

Banning Child Labor Hurts Children: A Study of Economic Drivers & the Root  
Causes of Child Labor

---

A THESIS

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Economics and Business

The Colorado College

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Bachelor of Arts

By:

Jake Agüero-van de Perre

May 2024

Banning Child Labor Hurts Children: A Study of Economic Drivers & the Root

Causes of Child Labor

Jake Agüero van de Perre

May 2024

Business Economics

### **Abstract**

This study examines the relationship between child labor participation and the potential economic drivers of child labor. The study utilizes statistical data from The World Bank, UNICEF, and the ILO. The study examines the correlation between child labor participation changes, GDP changes, Secondary School Enrollment changes, Gross National Income changes, and Adjusted Net Savings changes as well. The study inspects the history of child labor, legislation, regulation, and more importantly its cause. These findings will have implications for policymakers in making them address the root cause of child labor, not child labor itself.

**KEYWORDS:** (Child Labor, Poverty Trap, Regulation, Corporate Social Responsibility, Income Mobility, Governmental Social Programs)

ON MY HONOR, I HAVE NEITHER GIVEN NOR RECEIVED  
UNAUTHORIZED AID ON THIS THESIS

Jake Agüero van de Perre

Signature

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>Page 6</b>
<b>Literature Review .....</b>	<b>Page 9</b>
<b>Existing Theory .....</b>	<b>Page 15</b>
<b>Data &amp; Methodology .....</b>	<b>Page 18</b>
<b>Analysis .....</b>	<b>Page 22</b>
<b>Discussion .....</b>	<b>Page 24</b>
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>Page 27</b>
<b>References .....</b>	<b>Page 29</b>

## 1. Introduction

Social activism has allowed for accountability to be taken by corporations that have superseded international labor standards and basic human rights in the workplace. Companies such as Shein (Fonrouge, 2023), Mars, Nestlé, Hershey (Balch, 2021), and even Apple (Sonnemaker, 2020) have come under scrutiny regarding forced labor and child labor charges.

Unfortunately, however, large global corporations aren't the only entities that are subscribing to false labor for increased profits. Child labor, in particular, is much worse than is publicized on the internet and is incredibly common in the world's poorest countries. In fact, according to the UNICEF, an estimated more than 1 in 5 children are engaged in child labor in the world's poorest countries (UNICEF, 2023). At an even larger scale, the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimated in 2018 that roughly 152 million children participate in child labor globally, which is approximately one in 10 children worldwide.

Despite now common company exposés and shocking statistics regarding child labor, effective progress in curtailing children from child labor has been strictly hypothetical. In 2015 the United Nations adopted Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) from the U.N. Sustainable Development conference in Rio de Janeiro. The goals were meant to meet urgent environmental, political, and economic challenges facing the world (Fong, 2022). The United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 8, which is entitled 'Decent Work and Economic Growth', sets a definite objective in section 8.7 of completely eradicating extremely egregious instances of child labor in the short run, such as the enlistment of child soldiers, and completely eradicating child labor in all of its forms by 2025. Clearly, though, the world is far from completely eradicating child labor by 2025 as recent estimates put the amount of child

laborers globally at an even higher number of 160 million children worldwide (Hassfurter, 2021).

One of the main issues regarding the U.N. SDG of banning child labor in all forms by 2025 is that it is similar to other abolitionist approaches on child labor. The U.N. SDG focuses only on the ending outcome and not the reason as to why there are so many children participating in child labor. According to a child labor study done in the Malir District of Karachi, roughly 82% of the child laborers that were surveyed disclosed that they work due to poverty instead of being forced to do so or in their own self-interest (Naeem, 2011). Of the children surveyed, about 83% belonged to poor families (Naeem, 2011). Undoubtedly, poverty is one of the leading drivers of child labor and yet, it is rare to see concrete solutions aiming to eliminate child labor that ensure food security and financial assistance to children that engage in child labor. If children are forced into child labor because of food insecurity and poverty, why are legislators and social activists looking to solely ban their only means of security/income for their families, without an adequate substitution?

Not only is the abolitionist approach to eliminating child labor proving ineffective, but it is also allowing for inaccuracies that are hurting children. As child labor abolitionist legislation firmly bans the practice without funding for the oversight of private companies, many companies continue to engage in child labor practices while letting child workers go under the radar. Child laborers mostly being unregistered in workforces across the world disallows the U.N. and ILO from having exact numbers in terms of how many children are working globally, therefore making the UN SDG goal of eliminating all forms of child labor by 2025 obsolete.

Finally, the abolitionist approach to child labor across the world disallows for honest forms of child labor to exist, which are societally accepted and expected. In

the United States alone, child workers are integral to the workforce. In fact, in 1997 alone more than four million children were legally employed in the U.S. (Landrigan, 1997). From cleaning tables to acting, child work is prevalent in many areas of our lives and currently it is integral to many industries. Therefore, it is crucial to categorize child labor since not all child labor is harmful. In statistics, particularly involving eliminating child labor by 2025, it is paramount to make the distinction and to not count harmless jobs done by children with dangerous, arduous jobs that other child workers do to survive and escape poverty.

Hence, given the above clarifications, the goal to end all forms of child labor is unachievable, redundant, and quite naïve. All child labor cannot be eliminated and rather, considering how integral it is to our media, restaurants, households<sup>1</sup> and more, it should not be fully eliminated. Child Labor under arduous work conditions, which puts children under physical and/or mental duress, should be the new goal countries should aim to eliminate. The following paper aims to explore child labor's relationship to poverty, national wealth, and if there is a statistical relationship present that exemplifies poverty leading to and exacerbating child labor practices. Furthermore, the paper aims to explore alternative solutions to abolition that enhances regulation, oversight, and protections for child workers and transforms incentivize structures that lead children to child labor in the first place.

---

<sup>1</sup> Referencing Household chores for children as an informal form of employment



## 2 Literature Review

For a comprehensive understanding of child work and the legislative paradigms within, it is imperative to delve into the historical antecedents and the factors that have led to it. The following literature review section delves into the extensive history of child labor, regulation and legislation focused on child labor, and the overall negative effects and impacts that is the result of child labor.

Child labor first came to the limelight post industrial revolution, in the nineteenth century. Prior to European and U.S. governments implementing basic laws that we enjoy today, specifically the minimum wage, they saw the need to protect child workers (Anderson, 2018). The evident chronological precedence of child worker protections over the enactment of minimum wage policies clearly underscores the prevalence of child labor post industrial revolution and slightly hints at the detrimental effects it exerted on children's development.

Rebecca Gowland in her paper *The Expendables: Bioarcheological Evidence for Pauper Apprentices in 19<sup>th</sup> Century England and the Health Consequences of Child Labour* echoes this same sentiment. According to Gowland, children that were subject to child labor in 19<sup>th</sup> century England showed severe growth delays, pathological lesions which were indicative of early life adversity, as well as respiratory diseases. Though we enjoy the benefits of the industrial revolution today, it was underpinned by exploitative and dangerous labor from women and children which enabled British manufactories to be globally competitive. In 1845, roughly 45% of cotton workers were under 18 years of age while other industries had a substantially higher figure. Evidently, economic prowess came at a cost. National economic mobility for Great Britain after the industrial revolution came at the cost of

the laboring class, which was characterized by malnutrition, infection, low-life expectancy, and occupational diseases.

As reports of the harmful effects of child labor grew in Great Britain, so did the protections and legislation surrounding child labor. Author Eric Evans documents this in his paper *The enabling state? Welfare and industrial society* as he makes mention of The Health and Morals of Apprentices Act in 1802 and the Factory Act of 1833 that disabled young children from working and limited older children from working. As professionals started to become appointed from further worker legislation, the “tentacles of state involvement continued to grow” (Evans, 1994).

Eric Evans also expertly details a simple, overlooked law that requires local authorities to provide school meals for underfed children from 1906. Though at first seeming unrelated to child labor, many families in developing countries make their children work because of poverty and specifically, food insecurity. This law in Great Britain allows for poor children to achieve an education without the fear of not being able to support themselves hunger-wise. Furthermore, it allows for extremely poor families to not have to worry about feeding their children while emphasizing educational outcomes. Importantly, this law allows families to utilize less income for food for supporting children.

However, it is paramount to admit that the state’s involvement in child outcomes did not grow fast enough. The act allowing for school lunches for impoverished children arrived 73 calendar years after prohibitions to child work. As proven by statistics earlier, prohibition has not proven successful in curtailing children from working. Families rely on the earnings generated by child labor due to the dire

circumstances of poverty prevalent in developing nations, where sustaining a family's livelihood on one or two sources of income has become impossible (Hillman, 2004).

The delay in policy addressing the root of child labor, extreme policy, can be attributed to policymakers and voters believing it can only be eliminated through an abolitionist approach. However, the delay in policy can also be attributed to the lack of funding that developing governments and countries had in order to deal with social and economic issues. As Great Britain was sacrificing the well-being of children in order to gain global economic prowess, that same economic prowess allowed for the government to garner money for social legislation and regulation it intended to push, which included child labor.

Flavia Donadelli and Jeroen Van Der Heijden , in their paper *The regulatory state in developing countries: Redistribution and regulatory failure in Brazil*, it is made clear that many developing countries have massive regulatory failure due in part to the lack of capital that the government has for the regulation of industries. Additionally, the authors state that the privatization of many companies in the developing world has made the regulation process even more difficult.

Given the lack of funding that developing countries have, abolitionist laws are pointless if they cannot be enforced. As long as companies need the cheap labor and children need the income to help provide for their families, child labor will continue to run rampant.

Numerous philanthropists, economists, and others endeavor to address the dilemma of child labor by pushing extensive legislative measures and penalties on companies breaching them. As these groups seek to eliminate child labor, they ignore the harsh reality that in many developing nations, families turn to child labor as a

means to sustain their larger households and to fend off starvation and illness (Naeem, 2011). The abolitionist stance on child labor is not only ineffective, but in many cases, it actively hurts the children that child labor abolitionists wish to protect. By simply banning child labor in all forms, children who are already impoverished, food insecure, and malnourished are succumbing to even worse circumstances when providing no income for their families (Pankhurst, 2021). Recognizing child labor as an inevitable reality of poverty is the first step in letting children grow up without needing to work and in cultivating an environment that will further prevent child labor in the future.

Alula Pankhurst, Ethiopia Country Director at *Young Lives*, an international study of childhood poverty run by Oxford University which follows the lives of 12,000 children in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam, believes also that a blanket ban on child labor can be potentially harmful to children in general, but specifically in educational outcomes. According to UNICEF and Ethiopia's Central Statistics Agency, in Ethiopia the highest probability of a child attending school does not actually occur at a standard 0 hours of work. Their studies showed that surprisingly, school attendance was most common with children who work 21 hours per week. Though it seems counterintuitive, a blanket ban on child labor would in reality lessen educational outcomes in many cases, not bolster them.

On the other hand, allowing child labor without stringent legislation is damaging to educational outcomes as well. According to a study done by Jean-Marie Baland, Karl Ove Moene and James A. Robinson, there is not only a loss of formal education and human capital when child labor is in practice but there is also a lack of key social and cognitive skills that child laborers develop. The important time of a child's development cannot be understated as common long term side effects of child

labor is depression, drug dependency, PTSD, and other mental health issues (Soken-Huberty, Emmaline, 2020). This comes as no surprise as according to Rebecca Gowland, author of *The Expendables*, details that UNICEF estimates half of the estimated 160 million children worldwide are in work that is hazardous to both their health and development. Narrowing the statistic down even further, children also account for one quarter of enslaved people around the world today who take on grueling and dangerous jobs.

The negative consequences of child labor expand also into economic consequences as it perpetuates the poverty trap which allows for little economic mobility in developing countries. Child labor perpetuates poverty by directly limiting a child laborer's future earning potential as they do not garner the necessary skills and education needed for higher-paying jobs. Peter Fallon and Zafiris Tzannatos detail in their book, *Child Labor – Issues and Directions for the World Bank*, that premature and extensive engagement in work prevents children from having higher earnings later in their lives and from accumulating extensive human capital.

Child labor solves a few of the short-terms that many low-income families face, such as not having enough money for food, clothes, school, and even toiletries, but it exacerbates the issue of the lack of opportunity in developing countries. Development of the lower and middle classes, globally, is very much dependent on social programs, policies, and even companies that give individuals the opportunity for class mobility and economic prowess. However, child labor stifles this development as it creates an environment that has no actual opportunity for the child laborers. The lack of regulation and oversight coupled alongside with extreme poverty forces many children to work up to even 100 hour work weeks, while still scraping by on earnings less than \$2 a day (TheWorldCounts, 2023).

Furthermore, economic advancement suffers as the productivity of the nation is hindered by child laborers being present in the workforce and in supply chains. This inhibition occurs as the growth in productivity is curtailed when individuals lack the requisite time, opportunities, and resources to attain higher skill levels that are essential for adequate, enhanced output. To be clear, children in low-income families and low-income families themselves know that engaging in child labor has detrimental impacts to the futures of the children in question. However, many families need short-term relief and are essentially bribed into child labor by financial incentives that can provide their family short-term security, but not necessarily long-term security.

### 3. Existing Theory

The aforementioned incentive system that perpetuates child labor into the 21<sup>st</sup> century is specified by Kaushik Basu in his 1999 work, *Child Labor: Cause, Consequence, and Cure, with Remarks on International Labor Standards*.

In his work, Basu displays a model where if the wage of the parent falls below a certain critical income level, the parent will then proceed to send the child to work to earn income for their family. As the child begins to work, Basu then explains that they are then deprived of a proper education and acquiring a critical human skill for high-skilled labor purposes. Furthermore, the child then grows to become unskilled, unemployable to other industries, and their wages then remain low going onto the next generation. This vicious cycle of poverty, which is further outlined by Alberto Posso in his book *Child Labor in the Developing World – Theory, Practice and Policy*, allows for child labor to thrive as children are deprived of necessary educational skills and a high future earnings potential. Importantly, Posso maintains that the vicious poverty cycle can be broken through the acquisition of a necessary skill through to earn high wages in adulthood.

Posso's function, based off of initial theory from Basu's work, is an overlapping generations model that assumes the parents of the household want their child educated as it has a positive contribution. The utility function of the parent is expressed as follows:

$$U = U(C, E_1)$$

where  $C$  is consumption of the family, and  $E_I$  is years of education of the child in period 1<sup>2</sup>. In this particular model, childhood years are encapsulated from the years of 5-14. Total years in childhood, signified by variable  $T$ , shows the years that the child can work full-time for their family or in education for acquiring human skill (Posso). The overlapping generations model then further describes the decision the parent(s) make in deciding whether to send their child to school or not, and for how many years. As shown:

$$T \geq E_I \geq 0$$

When  $E_I = T$ , the model confirms that the child does not go to work at all and that they attend school during the years that they could be considered child laborers, which is from ages 5 to 14. If  $E_I$  is zero, that indicates that the child has had no schooling during their childhood years. In terms of model measurements, Posso emphasizes that even though Child's education has been taken in years, it may also be taken in hours per day as well since education and schooling clash in terms of long-term commitments.

The final integral part to Posso's model is the parent taking the decision regarding the child's education and their budget constraint, which is as follows:

$$C = W_I + W_C (T - E_I)$$

where  $W_I$  is the wages earned of the parent in period 1 and  $W_C$  is the wage rate of the child laborer per year. In the model  $(T - E_I)$  signifies the amount of child labor in

---

<sup>2</sup> In the model, period 1 refers to the age the individual is a child (5 – 14 years) while period 2 refers to the age that the individual is an adult and is making the child labor decision for their child.



question. In this model, the family has no other sources of income and the whole income is spent on consumption.

Alberto Posso's multigenerational model expertly displays the faulty incentive structures that exist for families in poverty, which leads many families to resort to child labor as a result. When parental income puts a family under the critical income level that is needed for basic survival, families are forced to make the difficult decision to put their children in child labor in order to sustain themselves. When families allow their children to pick work over education, they are usually able to be sustained in the short term but not in the long term. As stated prior and in Kaushik Basu's 1999 paper, being a child laborer hurts an individual's future earning potential and pigeonholes them in the industry they have been working in as a child. The true danger in the poverty trap is that when child laborers become adults, their incomes aren't enough to sustain their families. They have not developed high-level, transferable skills that they would have developed given a proper, quality education which leads them to needing their children to become child laborers as well in order to support their families.

Therefore, it is necessary to change the incentive structure, specifically in low-income countries, in order to prevent the poverty trap from occurring. Instead of incentivized punishment which has been common in abolition stances, children and families should be incentivized with monetary aid for attending school and getting a quality education. Before outlining a potential alternative to current child labor policy, it is necessary to examine the relationship in which child labor % changes correlate to individual and national benchmarks of wealth.

## 4. Data & Methodology

The following models shown employ a variety of strategies in order to obtain each data point. Each data point in the model was obtained by utilizing statistics from The World Bank. All the statistics utilized from The World Bank's collective have been obtained from the ILO, UNICEF, and The World Bank itself.

First and foremost, the data utilized follows 31 specific countries and the changing of certain variables against child labor participation percentage changes. As child labor is already a topic with little statistical coverage<sup>3</sup>, the data utilized followed child labor participation % changes over a specified period of time<sup>4</sup>, for each country involved. Many countries did not report data consistently, and therefore the model worked around the lack of data by measuring the percentage changes of the dependent variable against the percentage changes of the independent variable during the same, specified time slot.

In terms of the variables utilized in the models, the dependent variable utilized was the % of children in employment, ages 7-14. The independent variables modeled in causation of child labor employment changes were National GDP growth, School Enrollment, secondary (% gross), GNI per capita (USD)<sup>5</sup>, Adjusted net savings (% of GNI)<sup>6</sup>, and the Poverty headcount ratio at societal poverty line (% of population).

---

<sup>3</sup> Due to countries not wanting to self-implicate child labor infractions and the overall lack of regulation.

<sup>4</sup> In the Appendix section there is more information regarding the time values used for each country involved.

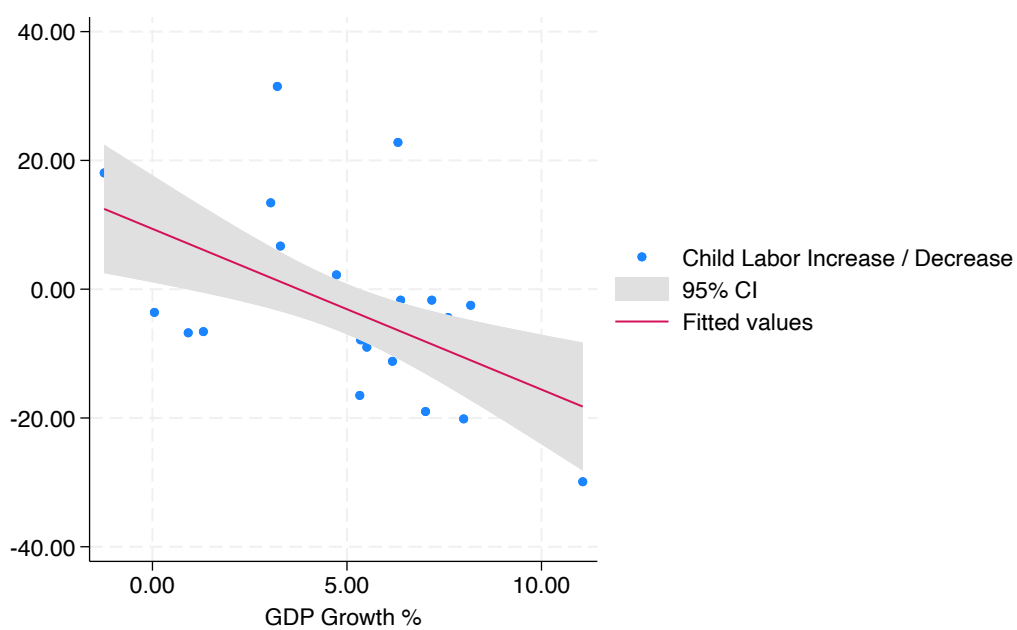
<sup>5</sup> Atlas Method

<sup>6</sup> Including Particulate Emission Damage

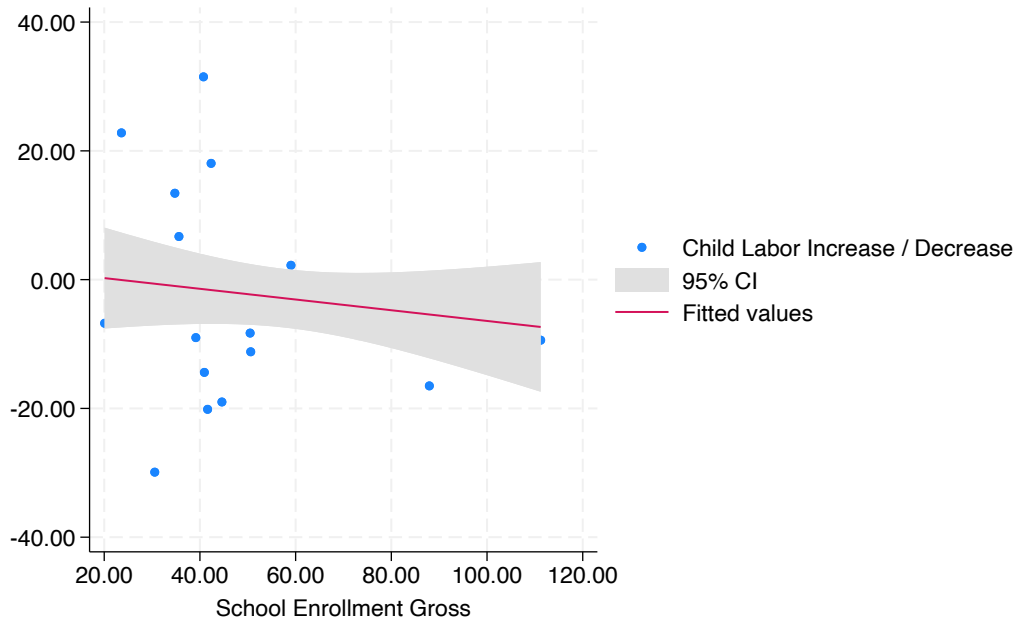
**Figure 4.1**

Children in Employment % Changes	Co-efficient	Standard Error	T	P >  T	95% CI (Lower)	95% CI (Upper)
<b>GDP Growth</b>	-2.851337	0.7271115	-3.92	0.001	-4.348851	-1.353823
<b>School Enrollment, Secondary (% Gross)</b>	-0.0027356	0.1127613	-0.02	0.981	-0.2349718	0.2295005
<b>GNI per Capita / 100</b>	0.0408608	0.0950779	0.43	0.671	-0.1549559	0.2366775
<b>Adjusted Net Savings (% of GNI)</b>	0.213772	0.1438114	1.49	0.15	-0.082413	0.5099571
<b>Poverty % at Societal Poverty Line</b>	0.497979	0.2516132	1.98	0.059	-0.0202282	1.016186

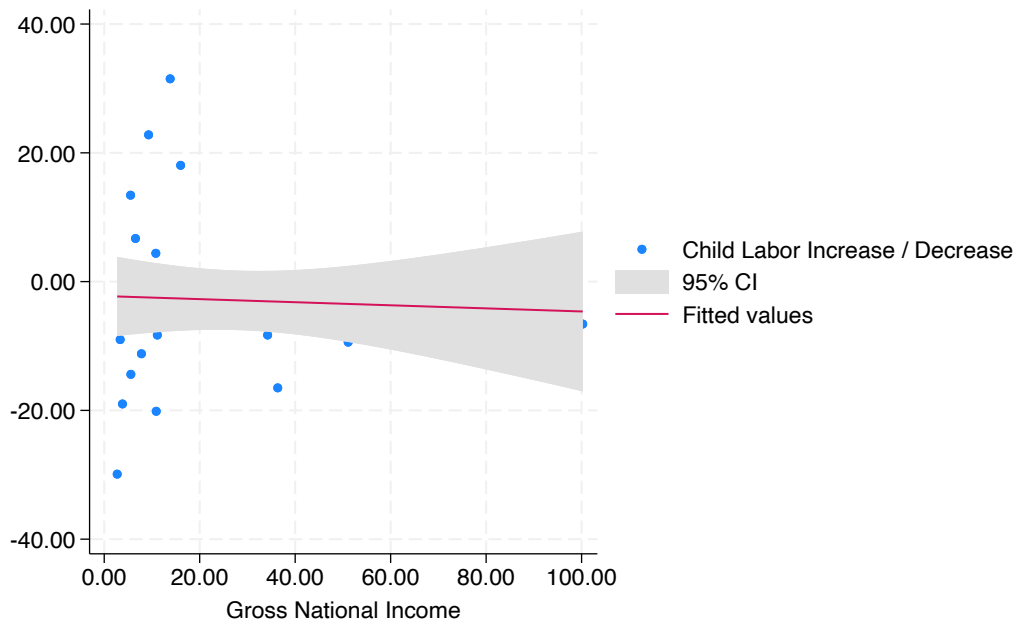
**Figure 4.2a**



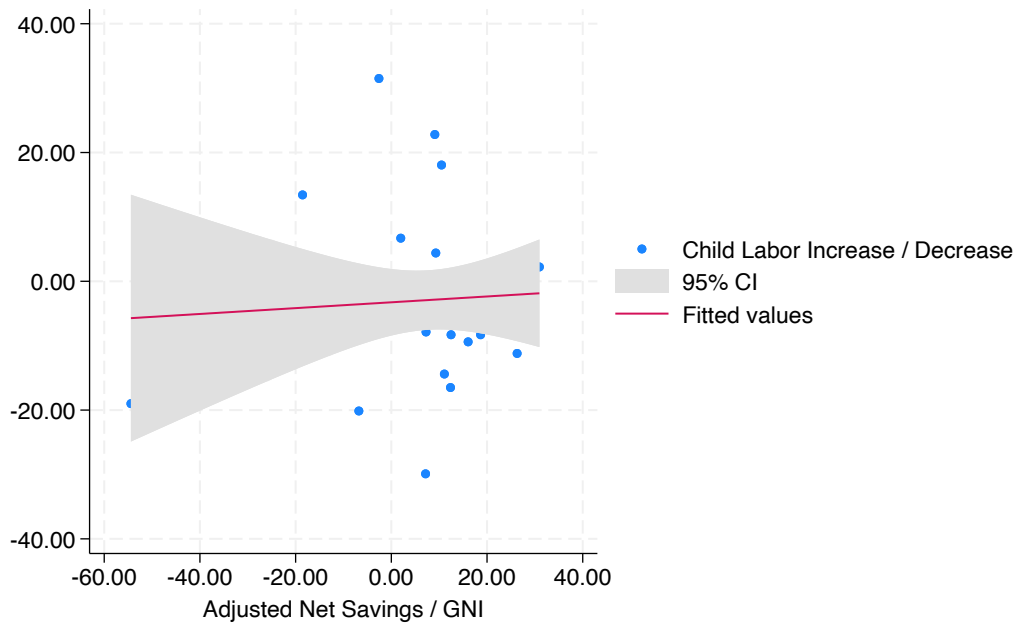
**Figure 4.2b**



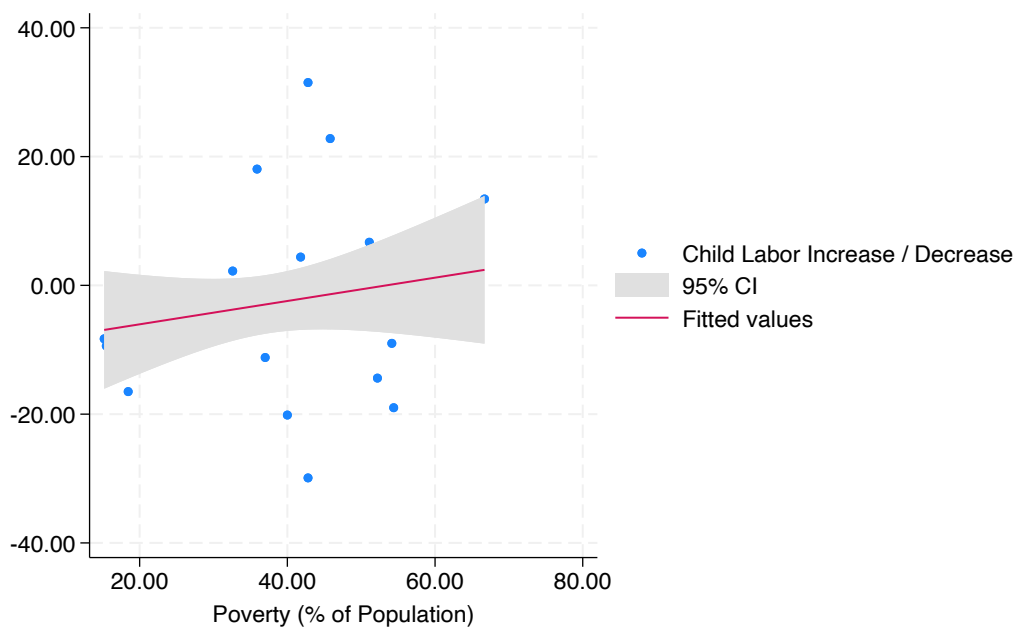
**Figure 4.2c**



**Figure 4.2d**



**Figure 4.2e**



## 5. Analysis

Figure 4.1, which exemplifies regression model results, shows small absolute valued slopes for the graphs' line of best fit regarding the independent variables graphed against the dependent variable, Children in Employment % Changes. GDP Growth, however, shows a largely negative regression slope of -2.85 meaning that for every 1% GDP increases for the 31 countries analyzed, the amount of children in employment in those countries decreases by 2.85% on average. Furthermore, the p-value ( $P > |T|$ ) for GDP Growth is 0.001. This value is substantially below the statistical significance level of 0.05 and reveals that GDP Growth is significantly correlated with Children in Employment % changes. The following correlation is evident in Figure 4.2a as well, and the data points measured fall in or are very near the 95% confidence interval, generally.

In terms of School Enrollment and GNI, both variables are very statistically insignificant in the data. Their p-values are 0.981 and 0.671 respectively, which is above the statistical significance threshold by a substantial margin. Additionally, the slopes of their regression lines, -0.002 and 0.040 respectively, are considerably flat and exemplify no correlation with the dependent variable. In Figures 4.2b and 4.2c, the slopes for School Enrollment and GNI reflect the regression results and many of the data points are far from the 'fitted values' regression line and the 95% confidence interval. Therefore we can conclude that both School Enrollment and GNI are statistically uncorrelated with % changes in children in employment in the data.

Adjusted Net Savings in Figure 4.0 shows statistical insignificance as well. The p value for adjusted net savings is 0.15, which is 3x the statistical significance threshold and not under 0.05. Adjusted Net Savings is much closer to being correlated

with child labor percentage changes than School Enrollment and GNI, yet it is still insignificant. The slope of its regression line is relatively flat as well, at 0.213, which is clear in Figure 4.2d where the line of best fit barely changes its y-values over time. The data points show more of a pattern than School Enrollment and GNI as well, however, most of the data points are still far from the 95% confidence interval.

For the Poverty variable, it is extremely close to being correlated with child labor percentage changes but is not quite correlated. The p value for the variable is 0.059, which is just above the correlation point of 0.05. The slope, standing at 0.497, is less flat than the other variables but its absolute value is still significantly smaller than the correlated GDP variable, which has a slope of -2.85 for its correlation line. When graphing poverty against child labor percentage changes, Figure 4.2e shows a clearly positive trend, however many data points exist as outliers and are very far from the regression line and the 95% confidence interval.

## 6. Discussion

The regression results obtained displays that given all the independent variables modeled in relation to the dependent variable, child labor percentage changes per country, the only variable showing statistical significance and correlation is GDP growth. For every 1% GDP grew in the model, child labor participation decreased by approximately 3% in tandem. This was expected as a very similar metric, GDP per capita, was modeled previously against child labor percentage changes, and resulted in a largely negative correlation as well (Ortiz-Ospina, 2024). Conclusively, the model backed up the common claim held that child labor infractions are related to the wealth of the nation in question. Speculatively, GDP showing strong negative correlation with child labor percentage changes could perhaps mean that the issue of child labor has more to do with national wealth and national funding rather than individual wealth. According to Esteban Ortiz-Ospina and Max Roser in their 2023 article, government expenditure in high-income countries tend to be much larger in both per capita terms and as a share of GDP. They continue that the government expenditure also tends to be focused more on social protections as well. Therefore, it could be argued that as countries increase their GDP rapidly and move from low-income countries to middle / high-income countries, governments are then spending much more in general and much more specifically in terms of social protections. Increased government expenditure on child labor protections and social programs could then result in a substantial decrease in child labor infractions, as seen in the model. Even if there is none spent on social protections for children in child labor, since poverty and child labor are very interrelated, social programs such as providing free school lunches and giving families income relief can directly decrease child labor



infractions as a large majority of children work out of necessity and to help provide for their families.

Though the other variables showed no statistical correlation, the Poverty variable was on the brink of being statistically correlated with a p value of 0.059. The following result was very surprising as poverty is very interconnected with child labor, which was clear from the earlier study shown that displayed 82% of Pakistani child workers surveyed said that they worked due to poverty. A possibility of poverty being statistically insignificant is that governmental social programs could have more of an impact than passing the global poverty line of \$2.15 a day. According to Dhiraj Sharma, the world bank takes a wide-angle view of poverty and sets their global poverty line to reflect the average national poverty lines from some of the poorest countries in the world (Sharma, 2018). Therefore, statistical insignificance with poverty at the societal poverty line and child labor percentage changes could be because the societal poverty line is too low and doesn't make a significant impact for families when they pass its threshold. The impact of social programs such as funding for schools, school lunches, and more could lead to families preventing their children from entering the workforce more substantially than small income increases.

Another possibility of statistical insignificance in the models could be due to faulty data reporting from individual countries. Many countries did not report for many of the years for the variables included, which led to the countries chosen to be those with enough data points to model and average out. Though they were still chosen at random, countries were not included in the model if they were missing a significant amount of data points across all of the variables. Faulty reporting from individual countries also includes events that skew the data and inconsistent reporting across all countries. Belarus, which was used in the study, reported a secondary

school enrollment of slightly over 100% over 6 years, which cannot be true. Not more than 100% of children in Belarus attended secondary school, so there must be another factor or event that has caused the data to skew as well. Finally, though the World Bank, ILO, and UNICEF collected all the data utilized, countries may have not been reporting metrics to the following organizations using a consistent method, which would have also skewed the data drastically.

## 7. Conclusion

Instead of halting child workers from providing for their families and encouraging food insecurity, future legislation should make a way for child workers to have social mobility. If governments want children to stop working, governments must incentivize children and families by providing clear financial incentives for children to stay in school. Though education leads to class mobility in the long-term, many child workers are extremely impoverished and need financial relief as soon as possible. Increasing productivity growth in countries must come through similar policy as England had while gaining their economic prowess. There needs to be a certain level of security offered by governments to working class families in order for them to move up the economic ladder.

Through previous research, it is clear to see that there is a distinct relationship between poverty and child labor practices. From children working post industrial revolution in England to the faulty incentive structure that incentivizes children to engage in child labor practices today, it is clear that the problem of child labor has never adequately been addressed on a larger scale. Quantitative models employed in this paper adequately highlight a country's GDP being interconnected with child labor infractions in the state. However, the unknowns of the uncorrelated independent variables, Secondary School Enrollment, GNI per Capita, Adjusted Net Savings, and Poverty % at Societal Poverty Line, beg the question if child labor decreases are impacted more by slight individual wealth increases or by governmental wealth, such as an increase in GDP leading to an increase in funding for social programs. (then talk about future research) Future research regarding the drivers and potential solutions for child labor practices could touch on the economic impact of specified social programs that lead children to attend school and curtail themselves away from labor at a young

age. Research that focuses on specific short-term costs for families, such as housing, food, basic utilities and more, compared with specified cost savings from school lunch programs, direct monetary aid, etc., could quantify the impact that rising costs, child labor, and social programs have on low-income families around the world. If researchers can find a social program or short-term solution that has a bigger monetarily positive impact than extra income for a low-income family, then child labor could finally be eradicated once and for all.

## 8. References

- Anderson, Elisabeth. "Policy Entrepreneurs and the Origins of the Regulatory Welfare State: Child Labor Reform in Nineteenth-Century Europe." *American Sociological Review*, vol. 83, no. 1, Feb. 2018, pp. 173–211. *DOI.org (Crossref)*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122417753112>.
- Baland, Jean-Marie, et al. *Governance and Development*. El Sevier, 2010, <https://www-sciencedirect-com.coloradocollege.idm.oclc.org/science/article/pii/B9780444529442000070?via%3Dihub>.
- Balch, Oliver. "Mars, Nestlé and Hershey to Face Child Slavery Lawsuit in US." *The Guardian*, 12 Feb. 2021. *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/feb/12/mars-nestle-and-hershey-to-face-landmark-child-slavery-lawsuit-in-us>.
- Basu, Kaushik. *Child Labor: Cause, Consequence, and Cure, with Remarks on International Labor Standards*. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 1999, <https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/jel.37.3.1083>.
- Donadelli, Flavia, and Jeroen Van Der Heijden. "The Regulatory State in Developing Countries: Redistribution and Regulatory Failure in Brazil." *Regulation & Governance*, Feb. 2022, p. rego.12459. *DOI.org (Crossref)*, <https://doi.org/10.1111/regg.12459>.
- Ellingham, Miles. "Nestlé Pays to Eliminate Child Labour from Chocolate Supply Chain." *Financial Times*, 20 Oct. 2022, <https://www.ft.com/content/43934be9-8e30-4555-ab89-d6fdf0faace2>.
- Evans, Eric. "The Enabling State? Welfare and Industrial Society." *History Today* 44, no. 5 (June 1, 1994): 17. <https://research-ebSCO>

[com.coloradocollege.idm.oclc.org/linkprocessor/plink?id=8524643a-2259-3fea-ae30-a173a1559991](https://com.coloradocollege.idm.oclc.org/linkprocessor/plink?id=8524643a-2259-3fea-ae30-a173a1559991)

Fallon, Peter, and Zafiris Tzannatos. *Child Labor -- Issues and Directions for the World Bank*. 1998, <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED419595>.

Fong, Clara, and Diana Roy. “What Are the UN Sustainable Development Goals?” *Council on Foreign Relations*, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-are-un-sustainable-development-goals>. Accessed 10 Apr. 2024.

Fonrouge, Gabrielle. “State Officials Want Shein to Prove It Doesn’t Use Forced Labor before It Goes Public.” *CNBC*, 30 Aug. 2023, <https://www.cnbc.com/2023/08/30/shein-faces-scrutiny-over-forced-labor-before-ipo.html>.

Gowland, Rebecca L., et al. “The Expendables: Bioarchaeological Evidence for Pauper Apprentices in 19th Century England and the Health Consequences of Child Labour.” *PLOS ONE*, vol. 18, no. 5, May 2023, p. e0284970. *PubMed Central*, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0284970>.

Hassfurter, Karoline. “Child Labour: Global Estimates 2020, Trends and the Road Forward.” *UNICEF DATA*, 9 June 2021, <https://data.unicef.org/resources/child-labour-2020-global-estimates-trends-and-the-road-forward/>.

Hillman, Arye, and Eva Jenker. *Educating Children in Poor Countries*. 2004, <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/issues/issues33/>.

Landrigan, P. J., and J. B. McCammon. “Child Labor Still with Us after All These Years.” *Public Health Reports*, vol. 112, no. 6, 1997, pp. 466–73. *PubMed Central*, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1381923/>.

- Naeem, Zahid, et al. "Child Labor in Relation to Poverty." *International Journal of Health Sciences*, vol. 5, no. 2 Suppl 1, July 2011, pp. 48–49. *PubMed Central*, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3533357/>.
- Ortiz-Ospina, Esteban, and Max Roser. "Child Labor." *Our World in Data*, Mar. 2024. [ourworldindata.org](https://ourworldindata.org/child-labor), <https://ourworldindata.org/child-labor>
- Pankhurst, Alula. "Why a Blanket Ban on Child Labour Can Harm Children." *News.Trust.Org*, Thomson Reuters Foundation, June 2021, <https://news.trust.org/item/20210610183253-n06jz/>.
- Posso, Alberto. *Child Labor in the Developing World -- Theory, Practice and Policy*. Springer Books, 2020.
- Sharma, Dhiraj. "Why the World Bank Is Taking a Wide-Angle View of Poverty." *Brookings*, 2018, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/why-the-world-bank-is-taking-a-wide-angle-view-of-poverty/>.
- Soken-Huberty, Emmaline. "Child Labor: What It Is and How It Is Tackled." *Human Rights Careers*, 17 Feb. 2020, <https://www.humanrightscareers.com/issues/child-labor-what-it-is/>.
- Sonnemaker, Tyler. "Apple Knew a Supplier Was Using Child Labor but Took 3 Years to Fully Cut Ties, despite the Company's Promises to Hold Itself to the 'highest Standards,' Report Says." *Business Insider*, <https://www.businessinsider.com/apple-knowingly-used-child-labor-supplier-3-years-cut-costs-2020-12>. Accessed 10 Apr. 2024.
- The World Bank Statistics*. <https://data.worldbank.org/>.
- The World Counts*. <https://www.theworldcounts.com/challenges/people-and-poverty/child-labor/modern-day-child-labor>. Accessed 20 Dec. 2023.

UNDP Goals. “Sustainable Development Goals.” *UNDP*,

<https://www.undp.org/sustainable-development-goals/decent-work-and-economic-growth>. Accessed 10 Apr. 2024.

UNICEF . “Child Labor Statistics.” *UNICEF DATA*, <https://data.unicef.org/topic/child-protection/child-labour/>. Accessed 10 Apr. 2024.

UNICEF. “Child Labour: Global Estimates 2020, Trends and the Road Forward.” *UNICEF DATA*, 9 June 2021, <https://data.unicef.org/resources/child-labour-2020-global-estimates-trends-and-the-road-forward/>.