A STRATEGY TO ELIMINATE CHILD LABOUR IN PAKISTAN

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Introduction

This paper presents a strategy to eliminate child labor in Pakistan. The paper will focus on major causes of child labor like poverty, weak enforcement of laws, lack of access to schools, uneducated parents, and lack of basic facilities. Recognizing that work and education choices are determined by parents, the paper proposes that enforcement of laws, poverty alleviation through subsidies and micro-credit schemes, free schooling, parent education; especially adult female education, and provision of basic facilities like education, health, and sanitation will most likely have a positive impact on parents' choices. To ensure implementation of the policy, the paper also proposes constitution of an independent commission so that policy can be effectively implemented through cooperation and coordination of all the stakeholders. This paper has been divided into several sections. Section 1 gives a brief background of the problem in terms of its magnitude in Pakistan as well as in other regions of the World and will focus on child labour situation in Pakistan, discussing its various types and specific laws to check the incidence of child labour. Section 2 reviews the academic literature on the subject and will discuss views of different authors about the problem. Section 3 presents the strategy in detail, including how it will be implemented and evaluated, also the indicators that will determine the success of the policy. Last section concludes the paper.

Background

International Labor Organization (ILO) defines child labor as work that "is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and interferes with their schooling by: depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; obligating them to leave school prematurely; or requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work" (ILO 2013). According to the latest data collected by ILO, there are 168 million children in child labor around the World, declined

by one third since 2000, from 246 million. Asia and the Pacific has the largest number, almost 78 million, but Africa continues to be the region with the highest incidence of child labor, 59 million or over 21%. In terms of the sectors where child laborers can be found, agriculture tops the list where 98 million (60 %) children are employed, followed by services 25.6%, industry 7%, and others 7.5% (ILO 2013). In Asia, India has the largest number of child laborers with 44 million children, giving it the largest child workforce in the World (Zaidi et al 2013).

Child Labor Situation and Types in Pakistan

Pakistan is a country of about 190 million people in which 34.7% are children below the age of 14 years (Pakistan Demographic Profile 2013). According to ILO, the number of child laborers in Pakistan exceeded 12 million in 2012 and there were around 10 million underage workers ("Child Laborers Exceed" 2013). The number of children between the age of 10-14 years is 2.58 million and there are thousands of more who are even younger than the age of 10 (ILO 2013). These children are working in different sectors, agriculture being the largest one. Pakistan has the second largest out of school population in the World with 7.26 million children out of school due to poverty ("Child Laborers Exceed" 2013). According to ILO, there were approximately 15.5 million child domestic workers (age 5 to 17 years) around the World. More than 7.4 million children in this number were aged 5-14 years (ILO 2013). Because of the hidden nature of domestic labor, it is very difficult to ascertain the correct number of children working as domestic laborers. The labor inspectors find it extremely difficult to monitor households where under age employees might be subjected to physical violence, long working hours, dangerous working environment, insufficient food and inappropriate accommodation (Zaidi et al 2013).

According to ILO about 74% of all working children in Pakistan are engaged in agriculture labor, whereas, in urban areas most working children (31%) are in manufacturing (ILO 2013). ILO also observed that in the non-agriculture sectors, most of the working children (93%) are engaged in informal activities. Children in the 5-14 years

age group (46%) are working more than the normal working hours i.e. 35 hours per week (ILO 2013).

Child labor occurs in industries and work situations. Carpet industry employs a large number of children. Government of Pakistan has designated it hazardous labour, yet it employs most of the working children. According to the UNICEF estimates about one million children throughout the country work in the carpet industry and most of them started work there when they were under 10 years of age (Katz 2009). There have been media reports of sexual abuse of girls working in the carpet industry (Katz 2009). One of the worst kinds of child labour is domestic labour, mainly because it is hidden away and not regulated by government. The data about child labour "does not include children working within the household, and does not account for children engaged in unofficial, especially if illegal, work activities" (Cigno et al 2002:3). Majority of the working children, in urban areas, work as domestic labourers (ILO 2013). According to one estimate, onequarter of all homes in Pakistan use children in their homes for many types of chores and 62% of them are girls. Many of these children are physically and sexually abused and are forced to work long hours (Katz 2009). Other industries where large number of children are employed are surgical, sports industries, tanneries, fishing industry, mines, glass and bangles factories, rag picking, begging, auto mechanic workshops, tea stalls, transport, and construction (Nasrullah et al 2013).

Legislation and Policies Against Child Labour in Pakistan

The constitution of Pakistan gives protection against slavery, forced labour, and child labour. Article 11 (1) of the constitution forbids slavery and forbids that no law shall permit or facilitate its introduction into Pakistan in any form. Article 11 (2) prohibits all forms of forced labour and traffic in human beings. Article 11 (3) prohibits employment of children below the age of 14 years in factories or mines or any other hazardous place (Pakistan constitutional law 2013).

The Employment of Children Act 1991 defines child as any person who has not completed his fourteenth year. The Act bans employment of children less than 14 years

of age. It has specified sectors where children cannot be employed. This Act is also considered "more comprehensive because in terms of penalizing the offenders, it is more severe than the other minimum age laws, the penalty can extend to imprisonment for up to one year or a fine of Rs.20000 or both" (Fasih 2007:7).

The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1992 abolishes bonded labour and prohibits work against advances paid by the employer. The Act also declared all bonded labour free and discharged from any obligation to render any bonded labour. The Act prohibits any person from extracting labour under forced conditions from anyone.

The Prevention and Control of Human Trafficking Ordinance 2002 applies to all children less than 18 years of age. It prohibits human trafficking for exploitative entertainment activities (like trafficking children for camel racing in UAE). The punishment for the perpetrators is from seven to fourteen years of imprisonment.

The Labour Policy of 2010 declares child labour illegal. The policy aims to eliminate child labour by taking strong action against the violators of law. There is very little portion in the Labour Policy 2010 that talks about child labour. That brief portion contains only the intentions of the government to eradicate child labour. It does not give specifics about how the menace will be dealt with. Government claims that there are separate laws for child labour that is why Labour Policy 2010 only briefly mentions the problem and reaffirms government's intention to completely eliminate child labour (Nasrullah et al 2013).

After a recent constitutional amendment (18th Amendment), subjects related to labour and child labour have been transferred to provinces. This amendment empowers the provincial legislatures to make laws on these subjects. The provincial Labour Departments have the responsibility to check child labour practices in the provinces. Some people are of the view that this amendment has weakened government's effort to eliminate child labour. In the absence of a comprehensive central policy, there will be different laws in different provinces that will benefit the employers of child workers. Furthermore, provinces do not have the necessary capacity and resources to effectively monitor the activities of thousands of work places where children are employed (Zaidi et al 2013). A coordinated effort is required to address the issue of child labour. However, the province of

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has recently passed a law, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Prohibition of Employment of Children Act 2015, to control child labour.

In terms of Pakistan's international legal obligations, Pakistan is signatory to, (I) ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, (ii) ILO Forced Labour Convention, (iii) ILO Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, and (iv) UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (ILO 2013).

Literature review

There is a lack of consensus in the literature on what defines child labour (Rosati and Rossi 2003). Overall, work exploitative in nature is classified as child labour (Kim 2009). We can, however, classify the work across three dimensions: "1) paid work in the labour market, 2) unpaid work for a family farm or nonfarm enterprise, and 3) unpaid domestic work" (Ahmed 2012:4). Those who support broader definition argue, "domestic and family work is undesirable to the extent that conflicts with school attendance" (Ahmed 2012:4). Those who support the narrower definition do not consider unpaid domestic and family work as child labour. They argue, "these two types of work tend to occur under parental guidance and supervision and such work equips a child with essential skills that may not be learnt elsewhere, and enhances the self-esteem of the child" (Ahmed 2012:4).

Ray (2000) used data from Peru and Pakistan to examine child labour. He argues that poverty is the major cause of child labour. The results also suggest that there is need to address the issues of households that are below the poverty line. Krisztina and Gunther (2005) also support the poverty hypothesis because sending the child to work provides supplementary income for survival. Moehling in analyzing the reduction of child labour in United States concluded that the reduction in child labour was not because of the legislation alone; rather it was interplay of important economic factors (Moehling 1999). Acknowledging the importance of economic factors behind child labour, Basu and Van (1998) argue, "The first and foremost evidence is the contemporary fact that the children of the non-poor seldom work even in very poor countries. This phenomenon is best explained by supposing that parents withdraw their children from the labour force as soon as they can afford to do so. In other words, children's leisure or, more precisely, non-work is a

luxury good in the household's consumption in the sense that a poor household cannot afford to consume this good but it does so as soon as the household income rises sufficiently" (Basu and Van 1998:415). In the developed world child labour was reduced through economic changes and universal schooling, which eliminated the demand for child workers (Ahmed 2012). Legal restrictions cannot work alone unless these are accompanied by free education (Krueger and Donohue 2005). Ray (2000) argues, "child labour not only remains economically important in the developing countries but it is on the whole as morally unquestioned as was the case in Britain before the end of eighteenth century" (Ray 2000:4).

Other than the economic factor, that is considered the main reason for child labour, "there is now widespread appreciation that decisions on fertility, child labour, and child schooling are interdependent" (Ray 2000:5). For instance, "in Bolivia and Venezuela, the fail rate is higher among working children who also acquire two years' less education than children who do not work" (Ahmed 2012:5). One of the approaches to reduce child labour is the use of educational subsidies to lower schooling costs (Ahmed 2012). There are other studies that view child labour-school link indirectly by looking at the impact of various education policies and school specific characteristics on child labour. In rural Cote d'Ivoire "school proximity reduces the incidence of child labour" (Ahmed 2012:5). While examining the results of a study on child labour in Peru and Pakistan, Ray argued that results highlighted "the significant role that adult female education can play in each country in reducing child labour and increasing child schooling" (Ray 2000:6). In the case of Pakistan, "the link between adult female and child labour markets is much stronger...and it is important to distinguish between the adult male and the adult female in modeling the interaction between the adult and child labour markets" (Ray 2000:12). The literature supports the view that reduction in child labour requires multi pronged policy that should include legislation, economic wellbeing, free and accessible schooling, and parents' education, especially, adult female education.

Globalization has also been cited as one of the reasons responsible for increasing child labour, especially in the developing countries. "Globalization has resulted in the closure of several units and cottage industries ensuing in unemployment and retrenchment. The children of labourers have been forced in to child labour and are caught

in the web of economic and sexual exploitation by a greedy market economy" (Nasrullah et al 2013:81). Cigno (2002) believes that globalization or "trade exposure per se could be a cause a rise in child labour does not appear to be well founded, except insofar as countries with a largely uneducated workforce could be left out of the globalization process, and become poorer as a result" (Cigno et al 2002:18). In other words it is the education standard of the workforce that determines increase or decrease in child labour. In the global trade countries with largely uneducated workforce are at the receiving end. Globalization raises the demand and wages of uneducated, relative to educated workers. That kills all the incentive to educate a child, and make parents send the child to work at the earliest opportunity (Cigno et al 2002). White (1996) views globalization's effect on child labour from a different angle and believes that globalization of mass media has caused the flow of information and lifestyles travel much faster, which has turned the World's children into a generation of consumers. These lifestyles and new ideas are travelling not only to cities and elites, but to villages and poor families, which makes the children not just to have sufficient food and clothing, "but also to have certain (non-traditional) kinds of clothes, ornaments, and other possessions" (White 1996:3). Majority of the children do not have access to these things, but they are aware of these products. Globalization has made them conscious of their poverty (White 1996). The desire to possess and consume these products is "one important and growing (but not of course only) cause of the decision of children, with or without their parents' approval or consent, to enter the labour market in search of cash" (White 1996:3). In other words, children enter the workforce to earn money. White (1996) seems to be in favour of children working, but he is against exploitation. "The overriding aim of local and international efforts should be to combat the exploitation of children, rather than to exclude them from labour market" (White 1996:8).

Strategy

It has been shown that child labour is widespread in Pakistan. It is a complex issue. It has many causes ranging from economic conditions to education and lack of better infrastructure. Poverty, lack of educational facilities and non-enforcement of laws are the major causes of child labour. Any strategy to eliminate child labour has to take into account

all these aspects of the problem. However, the way this problem is viewed by the government and the general public is also a problem. The discourse around this subject needs to be changed first. Prevalent discourse about child labour views this problem purely as an economic problem and a private affair of the family. It is true that economic condition of a family plays important role in child labour, but making the family wholly responsible for this is not fair. Society has to come forward and shoulder its responsibility. Second common discourse is about the availability of cheap labour and how it is important for economic growth. Globalization has caused big businesses to move their production units in developing countries for cheap labour. It has increased the demand for unskilled labour. Lower wages are not enough to run the household if only parents work in the factories. To earn a handsome income, parents have no other choice but to send their children to work. If labourers demand higher wages, the business will become less profitable and will shift to cheaper regions and people will loose their jobs. Hence, the current discourse about the connection between cheap labour and economic growth. Many studies, though, have found no connection between child labour and trade exposure (Cigno et al 2002), yet the discourse is very strong amongst the policy makers and people in general. We need to change the discourse to one, which views this issue as rights of the children problem and child labour as a violation of human rights. Until child labour is given the same attention as we give to women rights, domestic violence and torture, we cannot hope government to come up with meaningful policies to eliminate child labour. This paper proposes intense media campaign to raise awareness about the issue. In this regard cooperation of organizations working in the child labour field will be sought.

Many experts have cited poverty as the most important factor for child labour. Thousands of children are forced to quit schools and join labour force because of poverty. The problem of child labour is closely associated with poverty and underdevelopment (Zaidi et al 2013). Ahmed (2012) argues, "Poverty is an important factor explaining child labour. Less wealthy households in both urban and rural settings are more likely to engage in child labour" (Ahmed 2012:19). The officials in government departments also acknowledge poverty factor behind child labour. They believe that child labour cannot be eliminated until poverty is alleviated completely (Khan 2010).

An important aspect of the strategy is to introduce small credit schemes to help people start their own business. The role of micro-credit in reducing poverty is now well recognized all over the World (Latifee 2003). This experiment has been successful in many countries. Micro credit "empowers to break the vicious cycle of poverty by instantaneously creating self-employment and generating income" (Latifee 2003:4). The micro credit schemes could be a great incentive for parents to send their children to school. It is important because parents' decision to send a child to work or school depends on three things: the cost of education, the expected return to education, and the extent to which parents are able to finance educational investments (Cigno et al 2002). Ray (2000) has shown that adult female education and her role in household's decision making is crucial in reducing child labour. If the women are empowered in terms of their financial position, they are likely not to send their children to work. In countries like India and Bangladesh women empowerment through small credits has enhanced their position in household decision-making (Vatta 2003). Bangladesh's Grameen Bank's micro-credit schemes had a direct effect on children's schooling. In Grameen families, all school-age children went to school. There were no cases of children being deprived access to higher education due to financial constraints (Latifee 2003). Instead of giving food for education, helping parents start their own business will go a long way in poverty alleviation. This strategy involves contacting Banks, international agencies and NGOs to form a joint strategy in this regard. Wherever necessary, subsidies will also be given to very poor or such groups who lack skills or willingness to obtain micro credits. Both micro credits and subsidies will be available for the deserving.

Literature also points to lack of free schooling as a major factor behind child labour. Present education system in Pakistan is blamed for creating two distinct classes in the society: rich and poor. Due to the colonial legacy "education-a specific form of socialization not involving family-came to be used as a means for social reproduction, a process through which classes reproduced themselves" (Khan 2010:106). In other words children of the poor were prepared to take the place of their parents as labourers. Apart from this aspect of education being instrumental in creating classes, lack of education facilities has played important role in sending children to work. There are fewer schools as compared to number of children. In the rural areas, especially, schools are located in far off

areas. Children have to walk miles to reach their school. Access to schooling has a direct effect on child labour and presents a substitution effect (Ahmed 2012). This presents another challenge for the success of our strategy that is prioritizing education in budget allocations. Presently, Pakistan is spending 2.3% of GDP on education, less than 4%, which is the global standard most countries have committed. With these meager funds it is very difficult to achieve the target of universal literacy. It also shows that education has low priority in government's agenda.

Associated with schooling is education for the parents. Many scholars believe that literate parents are less likely to send their children to work. In his study of Peru and Pakistan, Ray (2000) argues, "increased education of adult females leads to a significant reduction in child labour" (Ray 2000:18). This view is supported by Ahmed's (2012) study, which points that households where parents are educated have lower average labour hours. It means that parents' education, especially the mother's, is very important factor in reducing child labour.

Due to limitations of legal restrictions, policy makers turned towards other policy options such as the use of education subsidies to lower schooling costs, increase school enrolments, lower drop out rates, and reduce child labour. Examples of such approaches are the BolsaEscola, the Brazilian Child Labour Eradication Program; Mexican Program for Education, Health and Nutrition, and Bangladesh's Food-for-Education Program (Ahmed 2012).

Our strategy emphasizes free schooling and adult education. It's a soft policy instrument. Once the cost of schooling is taken away, most of the parents would like to send their children to school. As Brazilian, Mexican, and Bangladeshi examples suggest, educational subsidies to lower schooling costs increase school enrolment and reduce child labour (Ahmad 2012). Adult education, especially adult female education is important, because studies suggest that female education is effective in reducing a household's reliance on the income of child labour (Ray 2000). Evening schools can be established to give those children, and their parents, a chance that work during the day, but want to continue their education.

We need to make education inexpensive, accessible, and attractive for the children. Government needs to provide educational subsidies wherever necessary. For this,

we need to bring education on top of government's development agenda, establishing clear linkages between education and child labour. Policy-making starts with agenda setting. Bringing education up on the agenda requires persistent effort and advocacy. Nongovernment organizations have very important role to play in this regard. Furthermore, collaborative policy-making will be followed where policy of one department compliments the efforts of other department in achieving their goals. This needs to be participative, especially in the case of education and child labour. Both the issues are interconnected. The effect of one over the other is well established. Participative approach to policy formulation is the corner stone of this strategy. Without the involvement of key stakeholders in the whole process, from agenda setting to implementation and evaluation, no policy can succeed. That is why this paper is proposing a mix of joined up and network governance models to address the issue of child labour. For this, the paper proposes the constitution of an independent commission, where all the stakeholders are represented. Policies of all related departments, like Education, Social Welfare, Labour, Law, Industries, and Finance will compliment each other in achieving the common goal. Details of the commission and its working will be discussed later.

Laws are considered primary control mechanisms. However, there is growing realization that simply banning child labour is not likely to eliminate it completely. As Ray points out, "when child labour is prohibited by law, the law cannot protect child workers since they legally do not exist" (Ray 2000:5). An understanding of major causes is necessary to deal with the phenomenon effectively. In Bangladesh, the government banned child labour in factories. The ban produced negative results. Children who were fired from their jobs took much worse jobs like breaking bricks in the hot Sun, or in some cases prostitution (Basu and Van 1998). Another reason of failure of laws to check child labour, especially in the developing countries, is weak enforcement. We see that in the developed countries child labour has been effectively minimized because of strict enforcement of laws. Examples could be given of legal restrictions imposed on the cotton industry in Manchester, England, which resulted in decreased child labour. In the United States, "children living in states with child labour laws are likely to stay in school longer than those in states without child labour laws" (Ahmed 2012:2). In the developing countries the failure to implement laws has been associated with weak enforceability, particularly, in

rural areas. This aspect brings us to the most important point: weak or no implementation of policies. In the policy cycle each stage is important.

Policies fail "either because the policy design was fundamentally flawed or because government agencies lacked sufficient expertise and resources" (Althaus et al 2013:169). The policy cycle clearly defines each stage of the policy. It emphasizes the importance of each stage and the relationship these stages have with one another. Design stage is very important, but it is equally important to decide about the implementation mechanism, how and who will implement the policy, how the policy will be evaluated and so on. In Pakistan's case, it appears that the implementation stage was not thoroughly discussed. There is institutional disconnect between the policy and the operational arm. In The Australian Policy Handbook, there are nine conditions for successful implementation of a policy. These are: 1) the model should be simple, robust and tested through experience, 2) There should be as few steps as possible between formulation and implementation, 3) timing is very important - implementation schedule should take electoral cycle into account, 4) Policies fail if too many players share responsibility, 5) a clear chain of accountability, 6) the deliverer should be involved in policy design, 7) Continuous evaluation is important for the policy to evolve and become more effective, 8) measurement is important; how to measure the success, and 9) Equal attention should be paid to implementation and to policy formulation (Althaus et al 2013). All these conditions are important and pretty much sum up the reasons of child labour policy failure in Pakistan. These conditions will act as guiding principles for the commission members while formulating policies. All the players will be involved in policy design stage.

Ray (2000) also talks about the importance of availability of basic facilities and infrastructure in changing the behavior of families towards child labour. He argues, "strong policy initiatives in the field of female education aimed at increasing awareness, coupled with increased infrastructural investment in basic amenities, e.g. provision of water and electricity, are likely to be effective in reducing a household's reliance on child labour and in increasing child schooling" (Ray 2000:18). Provision of clean drinking water, clean environment, schools, health facilities, and playgrounds is very important. It helps the parents to switch from a high fertility, low-survival, low education to a low fertility, high survival, and high education strategy (Cigno et al 2002). It is true that

provision of all these amenities to all the people is not possible in a short period of time, yet government can devise a long term policy to provide all these facilities in phased manner. This paper suggests that a five-year plan should be made, starting with the most backward areas, especially where the incidence of child labour is highest.

Our strategy for eradication of child labour in Pakistan has covered all the aspects discussed above. Current laws in Pakistan are comprehensive and cover most of the aspects of child labour. However, one aspect that needs attention is domestic child labour. The Eradication of Child Labour Act 1991 does not cover domestic child labour. It is mostly hidden and is not regulated by the government. Government needs to bring necessary amendment in the law to bring domestic child labour within the ambit of the law. There should be punishment for people who employ under age children for domestic chores.

The strategy this paper presents requires involvement of all actors in the policy design stage. Government has the center stage, but around it citizens, NGOs, civil society, interest groups, child rights groups, international agencies, and private sector will play their role by giving valuable input in the design stage and sharing responsibility in the implementation stage. It is important to note that in most cases field staff that is supposed to implement the policy is totally ignored. They are given no role in the policy formulation stage. The result is poorly designed policies that fail at the implementation stage. Furthermore, periodic evaluation is also necessary. It helps to correct the course if things are not going according to plan. It also gives the opportunity to revisit and redesign the policy.

As for the cost of this strategy is concerned, we cannot make accurate estimation now. But, one thing is clear that it will definitely cost less than what Pakistan is currently losing because of child labour. According to ILO estimates there are 12 million children who are engaged in child labour (ILO 2013). This number will increase with the increase in population. Experts believe that human capital improvement can prove to be an engine of growth. Child labour at the micro level will increase poverty by lowering the individual's future value-adding and income generating potential, trapping the household in a vicious intergenerational cycle of poverty (Ahmed 2000). At the macro level child labour limits the economy's growth potential, owning to a low-skilled labour force (Ahmed

2000). Hence, child labour is undesirable as it comes at the cost to human capital development.

Implementation

This strategy requires the cooperation and coordination of several actors. On the one hand there are several government departments like Labour, Education, Industries, Finance, Law and Social Welfare that have to work in coordination with each other to achieve the desired results, on the other hand, there are non-government bodies such as Banks, NGOs, civil society organizations, child rights organizations, and international donor agencies, whose cooperation is crucial for the success of this strategy.

To organize the efforts of so many players, it is imperative to have one common forum. This paper proposes constitution of an independent special commission. It will be created by an Act of parliament. The commission will act as the hub for all decision-making and implementation processes. The commission will be independent in its decision-making and will have the authority of proposing legislation. All the players mentioned above will have representation on the commission. It is here that policies of different departments will be discussed and brought in-line with the overall objectives. The decisions will be made by consensus. The commission will have financial and administrative authority as well as autonomy. It will be accountable before the parliament or any special committee of the parliament that may be created for the purpose. Politicians from both treasury and opposition benches will be its members. This composition will give the commission a national appearance and will bring seriousness in the effort. The more powerful the commission will be, the more seriously its decisions will be taken. The commission can decide upon the different stages of implementation after taking into account the viewpoints of the field staff or operational arm of the policy.

It is anticipated that there will be some resistance from the vested interests such as carpet industry, manufacturers of surgical and sports goods, feudal lords and small enterprises that employ children for work. These pressures can be minimized by robust, sincere, and timely implementation of policy. Public opinion and media has a crucial role to

play in this regard. With strong media campaign public opinion can be changed in favour of the policy.

Evaluation

Policy evaluation is an important part of the policy. Evaluation/measurement mechanisms and tools have to be identified before hand. Evaluation will help correct the course. The proposed commission will have the responsibility to evaluate the policy itself, or it can hire the services of independent well-reputed firms to do the same. The most relevant indicators of policy success are increase in school enrolment, decrease in drop out rate, reduction in number of children engaged in child labour, reduction in number of people living below poverty line and increase in literacy rate. It is true that these indicators will take some time to show progress, but these are the goals that the policy should strive to achieve. For the short term, data from small areas can be collected to determine whether the policy is going in the right direction or not.

The commission can devise evaluation tools like forms, data sheets, special software, and monitoring forms. It can also decide that how often the data should be collected, whether it should be collected on monthly, or quarterly basis. In the initial stages it should be on the monthly basis. Commission will hold meetings to discuss the progress on monthly basis, in a kind of joint review meeting, where the field staff is also present to give its input regarding problems, hurdles, or difficulties in implementation. Regular monitoring and evaluation will greatly improve the performance.

Conclusion

Child labour is found in all the regions of the World. Asia tops the list with 78 million children engaged in child labour. There are about 12 million children who are engaged in child labour in Pakistan. Most of them are engaged in agriculture sector, brick kilns, bonded labour, and as domestic labourers in the rural areas. In the urban areas, majority of the children are in domestic child labour, followed by manufacturing sector, like sports and surgical goods, carpet industry, tanneries, auto workshops, restaurants and

road side tea stalls, begging, and rag picking. Poverty and unequal distribution of wealth are regarded as the major causes of child labour. Strong legislation/laws have successfully reduced or eliminated child labour in developed countries. However, this policy instrument was not so successful in low-income countries. It has been successfully experimented that subsidizing schooling cost increases enrolment rate in schools and reduces child labour. Adult female education has also shown reduction in child labour. The strategy this paper presented is based on: 1) change in the current discourse about child labour 2) strong laws and their effective implementation to stop child labour and punish the violators, 3) subsidizing the cost of schooling i. e. free schooling, 4) poverty alleviation through micro credit schemes, and 5) parent education, especially adult female education. This strategy requires for its success cooperation and coordination of several government departments as well as non-government agencies, including NGOs, international donor agencies and rights groups. To organize the effort of so many players, constitution of an independent commission is proposed to implement the policy and oversee its progress. The commission will be created by an Act of parliament. The evaluation of progress will be through monthly joint review meetings. The commission or any independent firm appointed by the commission will do the monitoring and evaluation on monthly basis. Reduction in the number of child labourers, increase in school enrolment rate, reduction in drop out rate and reduction of poverty are the indicators that will tell us about the success of the policy. Active participation of the field staff and their input in the decision-making process is crucial for policy's success. Some resistance from the vested interests such as agricultural landowners and factory owners is expected. It can be overcome through robust media campaign and winning public opinion in favour of the policy. Given the magnitude of the problem, the policy will take some time to show visible impact, but tenacity of purpose and consistency can show visible results in a short time too.

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