THE IMPACT OF CHILD LABOR ON CHILDREN’S DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF AFGHANISTAN

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ABSTRACT
One of the unpleasant realities of Afghanistan nowadays is thought to be child labor. Various laws and policies have been passed to prevent the rise in child labor in the nation, but the results have not been encouraging for the growth and future of children. This study sought to determine how child labor affected Afghan children’s development. To investigate the effects of child labor on children’s physical, cognitive, and socioemotional development in Afghanistan, namely in Kabul and Nangarhar, where child labor has increased, the study interviewed doctors, educators, parents, and working children. It was shown that child labor significantly negatively impacted children’s overall development, which distinguishes working children from non-working children. The most severe consequences occurred in the areas of cognitive and physical development, resulting in overthinking, forgetfulness, lack of attention, and loss of confidence, among other things, in the case of cognitive development, while the pressing issue of physical development resulted in disabilities as a result of working in a harsh and toxic environment. Parents, communities, and, most crucially, the government received recommendations for children’s wellbeing. Doctors, on the other hand, urged that the government develop solutions to address child labor difficulties for the benefit of Afghan children’s future.

Introduction
In the last four decades, Afghanistan has experienced numerous internal crises and wars, which have sown the seed of child labor and generated a severe socio-economic crisis. As a result, poverty has forced many children to drop out of school and begin working early, which is one of the causes of child labor in Afghanistan. (Sim, 2009) revealed that poverty, among other cultural and socioeconomic factors, influences family decision-making, leading to child work. Lutf & Yasini (2018) suggested, among other things, that conservative norms, a lack of educational facilities, and intense gender discrimination have led more than five million school-age children to leave school to work. Severe
economic and food crises have made it difficult for the administration to implement national and international labor regulations (Lutf & Yasini, 2018).

Child labor is becoming routine for the Afghan people and government, but it is a painful reality for children who are compelled to work when they should be playing, learning, and being joyful. According to a study conducted by Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, the hazardous environment, severe forms of work, and extended work hours have exposed children to significant physical and psychosocial risks that may have long-term consequences for their well-being (Kanto & Hozyainova, 2008). A number of determinants of child labor are present in Afghan context. Increase in war in Afghanistan contributes to increase in child labor, even the probability of girls going to work increases (Kofol & Ciarli, 2017). Next, household poverty does not have a significant impact on all types of work, but only on indoor and domestic work. Social and cultural factors influence on market-oriented work (Khadimi, 2019). Lack of educational facilities, gender gap, and conservative norms also contribute to child labor (Lutf & Yasini, 2018). In the case of Afghanistan, not only the above factors led to child labor, but they do have a cause-and-effect chain and sequence on one other. Since, war contributes to poverty, and this leads families to displacement and migration forcing children to work.

Children's rights to expression and education are violated when they work as children. It puts them at greater risk of illness. At their worst, children are viewed as commodities and enslaved in such illegal settings as soldiers, menials in the illicit drug trade, and prostitutes to serve the interests of adults. Children who work full-time rarely go to school and thereby forfeit their right to an education. In a study of 3809 Bangladeshi children, researchers discovered an inverse link between work status and years of schooling, with children from illiterate families being more likely to be employed than those from educated ones. Many physical threats and their impact on children's well-being are far more tangible than psychosocial hazards. Children working in a hazardous workplace, with hazardous equipment or chemicals, and without protective clothing, for example, are at risk. The effects of the danger are seen in the injuries or diseases that the victims suffer (Woolf, 2002).

Child labor is one of the world's most pressing challenges; according to recent estimates, 160 million children work as youngsters, with 79 million doing precarious employment (International Labour Office & United Nations Children’s Fund, 2021). Afghanistan, a developing country, is battling to offer children a haven and reduce, if not abolish, child labor. The minimum age for labor in Afghanistan is 18 years old, while the minimum age for light work is 15; however, as a harsh reality, Afghan children continue to work rather than receive an education. Children under the age of 14 work in the carpet industry, auto workshops, street sellers, begging for money, sales workers, crafts, and scavenging cans and bottles from the city's filthy waste dump (Catani et al., 2008). Sim (Sim, 2009) discovered that, in addition to poverty, a variety of additional social and cultural variables contribute to child labor in practically all of Afghanistan's districts. Only 70000 youngsters are scavenging for cans and bottles in Kabul, according to UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, n.d.). We can picture how difficult children's mental, physical, and socio-emotional growth could be in a society with internal conflicts, a sinking economy, and insecure politics. Children should be protected from "performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development," according to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Art. 32, 1990). Another way of defining child labor is based on the International Labor Organization's Minimum Age for Admission to Employment (1973), which specifies that precarious employment requires 18 years of age and light work requires 15 years of age.

According to Ambadekar et al. (Ambadekar et al., 1999), children who begin working at a young age experience a delay in their growth. On the other hand, a large body of evidence suggests that child labor has significant negative consequences on children's physical, mental, psychological, and
emotional development as they grow into adulthood (Woodhead, 2004), (Woolf, 2002). Similarly, the World Health Organization discovered that child work exposes children to toxic substances, which can lead to muscular and skeletal disorders, weariness, eye problems, lower average height and weight, and behavioral issues. Most of these ailments go untreated, limiting children's ability to reach their full potential. Furthermore, according to Baron (Baron, 2005), 68 percent of 548 youngsters in Mexico were wounded while working, with the majority suffering severe and traumatic injuries. The majority of these injuries have long-term consequences for physical development. From the standpoint of child development, Bearer (Bearer, 1995) explains that children are more vulnerable to toxic environmental exposures than adults because children are different from adults in terms of how they are exposed to environmental contamination and how they respond to environmental health hazards. According to Yousfi & Kaur (Yosufl & Kaur, 2021), Afghan children are subjected to extreme child labor, resulting in mental illnesses such as depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, and substance abuse. These changes can be ascribed to the growth and maturation of children's organs and increased vulnerability and risk to organ health. Physical growth such as inadequate growth, lower intelligence quotient, precocious puberty, and diminished lung capacity arise from working at a younger age due to a dangerous work environment for working children (Bearer, 1995).

It's possible to draw a link between physical development and cognitive development. Working children's school achievement and performance, neurobehavioral performance, motor intelligence, and memory have all been damaged by child labor, according to Agbényiga (Agbényiga, 2013). Working children in Bolivia, Venezuela, and Latin America are two years behind non-working children in school attainment, according to a survey done by Psacharopoulos (Psacharopoulos, 1997). Heady (Heady, 2003) looked at a dataset from the Ghana Living Standard Survey (GLSS) and claimed that working outside the home could affect children's learning, notably in reading and math. Ide and Parker (Ide & Parker, 2005) on the other hand, linked child labor to IQ decline and lifetime earnings loss, while Saddik et al. (Saddik et al., n.d.) used a standardized questionnaire to interview 300 male children aged 10-17 in Lebanon and discovered that working children performed significantly worse on the motor skill and memory test than nonexposed working children and school children. Piaget (Piaget, 1964) defined embryonic development as the holistic development of the body, including mental functions and the neurological system. According to Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive development, intelligence is not static but evolves due to interactions between innate abilities and contextual events (Piaget & Cook, 1936). Working exposes children to harsh deprivation, lack of excitement, and dull, repetitive occupations, and their spatial, motor, and linguistic intelligence are likely to suffer as a result (Woodhead, 2004).

A child who is given opportunities to engage in suitable activities learns how to succeed and is praised for their achievements will feel connected to their family, neighborhood, and school. A child's sense of belonging to the family or community is enhanced by bonding. It also makes enforcing family and community rules easier, making it less likely that the child will jeopardize these relationships by breaking them (Haggerty & McCowan, 2018). According to (Woodhead, 2004), working children are deprived of the necessary experience considered vital for appropriate childhood development as part of community and schooling because they are separated from their social networks or lack support from their social networks. Agbényiga (Agbényiga, 2013) makes the case that age-appropriate social networks are critical for working, street, and migratory children and that a lack of age-appropriate social networks can cause disorientation in familiar surroundings and cultural patterns, and social practices. The most severe psychosocial effects induced by child labor, such as emotional and physical neglect or sexual abuse, lead to insecurity, inhibition, low social confidence, and conflictual relationships, according to Woodhead's research (Woodhead, 2004). Building civility and restoring peace, on the other hand, are critical social development techniques for preventing the spread of violence among children.
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(O’Leary et al., 2018). Saddik et al. (Saddik et al., n.d.) present evidence from Lebanon that supports the concept that hazardous labor and its environment play a significant role in causing adverse emotional outcomes. Working children aged 10 to 17 were angry and more confused than nonworking children. On the other hand, Pollack and Landrigan (Pollack et al., 1990) discovered that child labor can foster antisocial and risk-taking behavior.

Finally, studies have demonstrated that child labor harms a child's physical (Ibrahim et al., 2018), cognitive (Keane et al., 2022), social (Woodhead, 2004), and emotional development (Huang et al., 2014). This could put working children's health and well-being in danger in the short, medium, and long term. Age, health condition, gender, social resources, and the type of child labor, as well as environmental characteristics and protections, are all factors that influence the extent of developmental effects of child labor, according to Agbényiga (Agbényiga, 2013). Child labor is an issue of extreme level in Afghanistan. Given the country current situation, Afghanistan is on the point of going into total brink of poverty. If a solution to the country's political and economic problems is not found very away, up to 97 percent of the population might be in danger of living below the poverty line, according to a quick assessment published by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (United Nations Development Program, 2021). In this regard, poverty, lack of education, livelihood, the gap between rural and urban per capita of consumption forces child labor and deprive them from getting an education (Ministry of Economy, 2015).

The above factors have been part and parcel of Afghan communities since the past 20 years. On the other hand, the issue of child labor has been understudied only in terms of evaluation reports (Kanto & Hozyainova, 2008), (International Labour Office & United Nations Children’s Fund, 2021), (United Nations High Commission for Refugees, n.d.), family and community role in prevention of child labor (Catani et al., 2008), gender difference and postrauematic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms in working boys and girls (Catani et al., 2009), and factor contributing to child labor (Lutf & Yasini, 2018). Thus, the influence of child labor on their development is an issue of consideration. As result, the present study aims to determine the influence of child work on children's development in Afghanistan, specifically in the provinces of Kabul and Jalalabad, which have the highest child labor rates. The study employs a qualitative approach to determine the effects of child labor on the development of children.

In the present study, the researcher aims to find answers to the following research questions (1) What areas of children’s development are delayed due to child labor? (2) What are the differences between working and non-working children in Afghanistan concerning their development? (3) What are the adverse effects of child labor on children’s development in the long term?

Method

The current study examines the impacts of child work on children's cognitive, physical, emotional, and social development in Afghanistan, focusing on Kabul and Jalalabad. These two provinces are populated with child labor because one is the country's capital city, where every family tries to move and live to make a better living, and the other is connected to Pakistan via the Durand Line, where Torkham, the crossing point to Pakistan, has an outnumber of children working every day to earn money. Because of this, the research will take place in these two provinces. To determine the influence of child labor on children's development in Afghanistan, the study takes a qualitative method. According to Creswell (Creswell & Poth, 2016), qualitative research is an investigation of knowledge using a variety of methodological traditions to investigate a social or human issue. For the same reason, I chose a qualitative approach to allow me to prioritize participant voices and legitimize varied viewpoints and experiences as authentic stories of children's development or lack thereof as a result of child work. To find the relevant impact on children's development, the study uses in-depth interviews.
with educators, parents, working and non-working children, child psychologists, and child doctors, as well as close observation of working and non-working children in the study locations to see whether there is any adverse or positive impact from child labor on children's development. Because thorough data gathering is the backbone of qualitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2016), the study's primary data collection methods include in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis.

The current study used a purposeful sampling technique—exactly maximal variation sampling. According to Creswell and Gutterman (Creswell & Guetterman, 2019), maximum variation sampling is a purposeful sampling technique in which various people are studied based on their diverse characteristics or traits. The study intended to collect data from different age and experience groups, according to the participants and research sites. After deciding on the study's objectives and design, the researcher gathered information from working children, parents, teachers, and pediatricians. The study's participants had a range of knowledge and experience about child labor and development issues. The research locations in Kabul and Nangarhar were chosen due to the high number of working children and varied working conditions.

Parents, working children, child specialists’ doctors, and teachers are interviewed for the study. The study used Zoom sessions with 15 participants, including working children, to conduct the interview. Mobile phones were used to ask the participants if they were comfortable with the researcher conducting interviews with them before the discussion. Additionally, working children’s parents were contacted via cell phone to get permission to conduct the interviews with their children. Five of the twenty people initially the study chose for interviews could not join the online Zoom meetings. The participants declined the researcher's request to speak with them using mobile phone calls for interviews. They disagreed when the participants were asked if recording the Zoom meeting was okay. Thus, the meetings were not taped as a result. Using note-taking, the responses were recorded.

The study used the Creswell and Gutterman (Creswell & Guetterman, 2019) six-step data analysis process, starting with preparation and organization, initial exploration through assigning codes, developing a general picture using the codes, representing the findings through narratives, interpreting and reflecting, and finally conducting strategies to validate the accuracy. Going from specifics to more prominent themes began with the data being prepared and organized for analysis. The initial investigation to acquire a general picture of the data was provided by assigning codes to the relevant and recurrent experiences or concepts to develop themes. In order to analyze and gain a more profound knowledge of the data, the researcher iterated through it numerous times. On the other hand, discussions about the effects of child labor on children's development have arisen from interviews with various participants, including parents, educators, doctors who specialize in children, and working children. The themes resulting from the research are more expansive in three categories, which will be covered in more detail in the results section.

Results and Discussion

The researcher has identified the causes of child labor, the effects of child labor on children's development, and the distinction between working and non-working children after examining the interview data from doctors, working children, parents, and educators. Each of the themes above was discovered as a consequence of numerous evaluations of the answer, searching for recurring concepts, coding each notion, and ultimately arriving at the more general themes described above.

Causes of child labor in Afghanistan

The poor economic standing of the families is one of the leading causes of child labor in Afghanistan. According to working children, parents, educators, and child specialist doctors, children's labor is related to poverty. One of the working-child participants made the following remarks “Because
The Impact of poverty, I have no other option but to start working. I have four brothers and four sisters; although my two other brothers also work, we cannot afford our family expenditures.” (Working child, Jalalabad, June 2022). According to several research findings, child labor in Afghanistan is primarily caused by low household economic conditions or poverty (Chetri & Bhardwaj, 2022), (Lutf & Yasini, 2018), (Kanto & Hozyainova, 2008). Low income, irregular or unpaid labor, old debts, violence, migration, and displacement, are only a few causes of poverty in the nation. Instead of attending school, these children who work appear to have no choice but to help their families financially. Most parents concur that child labor destroys their children's future, yet they assert that there is no other choice. When asked, "why does your child work?'' a father of a working child responded as follows:

My heart aches when I see children of others go to school, but my child works. My poor economic situation doesn’t allow me to send my children to school. I do irregular work, and most of the time, I don’t have work prospects. Thus, my child helps financially support the family. (a child laborer father, Kabul, June 2022)

Afghan children have suffered dramatically due to the country’s protracted war; a report by ToloNews (TOLO NEWS, 2014) cites unsubstantiated numbers that claim there are one million child laborers in Afghanistan. Instead of falling, this number has risen. According to Woodenpand (Woodenpand, 2020), Afghanistan's conflict, poverty, and insurrection are all contributing to a sharp increase in child labor. Similar to this, the country’s basic statistics for 2022 from the Asian Development Bank confirm an increase in poverty (see Figure 1).

Select Poverty Indicators: Afghanistan

| 49.4% | Proportion of Population Living below the National Poverty Line (2020) |
| 35.4% | Proportion of Employed Population below $1.90 PPP a Day (Age 15+), Total (2021) |
| 11.7% | Unemployment Rate, by Sex, Total (2020) |
| 58 per 1,000 live births | Under-5 Mortality Rate (2020) |

Source: Asian Development Bank, Basic Statistics 2022 (April 2022)

The Impact of Child Labor on Children’s Development

In order to learn more about the developmental impact of working children, the study spoke with four child specialists in Kabul and Nangarhar. On the one hand, the doctors express their concerns about child labor in the nation, but on the other hand, they concur that child labor has a negative long-term effect on children's development and quality of life. The experts determined that child labor
significantly negatively impacted three aspects of children's development: cognitive, physical, and socioemotional.

**Cognitive:** Afghan working children experienced significant cognitive impairment. Children's cognitive development is significantly impacted by child labor, according to the child specialist doctors who responded. The doctors who treated them when they came to us concurred that child laborer typically struggle with focus, attentiveness, overthinking, confidence, and forgetfulness. One of the physicians remarked “These children suffered a lot due to starting to work at a very early age. Depression, psycho-neurotics, overthinking, and forgetfulness, among other things, are ubiquitous among working children in Afghanistan.”

According to Piaget, between the ages of 7 and 11, children are conducting concrete processes and using logical reasons. However, compared to children who are not working, Afghan working children have a very different situation. In Afghanistan, earning money and supporting the family budget are the only concerns of working children. When asked how he differed from a child receiving an education, a working child responded as follows.

> Children who attend school are lucky, but we are unlucky because we don’t think about education but about our family. We earn money, but they have a happy future. They also know good manners, but we only think about our work and money. (Child laborer, interview, June 2022)

**Physical:** Santrock (Santrock, 2021) contends that whereas the most middle and late childhood are periods of high health with low rates of disease and death, this is not the case in Afghanistan. According to pediatric specialists, most children experience starvation, broken bones, disabilities, weakened immune systems, and similar conditions at a very young age. A doctor claims one explanation is the highly toxic or harsh environment these children labor in. Over 90% of children who work report experiencing physical pain either during or after work, and skin conditions and vision issues are widespread among children’s workers on construction sites, according to the Children Rights Foundation. Vinod et al. (Vinod et al., 2013) conducted a study on the physical health issues affecting children who work in Belgaum, Karnataka, and discovered that 53 percent of the working children got headaches; five child workers I spoke with verified this. After work, they all reported having headaches. One child remarked:

> Every day I go home from work, I have pain in my body, and my head aches very badly. I work in a juice factory that has extreme heat inside the place where I work. (Working child, interview, June 2022).

**Socio-emotional:** Children's total development includes their socio-emotional growth. According to Harter (Harter, 2015) elementary school-aged children begin to recognize their social side, which improves their ability to self-describe. Since most Afghan children who work as child laborers only worry about working six to seven hours a day and don't even consider their social lives, child labor stops children from realizing that they are an active part of society. At work, they only interact with one particular group of people, all of whom are underage laborers. A child specialist doctor responded to the question of "how child work impacts children's socio-emotional development" by saying: “Children who start working at a very early age mostly find themselves alone, have personality disorders, cannot make good friends or family, and have depression. This might lead to drug addiction and antisocial behavior.” In the context of Afghanistan, working children lose their self-confidence, which results in their lack of self-efficacy. On the other hand, according to Blais et al., (Agnew-Blais & Danese, 2016), antisocial behavior contains personality disorders that result in illegal acts, socially irresponsible behaviors, and a lack of respect for other people's rights.
Differences between working and non-working children

Children who work have different developmental needs from schoolchildren who do not work. Working and school children considerably different in terms of feeling lonely, depressed, frequency of difficulties at home, problems with laws, smoking status, taking drugs, and time spent alone. Similarly, one of the participants claimed: “Working children often smoke or take drugs, feel lonely, cannot make a decision, and overthink alongside physical and mental weakness.” (Doctor, interview, June 2022)

According to the investigation, there are developmental disparities between working and nonworking children and child labor's impact on working children's futures as their antisocial conduct often develops into the latest rage and aggression at home. Lack of self-awareness and confidence is another notable distinction that may significantly impact personality disorders in working children.

Child labor is one of the pressing issues affecting children development in Afghanistan. It was found that child labor not only hinder children development as whole, but also pose greater threat to their future as emerging Afghan youth. According to article 19 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Child (1990), every government is responsible to protect children against any sort of abuse and violence or even bad treatment by their parents or anyone looking after them. As the future of every child matter in the same way government of Afghanistan initiated a number of policies and plans such as National Labor Policy, National Child Labor Strategy and Action Plan, National Anti-Trafficking in Persons Action Plan, National Strategy for Children at Risk, and Procedure for the Protection of Children in Armed Conflict for putting an end to child labor phenomenon in the country.

Ending child labor as a collective responsibility

According to a recent estimate by the British NGO Save the Children International (Feb 2022), more than a million children in Afghanistan work. These working children's futures are uncertain since they engaged in illegal actions in the community due to their behaviors and cognitive deficiencies, burdening society as a whole. Therefore, preventing further growth in child labor and assisting in ensuring a better future for these more than one million working children is a shared responsibility of parents, educators, children's rights activists, and most importantly, the current government, which must facilitate employment opportunities for family heads and outlaw child labor ultimately. Several policies and laws have been passed by the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, including the National Labor Policy, National Child Labor Strategy and Action Plan, National Anti-Trafficking in Persons Action Plan, National Strategy for Children at Risk, and Procedure for the Protection of Children in Armed Conflict. However, the strategies and policies fell short of their goals of ending child labor (Bureau of International Labor Affairs, 2021). The community, parents, and government are recommended to do the following to help working children.

- The government must incorporate international standards against child work into domestic regulations.
- Reduction of poverty and provision of regular employment opportunities for family leaders whose children are employed.
- Activities to educate the public and raise community awareness about the detrimental effects of child labor on children's growth and future are carried out with the assistance of experts and children's specialists.
- Family leadership is the responsibility of the parents. Thus, social norms should help parents recognize this and discourage child labor from providing their children a brighter future.
According to a study by Blum et al. (Blum et al., 2019) found that Independent of the child's sex, over 90% of parents in Afghanistan agree on their children completing at least secondary education. However, with the recent development in Afghanistan (the takeover of the country by Taliban August 15, 2021), child labor become more of an issue of concern both for the parents and community in general. Considering the above recommendation, international organizations working for children need to roll their sleeves for concrete actions to eliminate child labor as a devasting factor behind children development.

Conclusion

The current study examined how child labor, prevalent in Afghanistan's two most populous provinces (Nangarhar & Kabul), affected children's development. According to the study, child labor in Afghanistan significantly negatively impacts children's development. According to the study, physical immaturity contributes to a weakened immune system, malnutrition, bodily aches, and other issues. In this aspect, children who work have a higher risk of falling unwell and developing into risk factors for both themselves and the community. When compared to their peers who are not employed, Afghan children who are working exhibit forgetfulness, overthinking, and a deficiency in logical reasoning. Child work has made children in Afghanistan forget about their social and emotional lives. Most of these children don't realize how important it is to socialize and establish friends, they have antisocial tendencies, and as they get older, they engage in illegal activities. Even these working children didn't feel the slightest bit concerned about skipping class or becoming like non-working children throughout the interview with the researcher.

The development of working and non-working children differs; working children have fewer dietary alternatives because most families in the nation live in poverty and cannot give their children the nutritious food they need for growth. However, children who do not work have a wide variety of food options, promoting more excellent social, physical, and cognitive development. The study discovered that self-awareness and confidence are two essential traits cited by doctors and other studies; working children are less self-aware and confident, whereas school-age children must cultivate confidence. On the other side, the study also looked into the causes of growing child work in Afghanistan; among other things, participant feedback and document analysis supported the notion that poverty's the primary driver of child labor in the nation. Likewise, child labor in Afghanistan was also a result of the war and migration/displacement.

The report included suggestions for parents, communities, and the government to lessen child labor and promote healthy learning and playing environments for the next generation. The government must institutionalize best practices to end child labor, raise public awareness of the issue, and assist family heads in finding alternate sources of income if they cannot find regular employment. The holistic development of their children must be given the utmost priority by parents, who must also take ownership of helping their children flourish. Similar to this, the community must be involved in tackling the problem of child labor in Afghanistan because the majority of communities in Afghanistan will be impacted by the antisocial behavior of these people in the future, either directly or indirectly.
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