South Asian Studies

A Research Journal of South Asian Studies Vol. 31, No. 1, January – June 2016, pp.161 – 174

Socio-economic and political determinants of child labor at brick kilns: A case study of district Jhang

Arfan Latif University of the Punjab, Lahore. Shoukat Ali University of the Punjab, Lahore. Abdullah Awan Lahore Leads University, Lahore. Jafer Riaz Kataria University of the Punjab, Lahore.

ABSTRACT

Child labor at brick kilns is an important aspect and dimension of child labor which is hampering the overall development of the country. There are different determinants of child labor however current study tries to explore the socio-economic and political determinants of child labor. The current study uses qualitative research design by using in-depth interviews to explore the above mentioned objective of the study. By using purposive sampling technique the researcher interviewed 30 respondents. The results of the study are based on themes that emerged during the data analysis. The study concluded that less education, need for extra money and lack for poor monitoring by government are important factors and reasons of child labor in Pakistan. The study implies that potential implementation of the government's laws and proper monitoring is a key to eradicate child labor.

Key Words: child labor, bonded labor, political leadership, brick kilns

Introduction

Background of child labor and Global over view

Child labor is the exploitation of the children energies and potential at work rather than giving proper opportunity to study. The term child labor is a relative term and different cultures and societies define it differently (Dessy, Sylvain and Stéphane, 2001). "Child labor is the employment of children when they are too young to work on wages or when they are employed for jobs unsuitable or unsafe (Grand, 1983)." Similarly (Folk, 1987) define child labor as "child labor is any work by children that interferes with their full physical development, their opportunities for a desirable education or their needed recreation."

Child labor is affecting the course of development for the entire world and is a major problem faced by the global community now (Hirway et al. 1991). The international labour organization estimates that there are around 250 million children working all over the world. At least 120 million children aged between 5 and 14 are working full time. One third of them are performing dangerous work (ILO/IPEC 1998). According to ILO estimate more than 73 million children in age group 10-14 years alone were economically active around the world in (Dessy and Pallage, 2003). However, global community has acknowledged that there is dire need to cater this problem and has established different organizations and treaties in this regard:

- 1. The international labor organization (ILO) minimum age convention, 1973 (No.138):
- 2. The ILO Forced Labor Convention 1930 (No.29):
- 3. The United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989:
- 4. The World Declaration on Education for All, 1990.

Child Labor in Pakistan and its Determinants

Child labor is a global problem but it is affecting the developing countries to a greater extant and same is the case with Pakistan. Child labor hinders the way of progress of the country and it is a problem that has stigmatized the Pakistan (Kousar et al., 2005). Pakistan is building up a gigantic collection of illiterates. According to the survey there are over 32 million adult illiterates plus over 7 million children aged 5.51 who do not attend schools. The dropout rate is 45% which translates into another 7 million leaving whatever from schooling (Shah, 1997). The gross primary enrollment is only 30% among females while for males it is 57% (Cigno, Rosati and Guarcello, 2002). Similarly secondary gross enrollment is 23% for females and 46% for males. The ratio of illiteracy among 15 years old is 86% for females and 59% for males (Pakistan and Gulf Economist 1999).

According to the child labor survey of 1996, conducted by the Federal Bureau of Statistics with the assistance of ministry of labor and ILO/IPEL, Pakistan, out of total children population of nearly 40 million, 3.6 million or 8.25% children are engaged in labor. The biggest employers of children in the country are agriculture, brick kilns, small industries, carpet wearies, domestic service and urban informal sector. A sizeable number are self-employed doing menial jobs like vending, scavenging, shoe shining, car cleaning (Khan, 2001).

There are different socio-economic factors which are responsible for its spreading and prevalence. These factors include poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, lack of family planning, dis-satisfaction from education system, absence of social security and many others (Rogers and Swinnerton, 2002). It is the sole responsibility of the government to provide rights to children and protect them from all sort of exploitation. A child plays an important role in the future of mankind. The protection of a child from physical and social hazards is a pre-

requisite for the proper growth of children in order to make sure the future progress and prosperity of human beings (Sawada, Yasuyuki, and Lokshin, 2000). Working children are more susceptible to infectious diseases, and suffer from malnutrition, anemia and inadequate sleep (Fassa et al. 1999). The psycho-social development of the working children is retarded due to prolonged working hours, burden of too much responsibilities and deprivation of education. Child labor can result in trafficking and abuse as well as deprivation of their rights, welfare and development (Raza, 1995).

- 1. The West Pakistan Hazardous Occupation (Miscellaneous) Rules 1963
- 2. Employment of Children Rules 1955
- 3. The Employment of Child Act 1991
- 4. The Shops and Establishment Ordinance 1969

Theoretical Foundations of the Study

The Current study uses the theories of "Boyden J, Ling B, and Myers W" presented in the book "What Works for Working Children (1998)". This used a multifaceted approach and observed many aspects and causes of child labor.

Causes of Child Labor

Child labor as a contribution to the family

According to the theory of child labour as a contribution to the family, most children in developing countries work because they want to support their families. As children often value themselves as a part of the family unit, most children say that it is plausible to contribute to the household, especially when the family survival depends on point.

Child labour as a means of self-actualization

The principal argument of this theory is that many children would want to work even if they did not have to. Even if poverty were non-existing and nowhere were children obliged to work, some children still would like to take part in productive work. For the same reason as many middle-class children seek part-time work in industrialized countries, the children in developing countries want to work.

Child labour as a consequence of family-dynamics

The third aspect of the theory stated by Boyden J, Ling B and Myers W is the explanation of child labour as a result of inadequate family decision-making or relationships. The family dynamics explanation often blames these moral judgments; child labour can be a consequence of a breakdown in family values in which they do not fulfill their protective function.

Child labour as a result of poverty

Child labour as a result of poverty is one of the most common theories about the causes behind underage work. A majority of studies in developing countries show that poor families put their children in child labour more often than families in a better economic situation. Increase of the household income is one reason but it is also a safety strategy to even out the risk of losing economic income, for example with the loss of an adult income earner or a failed harvest.

Research Question

"To observe the socio-economic and political reasons of child labor at bricks kilns in Pakistan".

Significance of the Study

Morally, mentally and physically healthy child is an asset for a nation. This should be the duty of all of us to ensure that today's children are physically, emotionally and educationally equipped for the future. Our responsibility is to meet their needs for health care, protection, economic support and education. Today this vision is gaining ground amongst the nations of the world and for quite some time the intelligentsia has been trying to convince the world that protection of the most vulnerable and particularly growing minds and bodies of young children is both a moral imperative and a practical pre-condition for sustained economic growth and social progress.

Literature Review

Kothari (2008) examines the child labour in Match and Fireworks Industries in and around Sivakasi, Ramana and Thapuram District Tamil Nadu. Many of the 45000 children employed in these industries can be found in the small scale and cottage industries in the rural areas. The study concluded that local government was responsible for this plight as they were unable to control and monitor child labor. The laws existed but the agencies were unable to control this violation.

Gulzar (2009) in a case study to find out the reasons for child labour in district Swabi finds that the main cause of child labor is growing population, which exerts pressure on the existing resources. Growing population leads to sub division land in other resources, which results in poverty and deprivation. Hence, people need to improve their income; they are forced even to ask their children to work. The result of the study shows that seventy –three percent children belong to nuclear families. The study was conducted in district Swabi in 2010, where the data was collected through survey in three villages namely, Swabi, Zaida and Topi. In total, 225 respondents were interviewed to examine the determinants of child labor in the study area. Mirzaet et al (2013) have conducted a research aiming at understanding and exploring the different reasons behind the plague of 'Child labour' that has engulfed Pakistan since its independence. The overall sample size consists of 130 respondents who were interviewed and their responses, after translation, were analyzed thematically. The results show that due to large family sizes and increasing poverty, children are inclined to work and earn a living on the cost of their education as either their parents do not work or are unable to meet their ends meet.

Ranjan (2001) conducted a study to find out the economic implications of child labor. In his research the researcher concludes that in an economy where child labor is inefficient – that is, the return to education outweighs the forgone earnings of a child, but poor households with an uneducated head do not have access to credit markets – then greater income inequality is associated with more child labor. The income and the economic factors are most important in determining the causes of child labor.

Rogers and Swinnerton (2001) state that if income is unevenly distributed, then families in the upper half of the distribution may be viable without putting their children to work. In this case, the number of working children will decline. The working environment is also very important in child labor.

Rahatullah (2001) discussed social and economic causes of child labor in Mingora, district Swat. The study was based on a sample of 100 respondents equally distributed and four categories; workshops, brick kilns, hotels and self-employment. He found that amongst all causative factors is the economic condition of respondent's families and its large size. Parent's income and education level occupy a vital role in forcing the child to labor.

Basu and Ray (2001) tried to find out the relationship between maternal stature in the home and the incidence of child labor. In fact, they find that a balance of power between parents is more likely to reduce child work than a family in which all decision- making is concentrated in the hands of a single parent. If either parent completely controls the purse strings, then the additional income earned by children will be devoted entirely to the goods that they desire.

Discussion

The literature has indicated that child labor is a global phenomenon and different socio-economic indicators are responsible for this demise. Similarly, it is important to mention here that there are certain political reasons that needed to be explored to see how it affects the child labor. The above literature shows that there are certain social and economic reasons of child labor. One study also observed some political reasons of child labor. However, the current study is intended to find out the socio-economic reasons along with discussing the political reasons of child labor in Pakistan with special reference to Brick kilns.

Material and Methods

Study Design

The current study used qualitative research design to investigate the socioeconomic and political determinants of the child labor in Pakistani settings. In qualitative research in-depth interviews will be used to measure the socioeconomic reasons and political determinants of child labor in a particular setting at brick kilns. So this clearly indicates that the research question could be addressed better by using the qualitative research technique. Because in-depth material would be important to explore and understand the reasons of child labour hence qualitative research design is best suited for this study.

Universe

The universe of current research is all the children who are working on brinks kiln in the area of District Jhang. The area for the current study was chosen on the basis of convenience and some facts and statistics regarding child labor. This area is enriched with agriculture thus agriculture equipment and machinery is found very often. So the researcher selected this area owing to availability of child labour in this area. Following are the reasons which compelled the researcher to select district Jhang for the current study:

- The researcher was able to find the sampling frame of all the brick kilns in the district with the help of Human Resource and Labor department of the Punjab government.
- The Human Resource and Labor department is currently executing its project to eliminate worst form of child labor in the said district which implies the importance of the locality regarding child labor.
- Researcher was able to access the respondents that are rich with information to explore the reasons of child labor with the help of Human Resource and Labor department staff present in the district.

Sampling Procedures

The researcher has used non-probability sampling in this study. Within nonprobability sampling, purposive sampling technique has been used to select respondents for in-depth interviews. As the researcher was interested to explore the realities for in-depth investigation (Neuman, 1994).Sampling is very important in every research. It makes the work more manageable and time efficient. In this research purposive sampling was used.

The sample size of current research is 30 respondents from the different brick kiln sighted in the area of Jhang. There were 118 brick kilns registered in district Jhang and approximately 2537 workers working in those brick kilns. Qualitative research study needs in-depth understanding of the topic hence a smaller set of the

sample is also acceptable in such studies. Keeping in view the study objectives and research question 30 respondents would be enough to measure the socio-economic reasons of child labor by using purposive sampling techniques.

Tool of Data Collection

In this study the researchers used interview guide as a tool of data collection from respondents which involved asking question, listing, expressing, and recording what was said. Because the population will be only illiterate respondents so this method is so appropriate way for getting information."The in-depth interview or interview guide provides the greatest opportunity to find out what someone thinks or feels, and how they react to various situations and conditions". (Bouma)

"Interview guide is a brief written document giving an outline of the different aspects to be studied. It gives general for the intensive, various topics that are to be discussed, some important questions that must be asked the general technique to be adopted as much as any precaution to be separately taken it is such form of questionnaire that is filled with frequent questions and general topics "interview guide is not oral questionnaire" (Devi, 1997; 341)

Method of Data Analysis

There are six methods of analyzing qualitative data mentioned by Neuman. The best-suited method of analysis for this research is thematic analysis. On the basis of qualitative interviews the researcher came up with themes that explain the determinants of child labor.

Data Anaylsis

This section presents the data analysis and findings of the study. As stated above the data analysis is primarily based on themes obtained during the analysis of the data gathered.

Demographic and Socio-economic Profile of the Respondent

Demographic and socio-economic profile is very important to measure the socioeconomic reasons of the child labor at brick kiln. It gives a holistic understanding about the characteristics of population of a specific area under study. Weber identified and defines social class as a large group of people who rank closely to one another in wealth, power and prestige. These three elements separate people into different lifestyles. Give them different chances in life, and provide them with distinct ways of looking at the self and the world (Macionis). In the present research the researchers have included different questions in this regard like education, age, in order to get the in-depth understanding of the child labor.

Age, family type and family income

Findings showed that the average age of the respondents was 12-18 years. There was no significant difference in the type of family of our respondents. Only two respondents were living in nuclear family system, remaining were living in joint family system. There was some difference in the income of the respondents' families.

As four respondents replied while thinking something during interview: "The monthly income of our family is about 20 to 25 thousand.

Three other respondents replied:

"The total wages we earn are dependent upon the work we do... sometimes we earn 50000 per month whenever we are in need of money or our employee needs extra done by us.

However the overall income of the family varies from the family setup. The income of the nuclear family setup is about 20,000 per month but it reaches up to 50,000 when it comes to the joint family system. The reason behind this variation is that there are many hands working in the joint family set up thus increasing its total family income.

The demographic factors are also related to the child labor. The father with somewhat exposure of the education is less likely to force his children to the child labor. One of the boys said by saying that:

"I am the elder son of the family so I work here but my father is not wishing to send any other of my brother to work. He is of the opinion that my other brothers should study".

Schooling of the children

Schooling of the children was another very important component of measuring the child labor and its causes in the brick kilns. Affording the books and the distance of the school from the residence were two basic and important indicators in this regards.

One of the respondents said:

"We cannot afford the house hold utilities how it's possible for us to afford the books"?

Another respondent also raised the issue regarding the fee structure of the schools. He commented in these words

"The fees in the private schools are about 4 to 5 thousands which is equal to monthly income of one of my brother. So in such circumstances it is impossible for us to study our children".

The brick kilns are located outside the residence areas and the workers of that particular place also reside at that place.

Social Reasons

Our society ranks the people who are monetarily resourceful and have sufficient money for their living. This was very good and important aspect of determine the social causes of child labor. One of the respondents shed light on this issue in these words

"We cannot survive in the society without money, so it's better to get them in jobs and earn something for us"

Another respondent also said by saying

"It's better that our children work with us instead they would be a beggar somewhere in the society"

This appears to be a very important point in the society. By indulging in the child labor they feel proud about being employed rather than being a beggar.

"I am very happy that I am working with my father. I am helping my father and I am not an unemployed person".

This is very good point that is worth mentioning in the analysis. The victim of child labor are unaware of the fact that they have been deprived of the education and other facilities of the life rather they are happy being employed and being a helping hand of the father or other family members.

Economic Reasons

The economic reasons are the most important and crucial in determining the reasons of the child labor at brick kilns. Most of the people tend towards the child labor due to economic reasons.

One of the respondents replied when asked about the child labor reasons:

"My family needs money so I have to do work at brick kilns with them".

Another respondent added by saying that:

"We cannot afford books so we don't send our brothers to school and force themto work with us."

Bonded Labor

When finding out the economic reasons of child labor an important concept of bonded labor emerged. In this form of child labor entire family is subjected to work for his master until or unless entire family pays back the money borrowed from the master.

"A practice in which employers give high-interest loans to workers whose entire families then labor at low wages to pay off the debt; the practice is illegal in the United States" (Free Dictionary of Farlex).

One of the respondents said that

"Our family has to work for the master or owner of the brick kilns until my father pays back the loan attained during the marriage of my sister".

So it is clear that child labor is also attached with bonded labor. Bonded labor is also directly related to the child labor especially at the brick kilns.

Political Reasons

One of the most important objectives of the study was to find out the political reasons of child labor in Pakistan. There is no doubt that political institution and government has the prime responsibility to counter such problems. Therefore, the researcher decided to find out how political directions were responsible for child labor. Government policies are important in reducing and controlling the child labor (Kothari, 2008). Some of the important themes in this regard are mentioned below:

Free Education

In Punjab during 2014-15, Rs. 48.38 billion were allocated for school education but only 28.062 billion rupees was spent. In 2013-14, the Punjab government spent Rs. 37.43 billion of the allocated 41.70 billion rupees. One of the respondents explained the situation by commenting in the following words:

"Free books and free education is not available in our area. We have to pay the fees and money for the books. This becomes an extra burden on us so we have involve our children with us for work."

Lack of Monitoring

Another important aspect regarding political reasons of child labor was lack of monitoring by government agencies. The laws regarding eradication of child labor do exist but they are not rigorously implemented. One of the respondents said:

"Police and other government departments take less interest in reducing child labor. They don't properly visit the brick kilns and this situation further perpetuate the child labor".

Political leadership

One important and worth mentioning theme emerged during the analysis of the data that political leadership whether at the provincial level or local body level are not interested in eradication the child labor. Political leadership is the primarily required to reduce the child labor. But in case of the current study this theme has been found as reverse. The respondents of the study shed light on the involvement of many such personalities in child labor. One of the respondents said:

"Most of the important political figures of the area are involved in bonded labor. They are the owner of such brick kilns and engage workers in bonded labor".

Summary of the Research

The issue of the child labor is a key factor in determining the growth and development of any country. In addition to that the child labor at the brick kiln is also very significant. There are number of reasons for the child labor at brick kilns. The current study is conducted with the title "socio-economic and political determinants of child labor at brick kilns". The topic requires a very in-depth understanding to explore the underlying reasons of child labor hence qualitative research technique was adopted to meet the objective of the research. The current study was conducted in the geographical setting of District Jhang and 30 respondents were selected on the basis of purposive sampling technique. As mentioned above in-depth understanding was the core for the current study so interview guide was formulated and the researcher personally visited the field and conducted as many as 30 in-depth interviews. The study concludes that less education, need for extra money and lack for poor monitoring by government are important factors and reasons of child labor in Pakistan.

Limitations of the Research

The current study was a qualitative study in nature and was based on 30 in-depth interviews. Following are the important limitations of the current study:

- As the study is based on 30 interviews hence the result of the study cannot be generalized on the large scale population
- Time constraints also limit the data collection and the researchers have to deal with 30 case studies to find out the results.
- The study was only related to the child labor at brick kilns hence the results are not meant for other types of child labor.

Conclusion

The findings of the study clearly show that child labor is very important factor and harming the life and future of many children in Pakistan. The study has concluded that the demographic and socio-economic factors are important in finding out the reasons of child labor at brick kilns. The parents with education are less likely to force their children towards the child labor. They try their level best to send their children to the schools. The most important and significant reasons behind the child labor are economic reasons. Child labor is likely to increase because the parents require more money to meet their daily expenses. One of the most important themes that emerged in the study was bonded labor and its impact on the child labor. People are bonded with labor hence they are forced to send their

children in the child labor industry. The political reasons include lack of monitoring and low political level of political will. The study has great implication at the policy and local level. We can manage child labor by increasing the schools and by motivating the parents about education.

- The main cause of child labor is growing population, which exerts pressure on the existing resources.
- Similarly illiteracy is the main factor that forces the child to work.
- Although child labor contributes significantly to the family income but they do not get sufficiently as their pocket money. Thus, the reward of child labor is very low, although they work for longer hours. But they are mostly exploited.
- Working children feel deprived, inferior and disappointed from their hard and difficult work and lower status as compared to other laborers.
- Government should establish a proper way of eliminating the child labor through strict implementation and monitoring.

Implications

Following are the important implications of the study:

The study implies that government should initiate child labor eradication campaign and programs. However, one important aspect is the strict monitoring and implementation of the laws and policies of the government. The study argues that political institution should take strict measures in the implementation of the already formed laws.

Similarly, at the societal level the study implies that government and private educational institutions should manage the education of poor people. This would clearly help in controlling the child labor. Private schools should provide free education to poor students.

Illiteracy ranks second to poverty, and leads to child labor, therefore the government must implement its literacy programs more effectively, so that more people become literate and educated.

Over population is an important factor that contributes towards child labor hence controlling birth rate is important. The government should control the high population growth in the area. Family planning should be widely introduced in the area.

References

- Babbie E, The Practice of Social Research' (10th edition), Wadsworth, Thomson Learning Inc.
- Bibi, S. (1980), 'Investigation into Causative factors of Child Labor Incidence', Dept. of Rural Sociology, University of Agri. Faisalabad, pp 34-35.
- Bouma G. D (2000) The Research Process (4th Edition) Oxford University Press. Australia

- Boyden, Jo, Birgitta Ling and William Myers (1998) *What Works for Working Children* Smedjebacken: UNICEF and Save the Children Sweden
- Cigno, A., Rosati, F. &Guarcello, L. (2002). Does Globalization Increase Child Labour? World Development, 30(9), 1579–1589
- Dessy, Sylvain E. and StéphanePallage (2001) "Child Labor and Coordination Failures," Journal of Development Economics, 65, pp. 465 – 476
- Dessy.E, S & Pallage S. (2003).A theory of worst form of child labor.
- Devi L (1997) Encyclopedia of Social Research, Lucknow: Anmol publications Pvt. Ltd
- Fassa, A.G., Facchini, L. A., Dall'Agnol, M. M. & Christiani, D. (1999). Child Labour and Health: Problems and Perspectives. *International Journal of Occupational* and Environmental Health, Research Paper No. 160
- Folks, H. (1987), 'Charges and Trends in Child Labor and its Control', National Child Labor Commission, New York City
- Grants, j. (1983), 'Special Report, the World Youngest Laborer Sacrifices their Childhood', (A work and no play), Newsweek, p.8
- Grants, j. (1983), 'Special Report, the World Youngest Laborer Sacrifices their Childhood', (A work and no play), Newsweek, p.8
- Gulzar Ali Economic Factors responsible for Child labor (A Case study of District Swabi)
- ILO, (1992), 'A Program of Action against Child Bondage', Geneva, ILO
- Khan, R. E. A. (2001).Socioeconomic Aspects of Child Labour A Case Study of Children in Auto Workshops. The Lahore Journal of Economics. Vol 6.No. 1.
- Kousar, A., Akhtar, S., Shazad, F., Asma, S., Akhter, N., Nighat, S., (2005). Causes and Consequences of Child Labor in Carpet Weaving Industries; Journal of Agriculture & Social Sciences ;1813–2235/2005/01–1–58–59
- Luiz Augusto Facchini, PHD Marinel M. Dall'Agnol, MSC David Christiani, PHD "Child Labor and Health: Problems and Perspectives" June 1999 Research Paper No. 160
- Macionis J. J (N. D) Sociology (11th Edition)
- Merton R. K (1957), Social Structure, The Free Press Glenoce, Illonois
- Metz, M., R. Wilke, et al. (1982), 'Child Slaves', Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, p.280
- Neuman W. L (2006), 'Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches' (6th edition),
- RanaEjaz Ali Khan Socioeconomic Aspects of Child Labour- A Case Study of Children inAuto Workshops The Daily "News" 24 November, 2000
- RashedaKHANAM Child Labour and School Attendance: Evidence from Bangladesh Discipline of Economics University of Sydney
- Rogers, C. A. &Swinnerton, K. A. (2002). A theory of exploitative child labor. Manuscript, U.S. Department of Labor.
- Sawada, Yasuyuki, and Michael Lokshin (2000) Household Schooling Decisions in Rural Pakistan. Study conducted by Japanese Ministry of Education, The Foundation for Advance Studies on International Development, and Matsushita International Foundation, Japan.
- The Daily News, (June20, 1995), 'Children at Work'

The Express Tribune, October 3rd, 2010.

Tunio, G. S., (1992), 'Problem of Child Labor', Pakistan Academy for Rural Development, Peshawar (PARD). p.3

Biographical Note

Arfan Latif isLecturer of Sociology at Higher Education Department and PH.D scholar of Punjab University, Lahore, Pakistan.

Shoukat Aliis M.Phil scholar at Punjab University, Lahore, Pakistan.

Abdullah Awan is Lecturer of Sociology at Lahore Leads University, Lahore, Pakistan.

Jafar Riaz Kataria is Lecturer at Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.