

DOWNLOAD PDF CHILD STREET LABORERS, THEIR FAMILIES, AND THE HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY

Chapter 1 : What is child labour (IPEC)

Not only is the child prevented from laboring, but the income of families with children is arbitrarily lowered by the government child labor laws penalize families with children because the period in which children remain net monetary liabilities to their parents is thereby prolonged.

Census of England and Wales 21st century Incidence rates for child labour worldwide in age group, in , per World Bank data. The colour code is as follows: Some nations such as Guinea-Bissau , Mali and Ethiopia have more than half of all children aged 5â€™14 at work to help provide for their families. Estimates for child labour vary. It ranges between and million, if children aged 5â€™17 involved in any economic activity are counted. If light occasional work is excluded, ILO estimates there were million child labourers aged 5â€™14 worldwide in This is about 20 million less than ILO estimate for child labourers in Some 60 percent of the child labour was involved in agricultural activities such as farming, dairy, fisheries and forestry. Another 25 percent of child labourers were in service activities such as retail, hawking goods, restaurants, load and transfer of goods, storage, picking and recycling trash, polishing shoes, domestic help, and other services. The remaining 15 percent laboured in assembly and manufacturing in informal economy, home-based enterprises, factories, mines, packaging salt, operating machinery, and such operations. Some children work as guides for tourists, sometimes combined with bringing in business for shops and restaurants. Contrary to popular beliefs, most child labourers are employed by their parents rather than in manufacturing or formal economy. Children who work for pay or in-kind compensation are usually found in rural settings, then urban centres. Less than 3 percent of child labour aged 5â€™14 across the world work outside their household, or away from their parents. Africa has the highest percentage of children aged 5â€™17 employed as child labour, and a total of over 65 million. Asia, with its larger population, has the largest number of children employed as child labour at about million. Latin America and Caribbean region have lower overall population density, but at 14 million child labourers has high incidence rates too. Accurate present day child labour information is difficult to obtain because of disagreements between data sources as to what constitutes child labour. In some countries, government policy contributes to this difficulty. Department of Labor issued a List of Goods Produced by Child Labor or Forced Labor where China was attributed 12 goods the majority of which were produced by both underage children and indentured labourers. Maplecroft Child Labour Index survey [52] reports 76 countries pose extreme child labour complicity risks for companies operating worldwide. The ten highest risk countries in , ranked in decreasing order, were: Of the major growth economies, Maplecroft ranked Philippines 25th riskiest, India 27th, China 36th, Viet Nam 37th, Indonesia 46th, and Brazil 54th - all of them rated to involve extreme risks of child labour uncertainties, to corporations seeking to invest in developing world and import products from emerging markets. Causes of child labour Primary causes International Labour Organization ILO suggests poverty is the greatest single cause behind child labour. Other scholars such as Harsch on African child labour, and Edmonds and Pavcnik on global child labour have reached the same conclusion. Children work because they have nothing better to do. Even when schools are sometimes available, they are too far away, difficult to reach, unaffordable or the quality of education is so poor that parents wonder if going to school is really worth it. Cultural causes In European history when child labour was common, as well as in contemporary child labour of modern world, certain cultural beliefs have rationalised child labour and thereby encouraged it. Some view that work is good for the character-building and skill development of children. Similarly, in many cultures the education of girls is less valued or girls are simply not expected to need formal schooling, and these girls pushed into child labour such as providing domestic services. Macroeconomic causes Biggeri and Mehrotra have studied the macroeconomic factors that encourage child labour. They suggest [59] that child labour is a serious problem in all five, but it is not a new problem. Macroeconomic causes encouraged widespread child labour across the world, over most of human history. They suggest that the causes for child labour include both the demand and the supply side. While

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poverty and unavailability of good schools explain the child labour supply side, they suggest that the growth of low-paying informal economy rather than higher paying formal economy is amongst the causes of the demand side. Other scholars too suggest that inflexible labour market, size of informal economy, inability of industries to scale up and lack of modern manufacturing technologies are major macroeconomic factors affecting demand and acceptability of child labour. Colonial empires Systematic use of child labour was common place in the colonies of European powers between and In Africa, colonial administrators encouraged traditional kin-ordered modes of production, that is hiring a household for work not just the adults. Millions of children worked in colonial agricultural plantations, mines and domestic service industries. Britain for example passed a law, the so-called Masters and Servants Act of , followed by Tax and Pass Law, to encourage child labour in colonies particularly in Africa. One of these taxes was the Head Tax in the British and French colonial empires. The tax was imposed on everyone older than 8 years, in some colonies. To pay these taxes and cover living expenses, children in colonial households had to work. Child labour in Africa Children working at a young age has been a consistent theme throughout Africa. Many children began first working in the home to help their parents run the family farm. Along with 30 percent of children who are picking coffee, there are an estimated 25, school age children who work year round. Children who were born in urban areas often found themselves working for street vendors, washing cars, helping in construction sites, weaving clothing, and sometimes even working as exotic dancers. Another issue that often comes into play is the link between what constitutes as child labour within the household due to the cultural acceptance of children helping run the family business. With children playing an important role in the African economy, child labour still plays an important role for many in the 20th century. Child labour was not as excessive in Australia as in Britain. With a low population, agricultural productivity was higher and families did not face starvation as in established industrialised countries. Australia also did not have significant industry until the later part of the 20th century when child labour laws, and compulsory schooling had developed under the influence of Britain. From the s Child labour was restricted by compulsory schooling. Generally, children are allowed to work at any age, but restrictions exist for children under 15 years of age. These restrictions apply to work hours and the type of work that children can perform. In all states, children are obliged to attend school until a minimum leaving age, 15 years of age in all states except Tasmania and Queensland where the leaving age is Child labour in Brazil Child labour in Brazil , leaving after collecting recyclables from a landfill. Free or slave labour was a common occurrence for many youths and was a part of their everyday lives as they grew into adulthood. Due to this lack of documentation, it is hard to determine just how many children were used for what kinds of work before the nineteenth century. Boys and girls were victims of industrial accidents on a daily basis. This led to the minimum age being raised once again to Another set of restrictions was passed in that restricted the kinds of work youth could partake in, such as work that was considered hazardous like running construction equipment, or certain kinds of factory work. They were joined by 3. Many children are used by drug cartels to sell and carry drugs, guns, and other illegal substances because of their perception of innocence. This type of work that youth are taking part in is very dangerous due to the physical and psychological implications that come with these jobs. Yet despite the hazards that come with working with drug dealers, there has been an increase in this area of employment throughout the country. Due to poor employment opportunities for many parents, sending their children to work on farms and in factories was a way to help feed and support the family. Because children often helped produce the goods out of their homes, working in a factory to make those same goods was a simple change for many of these youths. This age range was an important time for many youths as they were first helping to provide for their families; while also transitioning to save for their own future families. Due to this substantial shift in available workers, and the development of the industrial revolution, children began to work earlier in life in companies outside of the home. Other factors that lead to the decline of child labour included financial changes in the economy, changes in the development of technology, raised wages, and continuous regulations on factory legislation. But 23 years later in the Convention on the Rights of Children was adopted and helped to reduce the

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exploitation of children and demanded safe working environments. They all worked towards the goal of ending the most problematic forms of child labour. Child labour in Cambodia Significant levels of child labour appear to be found in Cambodia. It reported that over , children are working in Ecuador, where they are exposed to heavy metals and toxic chemicals and are subject to mental and physical stress and the insecurity caused by being at risk of work-related accidents. Minors performing agricultural work along with their parents help apply pesticides without wearing protective equipment. Child labour in India In , the country of India is home to the largest number of children who are working illegally in various industrial industries. Agriculture in India is the largest sector where many children work at early ages to help support their family. This is often the major cause of the high rate of child labour in India. The British thus became masters of east India Bengal, Bihar, Orissa â€” a prosperous region with a flourishing agriculture, industry and trade. Many multinationals often employed children because that they can be recruited for less pay, and have more endurance to utilise in factory environments. The innocence that comes with childhood was utilised to make a profit by many and was encouraged by the need for family income.

Chapter 2 : The Impact of Unemployment on Families

not hard to find. Children when young cannot be anything other than a cost to a family economy: they need care, shelter, food, and clothing, and cannot begin to make even the smallest contribution until at least age five.

Street children at a railway station in Medak district , Andhra Pradesh. In the early years of research on street children, the term " street child " included any child that worked on the street. Lusk, a prominent researcher of street children, developed four categories of children on the street from his research: In the late s, for instance, it was estimated that there were at least , street children in both Kolkata and Bombay. Most of the street children in India are over 6, and the majority is over 8. Gender[edit] The majority of street children in India are boys with little or no education. In one study of 1, street children living in Bombay conducted in , A child running away from home ends on the street in most situations. There is lot of data available on why children run away, revealing many reasons for doing so. Some reasons are simple, some complex. A child not going to school or not doing home work and thus fearing beatings, is a very common cause. A child stealing money, fighting with siblings are reasons too. This study illustrates the trend found by most researchers: Gradually they will spend more time away from home until they do not return. Street conditions are far from child-friendly. The kidnappers make them beg for money the whole day on the streets and enjoy themselves with the money they get from the children. Work[edit] Street children in Mumbai , India selling snacks and drinks to bus passengers As street children must provide for themselves, work is a very important aspect of their lives. Relationships and coping[edit] The street children in India are especially vulnerable among low-income children because they do not have the support structures that other children normally have, namely families and the psychological and monetary support they offer. For many, these strategies include developing a tough exterior and strong independence to hide their vulnerability. Many form groups with other street children to protect themselves. Though most live on their own or with friends, some street children form connections with families that live on the streets or in slums and see these families as their substitute families. In the same study of street children in Bombay, Open air bathing of street children is in fact a very common sight in all parts of India. These children have to put their naked bodies on display for a very long time before, during and after bathing. As a result, they develop hardly any sense of modesty. They as well as the onlookers have a casual approach to this phenomenon. Street children also lack restroom facilities, demonstrated by the fact that For water, the children reported asking restaurants or hotels for water A study conducted in on the street children in Kolkata found that six in every street children from ages five to fourteen are HIV positive. The rate of child abuse increased to nearly in Other studies include that 7, children, including infants, are raped every year in India, and the government refuses to comment on these serial child abuses that continue. Many child activists believe that cases go unreported. Verbal and psychological abuse were reported the most. Older children and children with higher incomes were abused more than younger children and children with lower incomes, respectively. The Indian Council of Child Welfare has included street children in their programmes, and in the 8th Five Year Plan a scheme for children in 6 metropolitan cities was set in place. These suggestions include the amendment of Sections 53 and 54 of the Code of Criminal Procedures to make a medical examination necessary when a street child is detained, ratifying the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Forms of Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment , and to amend the Juvenile Justice Act in order to create a mechanism for complaints and prosecutions for abuse. It also used street children as actors.

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Chapter 3 : Child labour - Wikipedia

Children usually work to contribute and provide financial support to their families. Their health is often ignored by their parents or they may not be aware about their children's health.

Other numbers are unadjusted from those reported by the Bureau of the Census. These figures show that throughout this period agricultural employment dominated child labor, despite the fact that industrialization was occurring rapidly and agricultural employment fell from 48 percent to 25 percent of the work force between and . Data from the Cost of Living Survey of show the importance of child labor to urban households. The continuation of child labor in industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, sparked controversy. Much of this ire was directed at employers, especially in industries where supervisors bullied children to work harder and assigned them to dangerous, exhausting or degrading jobs. In addition, working-class parents were accused of greedily not caring about the long-term well-being of their children. Requiring them to go to work denied them educational opportunities and reduced their life-time earnings, yet parents of laboring children generally required them to turn over all or almost all of their earnings. For example, one government study of unmarried young women living at home and working in factories and stores in New York City in found over ninety percent of those under age 20 turned all of their earnings over to their parents. Likewise, Parsons and Goldin find that children of fathers working in the textile industry left school about three years younger than those with fathers in other industries. The earliest legal restriction on child labor in the U. Legislation enacted before generally contained only weak restrictions and little provisions for enforcement. In the late s, however, social pressure against child labor became more organized under leaders such as Florence Kelley, Edgar Gardner Murphy and Felix Adler. By , 44 states and territories had a child labor law of some type. Twenty-four states had minimum age limits for manufacturing employment by , with age limits around 14 years in the Northeast and Upper Midwest, and no minimums at all in most of the South. When the Census reported a rise in child labor above levels of , child labor activists responded with increased efforts including a press campaign and the establishment of the National Child Labor Committee in . Ironically, recent research suggests the Census was in error and child labor was already on the decline by . By seventeen more states enacted minimum age laws and several others increased age minimums. Federal legislation, however, initially proved unsuccessful. The Keating-Owen Act of , which prevented the interstate shipment of goods produced in factories by children under 14 and in mines by children under 16, was struck down in the *Hammer v. Rivington*. Likewise, the Pomerane Amendment of , which taxed companies that used child labor, was declared unconstitutional in *Bailey v. Drexel*. In , the Senate passed a Constitutional amendment banning child labor, but it was never ratified by enough states. Finally, the Fair Labor Standards Act of prohibited the full-time employment of those 16 and under with a few exemptions and enacted a national minimum wage which made employing most children uneconomical. Most economic historians conclude that this legislation was not the primary reason for the reduction and virtual elimination of child labor between and . Instead they point out that industrialization and economic growth brought rising incomes, which allowed parents the luxury of keeping their children out of the work force. In addition, child labor rates have been linked to the expansion of schooling, high rates of return from education, and a decrease in the demand for child labor due to technological changes which increased the skills required in some jobs and allowed machines to take jobs previously filled by children. Moehling finds that the employment rate of year olds around the beginning of the twentieth century did decline in states that enacted age minimums of 14, but so did the rates for year olds not covered by the restrictions. Overall she finds that state laws are linked to only a small fraction “ if any “ of the decline in child labor. It may be that states experiencing declines were therefore more likely to pass legislation, which was largely symbolic. Carter, Susan and Richard Sutch. *Editing of the U. To Sow One Acre More: Childbearing and Farm Productivity in the Antebellum North*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Goldin, Claudia and Kenneth Sokoloff. *Evidence from the Manufacturing Censuses*. Net Encyclopedia, edited by

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Robert Whaples. Net - Economic History Services.

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Chapter 4 : Family Diversity is the New Normal for America's Children | Council on Contemporary Families

The achievement of the Sustainable Development Goal for Education rests on children being free to go to school rather than working to support their families, while ensuring decent work (SDG 8) and eliminating all child labor will be impossible without quality education for all children.

Twenty-five of 57 papers focused on specific countries pertained to agriculture or selling and vending agricultural products like food on streets also see Table 3. Specifically, the articles covered agriculture in general or specific crop-based industries, for example, cocoa in Ghana and tobacco in Kazakhstan or Malawi [3 , 9 , 10]. One paper from Finland discussed the impact of agricultural and nonagricultural labor on adolescents as young workers with income with respect to excessive alcohol consumption [11]. Of the 16 other papers related to agricultural work in general, six papers also related to nonagricultural, nonmining work in various manufacturing and export sales industries like carpet weaving and shoes [12 – 17]; four papers also related to nonagricultural, nonmining work, and domestic work like child care, cooking, and cleaning [18 – 21]; and one paper also related to both nonagricultural work and mining activities [22]. As previously noted, Amon et al. Another paper by Banerjee discussed both agricultural and domestic work in West Bengal, India [23]. The other four papers only pertained to agricultural work [24 – 27]. The majority of adverse impacts reported in these 25 papers covering agriculture or agriculture and another sector were physical injuries and absence from school. It must be noted how these children may not just be absent from school from time-to-time; that is, they may miss school altogether, for reasons ranging from child labor, family circumstances including poverty and caretaker responsibilities of younger siblings or sick relatives, lack of access to school supplies, and so forth. Education is a component of socioeconomic status SES , and lower SES is well known to be generally associated with adverse health outcomes. The other papers' 32 of 57 focused on child labor in nonagricultural industries. Five of the papers explored mining, specifically mining involving stone polishing and silicosis in Brazil [28]; small-scale or artisanal mining, whether for various minerals or gold [29 – 31]; or stone quarries [32]. Similar adverse health outcome categories as in the agricultural sector were reported in the mining sector, including injury, abuse, mortality, and loss of education. The carpet weaving industry was highlighted in India by Das et al. Gurcanli focused on the construction industry in Turkey [47]. Tiwari wrote about the shoe manufacturing industry, including rubber and leather soles, in India [48]. Mitra examined the small-scale leather industry in Calcutta, India [49]. In summary, five studies reported on respiratory symptoms, including coughing from illnesses like respiratory infections [35 , 43 – 46], and three studies reported on ocular health eyestrain due to specific tasks characteristic of these manufacturing industries [38 , 45 , 47]. Specific manufacturing tasks of concern highlighted were the production of hand-woven carpets in Iran [43] and of shoes in India [46]. Six other papers focused on the potential impact of nonagricultural, nonmining work and domestic work. In addition, Schlick et al. In this study, physical hazards resulting in falls were the greatest reported concern [70]. It should also be noted how in two of these five studies gender showed varying results there were differences reported by Naeem et al. Furman and Laleli reported that lead hair concentrations among child street vendors in Istanbul, Turkey, were five times greater than a control group, especially among those who were in high density traffic areas [62]. Work by children conflicting with schooling was reported in three studies: Baron in the informal sector in Mexico [60]; Bromley and Mackie among traders in Cusco, Peru [61]; and Gharaibeh and Hoeman in garages in Jordan [63]. Some children dropped out of school because they needed to work for money to support their families. In addition, Bromley and Mackie noted how the children chose to work because work can lead to empowerment and increased self-esteem [61]. Nevertheless, these children experienced chemical exposures as well as psychological and physical assaults, that is, verbal and sexual abuses, especially the girls and younger children. Working on streets was related to injuries i. Baron also reported how work-related injuries among children were more severe than non-work-related injuries, and

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commuting to work likely caused many of those injuries [60]. Furthermore, results suggested gender influenced work-related injuries among children; males had more injuries resulting from construction-related jobs while female had more injuries from work in stores, markets, and restaurants [60]. Three other nonagricultural papers were conceptual in nature, without data on exposures and adverse outcomes. Estrada and Hondagneu-Sotelo studied perspectives among Latino immigrant children engaged in street vending [72]. Rother explained the contextual factors and externalities i. Finally, two other papers examined male working adolescents in Jordan. Authors reported associations correlations between maternal attributes, smoking status, monthly income from work child and family , age at start of work, and length of time at work with weight and height and resulting body mass index calculations. Results suggested growth-related anthropometric measures of working males were negatively impacted by work [74 , 75]. Ten papers with an international multicountry or global scope were published – Eight papers compared some LDCs to each other or to an industrialized nation; one paper was an economic modeling analysis pertinent to LDCs with rapidly growing economies; and one paper capitalized on larger cross-sectional multicountry population-level data sets. They conducted comparative analyses of decisions made about going to work versus attending school [52]. Levison and Langer focused on children working as domestic servants a common occupation for girls in some countries, in six countries in the WHO region of the Americas – Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Colombia in South America and Costa Rica and Mexico in Central America – and suggested they were sometimes better off than nondomestic servant child laborers with respect to increased school enrollment [56]. Socioeconomic factors, such as household wealth and maternal education, were associated with the decreased likelihood of a child engaging in these forms of labor. Improved household infrastructure, such as electricity and water, were also associated with a significant reduction in hours spent on housework by children [58]. The focus of this analysis was child labor and work characteristics among orphaned children in these selected lower-income Cambodia, Ethiopia, and Tanzania and middle-income India, Kenya LDCs. Female orphans and those from poorer households had increased odds of being engaged in child labor. Outcomes of interest among children aged 5 – 14 and adults, by gender, included variables related to child and adult morbidity and mortality data; population-level nutritional status as undernourishment i. Child labor was associated with adolescent mortality [59]. Several papers were also reviewed for their contribution to explaining the persistence and resilience of child labor practices. Overall, distinction may be made between exploitive and beneficial child labor practices. There were differences in the effects of global economic and cultural participation on child labor practices, and they varied by region and industrial sectors. For example, Clark noted how children in rural areas were most likely to be active in labor, in part because of the poor proximity of quality schooling and lack of enforcement, ultimately leading to a reduction in skill preparation for future success. He also referenced other works documenting persistent poverty, lax enforcement, and isolation of families from global economic and cultural trends contributing to the persistence of child labor activities. Furthermore, he noted how trade has had a greater effect on reductions in child labor than foreign investment [77]. The family or household status also influenced labor-related effects. Parker and Overby suggested child labor and health might be explained by a model integrating economic development, education, and labor regulation; the children lacking financial resources and education, and suffering from impaired growth or development, tended to engage in work [78]. Phillips, Bhaskaran, Nathan, and Upendranadh also noted child labor practices could not be explained entirely by household or individual level factors, but rather they involved systems analysis including how socially embedded commercial processes are associated with modern global production processes [79]. Thus, while global product networks can lead to economic improvements and labor protections in some regions, in other areas they have the opposite effect: These authors pointed to the associations of extensive and complex supply chains of large, multinational corporations with child labor abuses and thus suggested improved monitoring and information disclosure, the reform of which can add to costs. Government complicity with corporate labor exploitation, for example, Kazakhstan, where migrant children were hindered from registering for school, was also seen an important contributor to labor abuses [80]. Discussion Overall, this focused literature review

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suggested how child labor remains a significant public health issue and welfare burden worldwide, even with multiple international conventions [4 – 6] and thus suggests these conventions, particularly ILO Convention , could be revised [81]. Globally, children are exposed to numerous physical agents, including extreme heat or cold and poor ergonomics, as well as psychological stressors in a wide range of industrial sectors. The main sectors included agricultural work pre- and postharvest, mining, domestic work, and trades like carpet weaving, shoe making, and construction. Chemical and biological exposure agents hazards reported with published data within this review were summarized in categories Table 4.

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Chapter 5 : Street children in India - Wikipedia

However, most working children are employed in their own household, helping with household duties or the family's farm and business. Consider the typical 14 year old girl living in rural Nepal who was interviewed in a recent labor.

Street Children Children living on the street There are estimated to be around million children living on the streets in the world 30 million in Africa, 30 million in Asia, and 60 million in South America. Often victims of all kinds of abuse, these children still have rights. What is a street child? Street children are minors who live and survive on the streets. Why does a child live on the streets? The phenomenon of street children is multifaceted. The combination of familial, economic, social, and political factors play an important role in their situation. It is therefore very difficult to single out one or more causes. However, children who have been questioned say that family, poverty, abuse, war, etc. What are the problems encountered by street children? Street children are confronted by a large number of problems. In fact, growing up in an environment generally regarded as dangerous, they incur considerable risks. As a consequence, some of their rights are very often compromised. Sometimes, when they have the choice, they even favour unhealthy foods such as ice cream, cakes, etc. Growth problems are also common with these children. Right to Health The health of children growing up on the streets is strongly compromised. Also, because of their lack of hygiene, street children are exposed to different diseases. Their health is often troubling. Without a family to take care of them, these youth must take care of themselves. Additionally, street children, to escape their reality, often use cannabis, alcohol, or inhale natural gas. Unfortunately, these very hard living conditions, have a negative impact not only on their physical and psychosocial development, but also on their cultural and economic development. Right to Education Street Children are obviously not educated. Consequently, they are often associated with the dangers of the streets. It is often difficult for these children to reintegrate into society. What can be done to help street children? The problem of street children is dependant on their situation and not on their status. In fact, each child has a personal history with the street that cannot be generalised. It is important to analyse the relationship a child has with the street. In order to better understand children living and growing up on the streets, it is essential both to make them participate, and to put them in contact with key institutions or individuals looking to understand the structural causes of their situation.

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Chapter 6 : Exposures Resulting in Safety and Health Concerns for Child Laborers in Less Developed Countries

For families, unemployment can mean more than just the loss of a job and resources. As parents struggle to make ends meet, instability can strain parents' and children's relationships and harm their overall well-being.

Latin America Brazil Homelessness Street Children The existence of street children is most often viewed as a significant problem, stripping youth of their humanity and burdening them with the everyday concern of survival. It is easy to analyze this complicated issue objectively, yet the actual experiences of the children are just as easily lost. It is therefore necessary to approach the subject with the inclusion of contextual information regarding the problem. Statistical evidence provides only a narrow view of the problem. Through a combination of both numbers and context, the many problems contributing to their existence can be addressed. This growing issue is evident in many countries throughout the world; however, its presence in Brazil and Latin America is the most studied. Poverty, the work force, substance abuse, and general homelessness in Brazil are just a few of the many influences that affect the lives of street children. In addressing these effects, this paper questions how the topic of street children is an outgrowth of its surroundings. Furthermore, recent research has been focused on providing grass-roots solutions to the problem; thus, the remainder of the analysis centers on the new directions being taken in addressing this large-scale issue. We steal-watches, necklaces. While this definition seems mundane and simple, there are numerous ongoing factors that compose it. The crux and most-contributing context to this problem is the issue of poverty. Other influences upon street children cannot be understood aside from it, and it is continually addressed throughout this analysis. For instance, the lack of both education and job opportunities is an outgrowth of poverty within Brazilian society. The process of children going to the streets to work in legal or illegal businesses to supplement family income contributes in part to the later phenomenon of street children: But where does this distinction lie? The conceptual difference between children of the street and children on the street was determined in a meeting on the issue. Children of the street were described as youth under the age of 18 living in urban areas and who call the street their principal home, assuming they no longer live in their familial residence. The street is the central environment from which they develop and obtain social skills. Children on the street, however, are children under the age of 18 who maintain stronger family ties, yet continue to spend the majority of their time in the streets. For the purposes of this paper, both types will be continually referred to as street children. This is the simplest way to explore the other surrounding factors that contribute to any type of life on street. Street children can be best understood as a product of their context and socialization, and this includes aspects of their familial and socioeconomic background. In looking at Brazilian society, the structure and role of the family plays an integral part in the socialization and development of children. On a socioeconomic level, this urban class was faced with overpopulation, housing shortages, and a lack of many other basic amenities. Such factors allowed the development of households in favelas, otherwise known as slum areas, that are located on the outskirts of major cities. Migrants to these areas were confident they would find more employment opportunities as well as an overall better future for themselves. Inflation and ongoing economic problems continue to present difficulties for families to live decently, with the head of the family working excess hours and other family members entering the labor force to ensure better income. Often this is seen in the joining of the informal economy, such as vending on the street, to make any earnings possible to support the family. These conditions threaten the overall organization and stability of Brazilian families, as well as the socialization of their children. This harsh economic condition is the world many Brazilian children are born into, an urban culture based on pressure and the basic need for survival. This environment has caused difficulty for families to properly socialize their children, and also has prevented the development of values outside those of subsistence. This is noted by a rise in women workers, but also by the increasing numbers of children and adolescents in the Brazilian work force. This child labor force is therefore widely dominated by poorer children. The issue of unemployment and lack of jobs contributes to widespread informal economic

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activities that include vending and shoe-shining, but also the illicit businesses of prostitution and drug sales. Children have become a workforce commodity, and the street serves as an attractive workplace to gain extra income for the family. In addition to the influence of family, school is the other means by which children become socialized and aware of their particular culture and values. Although illiteracy in Brazil has been decreasing, the rising number of child laborers has the potential to hurt the educational system. Out of a total , child workers aged 5 to 9, 78 percent of them are also enrolled and going to school. Increased fatigue, the large quantity of work, and the overall detrimental effect on mental health are probable in the circumstance of balancing school and work. In addition to these factors, the quality of the education they are receiving is also questionable. It is also difficult for schools to keep pace with the rapid overpopulation and urban growth that has occurred in recent years. The educational system struggles to effectively socialize children due to its outdated schools, lack of seats for enrollment, and the abundance of strikes by teachers. Less than 6 percent of the adults in Brazilian families have completed 15 or more years of school to the college level. Subsistence simply dominates the possibility of education. Another aspect that schools lack in regards to the socialization of children is their inability to build upon the body of knowledge gained outside of school. It is the difficulty of switching from the oral expression of the street to the written expression of the classroom that is the root of the problem. Socioeconomic influences greatly contribute to the forced situation street children often find themselves in. Poverty also could have led to increased stresses in their former homes, which is sometimes manifested in the form of abuse. Abandonment, neglect, and abuse therefore are also considered as heavily determinants of this issue. The parents often socialize their children based upon their own experience. This abuse also can take many forms, whether psychological, emotional, or sexual. Recent research exploring this type of violence toward street children has found that 23 percent of street children reported abuse as their reason for leaving home. This past of abuse is subsequently engrained within the child and is therefore translated to their behavior on the streets. This behavior often manifests in some form of aggression, which has led to the association of street children with violence and immoral activities. It is difficult to imagine a child the age of 10 as a frequent drug user. Truthfully, however, substance abuse is very widespread among the street children population, the most popular being inhalants, alcohol, marijuana, and cocaine. The majority of children, especially males, use inhalants. They are able to most easily get their hands on glue, nail polish remover, hair spray, cleaning fluids, and other legal and common goods. Those who do not sniff are considered laranjas street novices. Poverty, neglect, and physical abuse are all contributing factors to this major problem brewing within street children society. Inhalants, specifically, can cause various damaging psychobiological effects to the child. The sniffing of glue contributes to problems such as liver toxicity, renal failure, and death. Glue is a very debilitating substance because the deadly chemicals attack neurons as well as clog the respiratory system. It is a method of peer acceptance, for many children form groups on the street for the purposes of protection and self-defense. They sleep together, beg together, and carry out the majority of their daily activities as a group. Glue sniffing strengthens the in-group bond as well as acts as a shield to the discouraging environment they are struggling to survive in. How do children effectively gain access to these drugs as well as to food? Another significant contributor to the life and context of street children is the culture of stealing. Stealing operates effectively within their street system and is the basic method of survival. From this lifestyle of stealing comes an important aspect to consider: Principally, the police appear as a fearful figure in the lives of the children. They consider the worst part of their experience on the street to be their interactions with the authorities. Children have reported that even if they maintained a positive relationship with a policeman they were chastised and excluded from their group. In an effort to escape the problematic authorities in the home, they encounter a second type in the streets. Instead of acting as a form of a protection, the police often bring more violence into the lives of the children. The final discussion of the surroundings contributing to the existence of street children is the place of violence. The murdering of street children and the violence they face is one of the lesser-known aspects of this crisis. In addition to the threat of violence by police-supported groups, street children experience discrimination and violence from citizens on a day to day

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level. Such violence explains the need for street children to remain in groups for their own protection. These groups contribute to the socialization and development the children undergo in the absence of family influence. These children are truly a product of their surroundings. Initially, Brazil offered many penalizing and restraining programs that were designed simply to eliminate the problem. This focus, however, has clearly done nothing but promote more violence among the streets. The National Foundation for the Well-Being of Minors and the State Foundations for the Well-Being of Minors were the principal organizations that enacted restrictive programs regarding the issue. With these institutions under reform, Non-Governmental organizations NGOs are now the primary source of programs for street children. Many of these programs address factors such as homelessness, hunger, and social exclusion. As Fernandes and Vaughn , p. After working to aid them for many years, the group reformed their approach to focus on reasons why the child leaves the family. Thus their work centers on involving the entire family in the process. The program identifies the particular reasons why children end up living on the streets and then decides how to help them. They categorize such reasons as either material poor housing, poverty, hunger or non-material drugs, general overload, abuse and neglect. From here, GRP takes steps to involve the children and their parents throughout the process of empowering solutions. This is often at the relief of the parents. They then plan the first reunion meeting of the child with their parents around some form of holiday or celebration because of the informal atmosphere. The family also engages in life counseling and meetings to talk about their feelings toward the process. Many feel they are incapable of raising a child and therefore believe it unnecessary for the child to return. The program works with parents on this aspect, and also decides on a situational basis what families will receive material support in addition to emotional support. Workshops on commercial and technical skills are also offered to give participants knowledge to succeed in legal informal market activities, as it is difficult to directly change the existence of unemployment.

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Chapter 7 : Child Labor in the United States

At the end of the s, if you chose children under age 15 to represent all children, 65 would have been living in a family with married parents, with the father employed and the mother out of the labor force.

DOWNLOAD-PDF People often think of social change in the lives of American children since the s as a movement in one direction — from children being raised in married, male-breadwinner families to a new norm of children being raised by working mothers, many of them unmarried. Instead, we can better understand this transformation as an explosion of diversity, a fanning out from a compact center along many different pathways. Only 18 would have had married parents who were both employed. As for other types of family arrangements, you would find only one child in every living with a never-married mother! Today, among representative children, just 22 live in a married male-breadwinner family, compared to 23 living with a single mother only half of whom have ever been married. Seven out of every live with a parent who cohabits with an unmarried partner a category too rare for the Census Bureau to consider counting in and six with either a single father 3 or with grandparents but no parents 3. With two-thirds of children being raised in male-breadwinner, married-couple families, it is understandable that people from the early s considered such families to be the norm. The Census data only identify one parent per child, so married and cohabiting parent couples are identified by the relationship status of the parent a married mother, for example, may be married to the biological, adopted, or step father of the child. Single fathers include never-married and formerly-married fathers who are not cohabiting or married. To represent this diversity simply, we can calculate the chance that two children live in the same work-family structure among the categories shown here. In you would have had an 80 percent chance that two children, selected at random, would share the same situation. By , that chance had fallen to just a little more than The diversity shown here masks an additional layer of differences, which come from the expanding variety of pathways in and out of these arrangements, or transitions from one to another. For example, among the children living with cohabiting parents in , the resident parent is divorced or separated in about a third of cases. In those cases, the cohabiting-parent family often is a blended family with complex relationships to adults and children outside the household. Many more parents have or raise children with more than one partner over their lives than in the past, and many more children cycle through several different family arrangements as they grow up. Likewise, policy-makers can no longer design family programs and regulations for a narrow range of family types and assume that they will pretty much meet the needs of all children. The decline of married couples as the dominant household arrangement The diversification of family life over time is also shown in the changing proportions of all household types, including ones without children. In the next figure I put each household into one of five types, using Census data from to The largest category is households composed of married couples living with no one except their own children. If there was any other relative living in a household, I counted it as an extended household. The third category is individuals who live alone. Fourth are single parents most of them mothers living with no one besides their own children. In the final category are households made up of people who are not related including unmarried couples. As this figure shows, the married-couple family peaked between and , when this arrangement characterized two-thirds of households. This was also the peak of the nuclear family, because up until the s, extended families were much more common than they became in the s and s. After that era, the pattern fans out. By , the proportion of married-couple households had dropped to less than half 45 percent of the total. The proportion of individuals living alone rose from 13 to 27 percent between and , and single-parent households rose from 6 to 12 percent. The result is that households composed of lone individuals and single parents accounted for almost 40 percent of all households by Extended households are less common than they were a century ago, mostly as a result of the greater independence of older people, but their numbers have increased again in the last several decades. In sum, the dominant married-couple household of the first half of the twentieth century was replaced not by a new standard, but rather by a general increase in family diversity.

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How did we get here? Market forces, social welfare reform, and family rearrangements As the market economy generated new products and services that can supplement or substitute for many of the core functional tasks that families had to perform in the past, people became more able to rearrange their family lives. Women freed from family dependence could live singly, even with children; they could afford to risk divorce; and they could live with a man without the commitment of marriage. In the aftermath of the Depression and World War II, social reformers increased their efforts to provide a social safety net for the elderly, the poor, and the disabled. The combination of pension and welfare programs that resulted also offered opportunities for more people to structure their lives independently. For older Americans, Social Security benefits were critical. They helped reduce the effective poverty rates of older people from almost 60 percent in the s to 15 percent by , freeing millions of Americans from the need to live with their children in old age. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Census counted only 1 in 10 people age 55 or older living with no relative. By the end of the century, the proportion was more than 1 in 4. Most of that change occurred between and For younger adults, the combination of expanding work opportunities for women and greater welfare support for children made marriage less of a necessity. In the s and s, Aid to Families with Dependent Children grew rapidly, eventually supporting millions of never-married mothers and their children. Welfare did not create single-mothers “ whose numbers rose partly in response to poverty, economic insecurity, and rising incarceration rates, and have continued to rise even after large cutbacks in public assistance” and it always carried a shameful stigma while providing a minimal level of monetary support. But it nevertheless allowed poor women to more easily leave abusive or dangerous relationships. Market forces were most important in increasing the ability of middle-class and more highly educated women to delay, forego, or leave marriage. Poor women, especially African-American women, had long been more likely to work for pay, but their lower earnings did not offer the same personal independence that those with better jobs enjoyed, so welfare support was a bigger factor in the growing ability of poor women to live on their own. Nevertheless, the market has contributed to the growth of single mother families in a different way over the past 40 years, as falling real wages and increasing job insecurity for less-educated men have made them more risky as potential marriage partners. The next two figures describe women aged The rise in education and employment is most dramatic, while marriage and motherhood have become markedly less universal. In the final figure, I show the distribution across the 10 most common of these. These clearly show the decline in a single profile “ the married, non-college educated, not-employed, mother “ and the diversity in statuses that have replaced that single type. In , almost 80 percent of women in their early 30s and had not completed college and were married with children. Now such women comprise less than a third of the total “ and no category includes more than 18 percent of women. In terms of diversity, in the chance that two women picked at random would be from from the same category was 40 percent. Today that chance has fallen to 11 percent. Diversity and inequality Some of the new diversity in work-family arrangements is a result of new options for individuals, especially women and older people, whose lives are less constrained than they once were. But some of the new diversity also results from economic changes that are less positive, especially the job loss and wage declines for younger, less-educated men since the late s. In the Nordic countries of Finland, Norway and Denmark, for example, unmarried-mother families have poverty rates that barely differ from those of married-couple families “ all have poverty rates less than 10 percent. Similarly, many countries do a better job of minimizing the school achievement gap between children of single mothers versus children of married parents “ a study of 11 wealthy countries found the gap is largest in the United States. As we debate social and economic policy, we need to consider the needs of children in many different family situations, and how they will be affected by policy changes, rather than privileging one particular family structure or arrangement. Diversity, Inequality, and Social Change , available now from W.

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Chapter 8 : Street Children - Humanium â€¢ We make children's rights happen

Child Labor: Historical Perspective Early s 1. Children were termed as a valuable part of family economy; 2. Child labor was prevalent among diverse socio-economic groups.

This article has been cited by other articles in PMC. Unfortunately, child labor engulfs children across the world. The world is home to 1. However, despite its menace in various forms, the data shows variation in prevalence of child labor across the globe and the statistical figures about child labor are very alarming. There are an estimated million child laborers worldwide. The national census of India estimated total number of child labor aged 5â€”14 to be at About one-third of children of the developing world are failing to complete even 4 years of education. It refers to 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, obliging them to leave school prematurely or requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work. The statistical figures about child workers in the world have variation because of the differences in defining categories of age group and engagement of children in formal and informal sector. Major engagement was in agriculture sector, followed by fisheries, aquaculture, livestock and forestry. In addition to work that interferes with schooling and is harmful to personal development, many of these children work in hazardous occupations or activities that are harmful. This is manifested in variation in minimum age restriction in different types of employment. The International Labor Office reports that children work the longest hours and are the worst paid of all laborers. In India, the Child Labor Prohibition and Regulation Act and Rules state that no child shall be employed or permitted to work in any of the occupations set forth in Part A of the Schedule or in any workshop wherein any of the processes set forth in Part B of the Schedule is carried on. The Act prohibits employment of children in certain specified hazardous occupations and processes and regulates the working conditions in others. The list of hazardous occupations and processes is progressively being expanded on the recommendation of the Child Labor Technical Advisory Committee constituted under the Act. Among the occupations wherein children are engaged in work are construction work, domestic work and small-scale industries. Incidentally, agriculture is not only the oldest but also the most common child occupation worldwide. Some of the industries that depend on child labor are bangle-making, beedi-making, power looms and manufacturing processes. These industries use toxic metals and substances such as lead, mercury, manganese, chromium, cadmium, benzene, pesticides and asbestos. Child labor is very harmful and wholehearted efforts to eliminate this should be done. It is worth noting that one-third of children of the developing world are failing to complete even 4 years of education. Poverty is considered as one of the contributory factors in child labor. Majority of them had poor physical health, predominantly marked with skin lesions or ear complaints and social care needs. The prevalence of mental disorders was noted to be as high as Mental health problems of children in labor were likely to be associated with socioeconomic determinants as well as factors related to their underage employment. Studies are lacking even in Indian scenario regarding impact of child labor on mental health. Children who are drawn to child labor are basically driven because of economic deprivation, lack of schooling and engagement of family for daily needs. Studies have found low enrollment with increased rates of child employment. Schools are the platform for early intervention against child labor, as it restricts their participation in menial jobs. Hurdles in this approach are economic reasons. Unless economic change is brought about, the children will not be able to attend the school. Child labor can be controlled by economic development increasing awareness and making education affordable across all levels, and enforcement of anti child labor laws. Under the scheme, funds are given to the District Collectors for running special schools for child labor. Most of these schools are run by the NGOs in the district. Health check-up is also done for them. Hence, enforcement alone cannot help solve it. The Government has been laying a lot of emphasis on the rehabilitation of these children and on improving the economic conditions of their families. The child labor can be stopped when knowledge is translated into

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legislation and action, moving good intention and ideas into protecting the health of the children. The endurance of young children is higher and they cannot protest against discrimination. Focusing on grassroots strategies to mobilize communities against child labor and reintegration of child workers into their homes and schools has proven crucial to breaking the cycle of child labor. A multidisciplinary approach involving specialists with medical, psychological and socio-anthropological level is needed to curb this evil. The world cannot reach its goal to have every child complete primary school by without India. Although there have been significant improvements in the proportion of children from socially disadvantaged groups in school, gaps still remain. Substantial efforts are essential to eliminate disparities and ensure quality with equity. Successful implementation of the Act would certainly go a long way in eradicating child labor in India. Basu K, Tzannatos Z. The Global Child Labor Problem: World Bank Econ Rev. An overview of occupational health research in India. Indian Journal of Occupational Environ Med. Unicef, Guide to the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Child labour in footwear Industry: Possible occupational health hazards. Indian J Occup Environ Med. ILO good practice guide for addressing child labour in fisheries and aquaculture: Policy and practice preliminary version international labour organization. How the challenge is being met. Health hazards among working children in Texas. Street children in Pakistan: A situational analysis of social conditions and nutritional status. Study on child labour in automobile workshops of Peshawar, Pakistan. East Mediterr Health J. Child labour in the artisan sector of Morocco: Determinants and health effects. Health of children working in small urban industrial shops. Evidence of neurotoxicity in working children in Lebanon. The prevalence of mental health problems in Ethiopian child labourers. J Child Psychol Psychiatry. Mental health problems among labour children in the Gaza Strip Child: Care, health and development. World Labour Report Environmental and occupational health problems of child labour: Some Issues and Challenges for Future.

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Chapter 9 : Living on the Streets: The Street Children of Brazil - Inquiries Journal

The process of children going to the streets to work in legal or illegal businesses to supplement family income contributes in part to the later phenomenon of street children: children on the street become children of the street" (Fernandes & Vaughn, , p).

Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society:: Wh-Z and other topics Work and Poverty In the late twentieth century it was estimated that up to million children under fourteen were at work across the world. Such figures aroused deep concern, and numerous international organizations and national governments declared their wish to end child work, or, at the very least, to eliminate the most hazardous and exploitative forms of it. Yet the idea that childhood might be a time without work is relatively recent. For most of history most families have seen nothing unusual in expecting their children to contribute to the family economy as soon as they are able: Children and Poverty Children have always made up a disproportionate percentage of those categorized as living in poverty. The reason is The Old Musician c. Children who found no financial support at home were sometimes forced to wander the streets, begging and stealing in order to survive. Children when young cannot be anything other than a cost to a family economy: And though the eldest child in a family might from that age progressively contribute more and more to a family economy, more children are probably being born. These elementary facts, well-known through hard experience to the poor, were publicized by B. Seebohm Rowntree in in a famous study entitled Poverty: A Study of Town Life. In it he argued that there was a family life cycle. A married couple might start off in relative prosperity, but once the children started arriving the family would enter a trough of poverty, emerging from it only when a sufficient number of the children were earning. The good times came when you were a teenager and again when your children were teenagers. In premodern societies, and in developing societies in the contemporary world, children constitute a much higher proportion of the population than they do in twenty-first-century Western society, but the proportion of them among the poor is even higher. The extent of child poverty is brought home to us by the responses to it by parents, children themselves, and public authorities. The illegitimate were much more likely to be abandoned than the legitimate, but especially in hard times, legitimate children were also abandoned in huge numbers. Overall, in mid-nineteenth-century Europe about one hundred thousand babies were abandoned every year, probably about half of them legitimate, by families who felt that their resources could not stretch to take in another dependent member. Children themselves, finding no sustenance at home, or perhaps orphaned or half-orphaned, sometimes formed gangs. In southern France in the eighteenth century gangs of children roamed the roads, begging and pillaging. In Prussia one-third of all beggars were said to be children. As to the authorities, they were aware, as JOHN LOCKE put it at the end of the seventeenth century, that a man and his wife could not "by their ordinary labor" support more than two children, and as a result many families were impoverished simply because they were "overburdened with children. Locke thought that parishes ought to set up workhouses where children from three or four years of age could begin to engage in productive labor, normally spinning. The solution, that is, seemed to be to provide work opportunities for children, or, perhaps more accurately, to put children to work with a greater or lesser degree of compulsion. Schemes proliferated to provide employment for children in Schools of Industry, in lace making, and in straw plaiting, all with the aim of structuring the time of children, preventing idleness, inuring children to a life of labor, and increasing family income. The perception of authorities in the eighteenth century, on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, was that the problem of child poverty was primarily a problem of lack of employment for them. Where children were in the care of philanthropic organizations or of the state it was axiomatic that they should be put to work; they were imported into Leiden in the Netherlands to work in the cloth industry in the seventeenth century; from Germany it was reported that manufacturers in eighteenth-century Potsdam and Berlin relied on children from the orphanage. That children should work as soon as age permitted was taken for granted. Their earnings were

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crucial to family survival, and perhaps to national economies. Such a perception of the desirability of child work was not confined to the authorities: Ideally the family itself would constitute a work unit. Where there was land to be worked, the prevailing situation for the vast majority of families in premodern times and in the developing world today, children could be gradually initiated to work for the family: In sixteenth-century Castile, for example, both boys and girls helped collect firewood, herd livestock, assist with ploughing, collect or destroy aphids or worms on the vines, and rear silkworms. Work of this kind can seem rooted in nature and not far from idyllic, but from a parental point of view there was a set amount of labor which needed to be carried out, and the number and gender of children might match those needs less than perfectly. Extra labor might need to be brought in from outside the family, or conversely, family i. Where, as in England, an economy of peasant holdings had been replaced by one where agricultural laborers were hired by farmers, children might well be surplus to family requirements; in parts of England boys left home at the age of nine and were apprenticed out to farmers until the age of twenty-one. In the pre-Industrial Revolution economy of Europe child work within the family might be the desired norm, but it was not always available. Early Industrial Society Household industrial production, commonly known as cottage industry, increased rapidly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and provided an alternative to work in the agricultural economy. There was nothing new about child work in industry. Most of the work was in textiles, with production serving international as well as national and regional markets. In the early eighteenth century in parts of England Daniel Defoe was delighted to find occasional examples of children as young as four apparently earning their keep. Household production of this kind was frequently combined with agricultural work, sometimes on a seasonal basis, sometimes with some family members working on the land while others concentrated on industry. These essentially rural industries provided a much wider range of employment opportunities for children than were available in purely agricultural areas. Indeed, it was an assumption in England as late as the s that where there was local cottage industry children were likely to be employed, whereas in purely agricultural areas child unemployment was to be expected. In rural industries production might be based on the household, but the labor employed was not always confined to family members. The coming of the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries furthered this process of separating children at work from family and household. Now the new work opportunities were in textile factories, the early ones driven by water-power and so necessarily sited near fast-flowing streams, and perhaps far from any locally available labor. In Britain, the pioneer of this new form of work organization, the child labor came from "pauper apprentices," children who had been left in the care of the Poor Law and were dispatched from London to work in the factories of the Midlands and north of England, where they were often very cruelly treated. By the early nineteenth century steam power began to replace water power, and textile towns grew up in the vicinity of coal supplies. The wages on offer in these factories, higher than those available in agricultural work, attracted families to them, and women and children came to constitute a high proportion of the factory workforces. In Alsace in France in the s one-third or more of the workforce in mills were under sixteen; in Glasgow at much the same time The extent of the use of child labor was dependent much more on the labor strategies of employers than on technology. In mills in northern Massachusetts and in New Hampshire, young women rather than children were preferred, and child labor was rare. Sometimes, but by no means always, family members might work together within a factory. A frequent complaint was that the work opportunities for women and children were at the expense of those offered to adult men who might find themselves, against all tradition, as homemakers. Child Labor in Industrial Society The child labor practices of the early Industrial Revolution, both at the time and since, have been widely condemned. Children were taken out of their homes, starting full-time work often before they were ten years of age, and subjected to long hours and unremitting DISCIPLINE ; it was hardly surprising that their health was jeopardized. Those who defended the system made three main points: Second, in a system of national and international competition, cheap child labor was a crucial ingredient for success. Third, factory work had the benefit of preventing children from being idle and protecting them from all the evils that followed from idleness. Advocates of child labor also

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cast doubt on the statistics about the ill-health of child factory workers and child miners that those who opposed the system so frequently produced. The defenders of child labor were, however, outgunned by those who drew attention to the cruelties inflicted on children and who for the first time in human history began to question whether childhood should be a time for work. Under the influence of a view of childhood proposed by the Romantic poets, in particular William Wordsworth, opponents of child labor in factories and mines argued that childhood should be a time of self-discovery and happiness, in communion with the natural world. Childhood should be extended, and work delayed, for "when labor begins," as an American put it, "the child ceases to be" Zelizer, p. The work of children from this perspective was, in a word frequently invoked, "slavery. In England and Wales in , for boys aged five to nine, agricultural workers were more than two and a half times as numerous as cotton workers, and for those aged ten to fourteen the disproportion was even greater. For girls aged ten to fourteen the twenty-nine thousand cotton workers were far outnumbered by the fifty thousand domestic servants. In other words, well-entrenched forms of gendered child work—agriculture for boys, domestic service for girls—remained the dominant forms of child work even after half a century and more of industrialization. The same is true in the developing world today: In the second half of the nineteenth century the industrializing countries passed laws to restrict the employment of children in what had been the cutting-edge industries of the Industrial Revolution. Textiles and coal mining were normally the first to become subject to regulation, followed by many others, such as pottery work and brick making. The legislation raised the permissible age of entry, restricted hours, laid down safety regulations, and sometimes insisted on evidence of schooling. It was a response to the outcry about conditions, combined with a realization by some leading manufacturers that productivity might be impeded rather than enhanced by the use of child workers. At the same time governments sought to strengthen and upgrade legislation compelling children to attend school in some countries such legislation dated back to the eighteenth century. And when they did leave school, except in some distinctive local economies, they were much more likely to find work as messengers, shop assistants, or domestic servants than as factory or mine workers. In effect, the labor market had become segregated by marking out certain types of work as belonging to children, and these were now on the margin of the economy, rather than at its center. The typical child worker would be delivering newspapers or milk, or cleaning, not tending a machine. Family Economies In the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries a distinctive family economy linked together urban working-class families in Europe and North America. Adult males were ideally, and normally in practice, the main wage earners; their wives, particularly once children started to be born, rarely worked for wages on a regular basis outside the home; children found waged work as soon as they were able, or as soon as the law allowed, and turned over most of their earnings to their mothers for family use. In Belgium, for example, children were contributing 22 percent of family income in , and 31 percent in . The deep-rooted assumption, inherited from an agricultural economy, was that children should contribute to the family economy as soon as possible. Factory laws and laws enforcing schooling raised the starting age over time, but there is much evidence that children themselves felt proud to be able to start making a contribution to family welfare. Their mothers, the only alternative wage earner in the family, were fully engaged in child rearing, housekeeping, and sometimes bringing in further income through casual work or taking in lodgers. The majority of working-class children in Western society lived in families whose economies were structured in this way. There were, of course, many differences from country to country and within them; they were most visible in the United States where immigrant and ethnic communities had different traditions and different responses to the changing economic situation. Italian immigrant families in New York, for example, made much more use of child labor than did Jewish immigrants, in part because of traditions in the countries they came from, but perhaps mainly because the earning power of Italian adult males was less than that of Jewish ones: The same argument holds true for Philadelphia in the late nineteenth century: As the income levels of immigrant families rose the dependence on child labor declined. By the early twentieth century a common white American response to the economic situation was becoming apparent: In hard times, for example in the depression of the s, there would be a return to the use of child labor, but legal

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restrictions on its use meshed with values and norms that made child labor undesirable. The situation for black families was rather different. In Philadelphia, for example, black children were less likely to be employed than immigrant Irish or German children, not because their families were better off, but because of ethnic structuring in the labor market which denied access to blacks. Partly for this reason, partly because black families seem to have placed a higher value on the education of their children than immigrant families, black married women were, in a range of U. Unlike white communities, whether native or immigrant, black families put the emphasis on mothers rather than children as the key supplementary wage earners. Street Children Children in families headed by two adults were the lucky ones. For othersâ€”in one-parent families some 20 percent of English children born in the mid-eighteenth century would lose one parent to death by the age of fifteen , or where one or both parents were economic failures, or where the local economy offered few jobs either to adults or to childrenâ€”other solutions to earning a living had to be sought, and they were likely to involve leaving home. From Savoy since the sixteenth century children had traveled through France and England as chimney sweeps.