young children and the whole country.

Box 2

View on state of Education.

The aim of this box is to elaborate the significance of public services through another example based on available data. According to the data in Chad average number of years of education received under age 25 and older is just 1.5 years since year 2000. Moreover in contrast to Chad, data relating to France exhibits a complete set of different scenario in totality. In France average number of years of education received under age 25 and older is 10.6 years for the year 2012. And similarly for US it is 13.3 year for 2012.

Most children lack even basic education because of parents' illness or death. "death of a father has a positive relationship for the prevalence on child labor excepting group A of States" (Barman, 2011) In this case parents with medical conditions can't afford the expenses of their child's education and on account of congested family income pool they send their children to work; this situation in most cases is highly derogatory for child's future because in this case the first thing children lose is education and consequently they are forced to earn money by dropping from schools. "Children suffer the most where there is a lack of safe water and sanitation. Their health, well-being and education are all affected. In rural areas, the daily task of collecting water often falls on children, especially girls". (Garde, 2014). Young children living under slums, temporary shades made of plastics those who generally won't get required nutritious diet, those who doesn't have access clean drinking water, proper protection from scorching sun, those who suffer from absence of sanitation system are those who fail to reach the school.

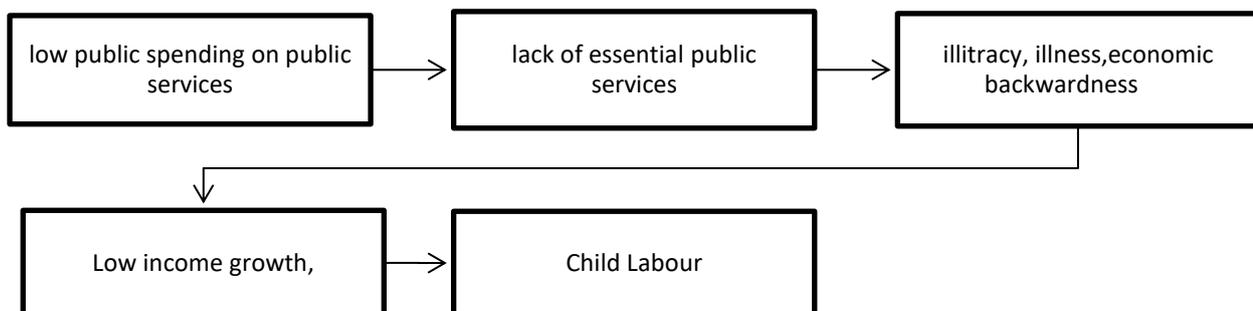
"Children are a great source of joy to their parents and an asset for each society. Having too many children, however, can cause serious worries for families and entire countries. This applies especially to less developed countries, mainly in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. Where ever the number of children grows faster than the possibility to provide the younger generation with the necessary schools, health institutions or food, and the ability to give young people jobs is lacking, the situation of the entire country deteriorates. These countries find themselves in a vicious circle of poverty, high infant mortality and high fertility rates. They cannot easily escape this circle because where many young people live today the population will continue to grow: in the coming years, most young people will reach the age in which they start to have families". (Lilli Sippel, 2011)

Based on my observation so far, most children get deprived for basic primary health care and medication in rural areas due to absence to hospitals and clinics and health centers in interior and rural area and this scenario naturally leads to dramatic rise in under 5 mortality or nutritionally weak health and less physical stamina. Furthermore transportation is even bigger problem for some people in remotely isolated and far regions of some countries. Over a period of time there has been massive development in private health care system especially in case of India where we find 5-star hospitals with air-lifting facilities along with heli-pad to deal with emergencies. These high-class state-of-the-art hospitals are no doubt are great achievement of private sector and health sector as whole but reality is these modern services are concentrated primarily in urban fast-growing areas where income growth is faster than rural areas.

Shockingly this situation is prevalent in America too. on the contrary people in rural areas first has to arrange for a reliable, fast and efficient transport to reach the urban areas this is because there is absolute dualism in provisioning of services. "even though rural communities contain about 20% of America's population, less than 10% of physicians practice in these communities" (Medicine, 2005). In rural areas people die in most of the case due to lack of financial means or lack of adequate transport system to reach the metropolis or place where medical facilities are available easily. And in the second case some people die during their journey to hospitals from rural areas. Coming back to the topic, from demographic perspective young children tend to go to work due to variety of complex reasons. Lack of essential life-saving facilities like health care in rural areas, lack of or inadequacy of reliable transport system, failure to establish and implement policies catering to the principle of universal education, well-constructed drainage system that inversely lead to medical conditions, health issues, absence of orphanage homes and lot of other highly critical and intertwined factors. The extent of severity and ill effect on the society due to differences in rural –urban health care facilities can be understood by the recommendations issued by World Medical Association in the year 2005 Adopted by the 18th World Medical Assembly Helsinki, Finland, June 1964, amended by the 35th World Medical Assembly Venice, Italy, October 1983 and rescinded at the WMA General Assembly, Santiago 2005 declared that,

Rural populations have the same entitlement to medical care as people living in urban areas. Although there may be economic and other factors affecting the quantity of medical services available in rural areas, there should be no disparity in the quality of medical services. Persistent efforts should be made to elevate the qualifications of all persons rendering medical service to the highest level in the nation.

1. It is the duty of the State to ensure that conditions offered in Public Health appointments are sufficiently attractive to enable rural health services to develop to the same extent as those in urban areas.
2. Studies and analysis of factual data are useful for rural communities and regions in providing information for planning and developing suitable health services in rural areas.
3. The special diseases of rural areas require cooperation of physicians with professionals of related fields.



The demographic analysis exhibits that child labor is basically not an economic tragedy but rather it is demographic catastrophe. In essence, this chapter was to written particularly to study the interlink ages between demographic variables and its impact on child labor, poverty, education and living conditions and it's found that there exist strong indirect relationship between the two. Reliable mathematical evidence is weak because due to data constraint and socio-economic nature of analysis but this chapter answers some of the most critical questions associated with education, poverty, role of state and reasons for failure.

The study of demographic analysis on child labor is novel idea for broader coverage of as many countries as possible based on vector of indicators which satisfies two significant conditions; firstly it implies living conditions have greater and stronger impact on families, societies, demographics and economics. "Living conditions are an indicator of socio-economic status and have substantial implications of well-being of youth. A lack of electricity for example might mean that youth cannot work on their home-work after dark or they have to use unsafe and

unhealthy lighting alternatives" (Gina A.N Chowa, 2012) And secondly it signifies the relative importance of public services and its impact on current generation and as well as future generation along with future prospects of the country.

Philosophically the question of what matters in reality for a perfect transition of life relating to whole society or even an individual one can say: all of which is most eminent is the religion and second comes economic conditions and third political and lastly the social environment where under he/she lives. Public policy that hopes to resolve the complexities involved in engagements of society must impeccably and much more consistently drop the idea of dealing with these issues single handedly and should rather be evolved to destroy the roots of child labor by focusing on factors like inadequate health care facilities, lack of clean drinking water, sanitation, gender inequality, and other demographic evils that are prevalent in many societies from all corners.

Chapter 3

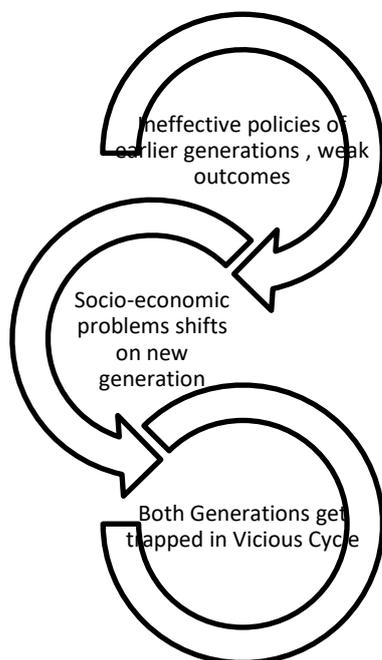
INTERGENERATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter evaluates child labor from intergenerational perspective or in other words focuses on socio-economic perspective from the prism of policies mechanism. This chapter is combined analysis of policies, consequence and inefficiencies by briefly analyzing the impact of policies designed to fight socio-economic evils and its true impact on the crisis.

In case of India it is true that policies that were designed to eliminate social-economic evils like illiteracy, poverty, wide-spread rural unemployment has failed to deliver optimal results. The appropriate yardstick to measure the efficiency of public policies is difficult to ascertain due to data constraint on specific countries but major indices such as human development index and index of multi-dimensional poverty provides strong and reliable insights by enlightening the significance of public services and policies behind it and acts as Testimony for actions taken and results generated. In case of India, even today the absence of a proper health care system for the people below poverty line or for people that live in sheds and covers and unhealthy houses is greatly responsible for easily shifting problems like struggle to manage a day's food or fight to gather water or life without electricity and child labor from one generation to another.

Only if implementation and study was correct, this generation would not have suffered from the maladies of insufficient action on various issues that are considered as responsible at large. What would have been the scenario if we had achieved targets set-out under policies designed to combat various socio-economic problems? We wouldn't be facing these vagaries today, if we (policy objectives) had achieved what it was meant for. Less efficient outcomes on various fronts of socio-economic policies in the country have led to increasingly complex situation consequentially. For the purpose of simplification few indicators are discussed below.

"A brief glance on literacy rates in India since 1950 reveals significant improvements in terms of reduction in illiteracy rates. In the year 1950 literacy rate was just 18.33% and in 2011 the rate of literacy roused to 74.04%, a dramatic rise of about 55% over the observed period." (National Commission on Population, 2014). But another side of the data there's embedded negativity in it. Even after 65 years since independence India didn't achieved 100% literacy rates and even today $\frac{1}{4}$ of population is illiterate and consequently this factor remains one of the biggest non-economic factor responsible of 11.80% of child labor in India driven by other factors too. If the entire population would have been literate than the present and future of young children wouldn't have been so venerable. The virtue of this chapter is to elaborate the impact of policies and consequences of the entire mechanism of polices and schemes on factors directly or indirectly inflecting child labor, especially in India that were in place historically. "Secondly a glance on data pertaining to sanitation observed over the last 10 years also reveals remarkable accomplishments. Budget allocation of sanitation in the country dramatically increased by 126% during the period since 2005-06 to 2010-11. And as a reflection of increased spending on sanitation percentage of rural households [2000-2011] without toilet facilities dramatically nosedived in several parts of the country.



In the year 2000 the national average percentage of people without toilets was 78% and in 2011 the percentage dropped to 31%. But on the contrary to this achievement a recent study by the water and Sanitation program of the World Bank estimated the costs of inadequate sanitation in India. The report says that it cost's India around 6.4% of GDP." (Sanitation , A Statistical Overview)

Only if those policies had been successful in achieving their goals then this generation would not have been at such disgrace at all And if today varieties policies and schemes that are in operation in many countries in combating and uprooting these problems failed to deliver or failed to achieve targets than 20 years down the line there is an apparent possibility emergence of similar consequence as we are facing today. Only two brief accounts of non-economic indicators related to India have been discussed here because it is intuitive to summarize the whole spectrum of factors discussed

above and it's interlink ages.

Beyond all arguments it's the system of social justice that is needed to be strengthened in order to fight against socio-economic evils that cripple down the society. In order to evolve true distinction between present and future; countries facing the crisis of child labor, poverty and other punitive issues should formulate policies that safeguard the rights of children, eliminate poverty, enhance standard of living and ultimately provide health care facilities because the crisis of child labor is deeply rooted in many different issues that calls for action from all corners.

"The link between ignorance and poverty and ill health and poverty are well-established. There are diseases of poverty such as malaria, tuberculosis, diarrhea, and malnutrition. Having fallen ill due to poverty, the poor do not have the resources to seek quality health care, for which he/she has to borrow money for treatment. Indebtedness due to hospitalization leading to poverty has been well documented. Poverty is therefore a complex phenomenon from many dimensions and not merely the economic dimension" (Yesudian, 2007).

Child labor will disappear only if poverty gets vanished and in order to eradicate poverty opportunities has to be multiplied, health care system has to be strengthened, education has to be affordable and accessible, laws

regulating child trafficking and child abuses has to be stringent, and systematized, cultural biasness towards the male child has to be removed, rise in employment opportunities and lastly rise in level of income has to be achieved.

Chapter 4

CONCLUSION-PRESERVING THE FUTURE

Many countries have in place stringent rules and body of laws governing child labor with a purpose to curb it out. But a brief analysis on its impact so far reveals that laws are perhaps standards and not the accurate solutions to it. Law is a limited mechanism to stop child labor. In the context of child labor laws, rules and acts are nothing but an apparatus of commitment of the nation-state, which are gravely inefficient because here the evolution and progress of child labor is based on set of different socio-economic problems and not on laws governing or regulating it rather. If deficit of laws were primary factor then stringent laws would have served the immediate purpose.

Even after strict enforcement of laws to reduce child labor in poverty stricken countries it may not have any significant impact unless the system of social justice is enhanced where people have easy access to basic and essential public services like affordable primary health, accessibility, sanitation and education. It's been established that child labor in reality is an undesired outcome of feeble socio-economic conditions mostly where poor people are at the forefront in the battle against it. Secondly it's also established that it's not just poverty that promotes child labor but the lack of basic essential social services plays a dominant role. And thirdly it's also established that lack of adequate and essential public services are due to ineffective and naive policy designs, lack of monitoring and perhaps limited and ineffective administrative landscape many countries.

For the purpose of eradicating this malice from our societies, governments must focus on 4 crucial economic and non-economic factors.

I. Accessibility to affordable/free health care facilities

II. Enhance levels of income/reduce poverty/abject poverty dramatically

III. Well-developed sanitation system/developing hygienic localities

IV. Effective system of administration and policy design/implementation.

This is because, if younger generation is free from illness and family incomes are stronger so as to sustain a good life in terms of food and shelter along with enhanced sanitation system for disposal of waste supported by stricter authorities avoiding negligence and corruption they children's future is bright and country's future is stronger.

Policies aimed at reducing poverty especially in rural areas has to be promoted by supporting the expansion of small scale sector, rural skill development institutions, government backed financial assistance, removal of transportation problems and promotion and strengthening of market system. Because if people living in acute poverty and remote areas gets nominated for financial assistance helping them to develop their craftsmanship or other technical know—how their capacity to earn a basic living increases and chances of sending their children to work gets vanished.

Primarily channels of massive investment in education and health care dedicated for the development and welfare of poor young children must be activated aiming to reduce the number of health related deaths; policies should be framed and implemented focusing on reducing incidents of child labor due to poverty and parental deaths. There's need is to create a double-edge sword that increases per capita income and gradually enhances the state of public services. For example the fourth Millennium Development Goal seeks to reduce child

mortality, and the sixth goal aims to combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases so in order to achieve these goals and make substantial improvement there's a greater need to refocus on these issue from different angles and create a system of highly efficient public services. Moving further the need is to view child labor as an important as other MDG's and understand is multidimensional aspect.

Further Research

This paper essentially broadens the scope for further research into the phenomenon. First avenue would be to be investing the financial requirements to set up a system that provides basic and essential public services in order understand the investment gap between required and current levels of public spending.

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