CHAPTER - I
A. INTRODUCTION

According to the International Labour Organisation about 56 million of the world's children were working in 1976 and they formed about 8 percent of the children between the ages of 7 to 15. The overwhelming majority of them i.e. almost 55 million (98%) being in the developing countries - 40 million in Asia, 10 million in Africa and 5 million in the America. India had 14 million working children - the largest child labour force the world has ever known 1981. It contributes 1/3 to the Asian figure and forms about 1/16th of the world's working children. Over 90 percent of these children live in rural areas. It is estimated that in India if all the children are eliminated from labour force, employment opportunities would be created for atleast 15 million adult unemployed workers and thereby lessening the problem of unemployment to a large extent. The painful reality of the existence of child labour is well realised in our Constitution wherein Article 24 lays down that no child below the age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or


2. Census of India 1981, Series I, India, Part-II Special Table B-I, New Delhi, Government of India.

Participation of juvenile labour force in economic activities is not a recent phenomenon; decades ago International Labour Organisation having realised it as a serious problem started showing its concern over the protection of children in relation to their work to avoid their abuse and exploitation. Juvenile labour can be seen as participatory beneficial and exploitative. At the participatory-beneficial level, it is argued that juvenile labour is a means through which children share in the realities of life situations through earning wages. Through their participation in work process, they can learn skills and social values which schools may not offer. There is less possibility of a working child to drift away and involve himself in crime and anti-social activities.

At the exploitative level, it is said that child labour is treated as a way of life by which children under the age of 15 years are exposed to conditions of work which may be harmful to their physical, emotional and mental health and moral life. They are seldom paid according to normal work conventions and regulations and juvenile, labour also tends to lead to unemployment, poor health and finally to the vicious circle of poverty of future families especially in developing countries. Recourse to juvenile labour can be attributed to a variety of reasons. In developed countries where proportion

4. See Francois Breton, 'Child-Labour and its exploitation in developing countries'.

engaged in any other hazardous employment. Nearly 87 percent of the child workers are found in the agricultural sector.
of juvenile labour is small, children take up work mainly to earn some pocket-money and to provide extra hands needed in agriculture, particularly in the busy seasons. In less developed countries where juvenile labour is wide spread, causes are many and varied; principal causes being poverty and inequality. Entrenched tradition is another cause. It is generally felt that at a very early age a child should not expect to be fully supported by others, but should make a contribution to the finances, of the family. Lack of schools and inadequate recreational infrastructure also contribute to juvenile labour; tensions and uncertainty in the homes which are aggravated by poverty, migration to urban centres and the inbuilt instability and insecurity are the additional factors.

Elimination of child-labour is the long-term goal of our planned socio-economic development as specified in the draft-out-line of the VII-Five Year Plan, eventhough reducing exploitation and improving their working condition seem to be of immediate concern. The draft-out-line of VII Plan says "Since it is not feasible to eradicate the problem of child-labour at the present stage of economic development attention has to the focussed on making the working conditions of child labour better and more acceptable socially. . . . . . . . . . .


6. Ibid.

Providing child workers with health care, nutrition and education will be desirable. The ultimate goal of abolition of child-labour can be achieved when there is sufficient improvement in the condition of the families whose children are compelled to work."

But incidence of child labour is not uniform throughout the country. Among the various States, Andhra Pradesh accounted for 14.20 percent of the juvenile labourers in the country in 1971. Karnataka shared 9.85 percent and got placed 2nd in the order followed by Madhya Pradesh (9.65%). On the other hand, Kerala shared the least (13th rank) besides Gujarat (12th rank) and West Bengal (11th rank) during the same period. As per 1981 Census Jammu and Kashmir shared the highest percentage of child labour (10.30%) in the country followed by Sikkim (7.90%) and Kerala shared the least (1.00%). Thus in India 5.10 percent of work force were children. All other states have figures and ranks in between with Tamil Nadu claiming 7th position both in the 1961 and 1971 Censuses.

In Tamil Nadu the incidence of child-labour is very acute in certain districts, towns and regions. Though some attempts have been made to study child-labour problems in Sivakasi and also a few urban areas where match-industry is concentrated. It has not been studied in most of the other parts of the State in a systematic manner. Another gap of existing knowledge on this problem is that it has not been over a period of time in the past and currently studied.

together to know the charges of the problem over time. Further not much effort has been made to know the linkage between child-labour and other allied economic factors in relation to fertility-behaviour, it is well known through earlier evidences that high fertility has a stake with child-labour problem in most of the developing countries. This linkage stems out of the old-age security and subsequently due to the value of children that the child-labourers themselves generate among their parents under the existing poor socio-economic conditions. In the light of these gaps in knowledge, an attempt is made to study child-labour problem and its relation to parental fertility behaviour. Because fertility reduction, balanced human resource development and rational human resource utilisation are very important in attaining our national goals. Since children are valuable future national assets, proper integration of national education, employment and population control policies is the need of the hour to eliminate child-labour as well as to bring down fertility, as mere disintegrated legislations cannot achieve these goals.

Findings of this study may help in effective and long-term man-power planning and integrated human resource development in our rural areas. Again integrated development of our rural areas calls for effective integration of developmental activities with those of fertility regulation. These efforts also necessitate proper understanding of various dimensions of the value of children in formulating comprehensive and realistic population policies. The finding of this study may be of interest to economists, demographers, educationalists
and welfare plannes to carry out plans to achieve the desirable levels of national development.

The problem of child-labour has several facets and characteristics and has definite influence on parental fertility. A study by Labergott\(^9\) records that fertility decline proceeded the child labour decline in the United States. One the other hand, in United States "the decessive factor in reducing the 19th century child-labour was the steady decline in the birth rate from roughly 55/1000 population in 1826 to 20/1000 by 1940" says Coontz.\(^{10}\) He also observed that in the last quarter of 19th Century in England and Wales fertility decline was particularly due to the abolition of child-labour. Studies based on econometric analysis shows that in developing countries child labour is positively related to fertility (Kasarda, \(^{11}\) 1971; Schultz, \(^{12}\) 1972 Rosensweig, \(^{13}\) 1978) . These studies point out that the presence of child-labour tends to be associated with raised level of fertility. It is argued that when an economy is labour intensive


and child labour is cheap, there is a spurt in families to have large number of children. In Africa parents have always valued their children's help in the gardens and home, a factor which most researchers have attributed to the large size of African families.

In India a few studies have been conducted and documented linking directly child-labour and fertility and estimating their inter-relationship at micro levels. Mamdani's (1972) study of fertility behaviour of jat peasants in Panjab shows the importance of child-labour in the fertility decision-making of parents. Moni Nag's (1962) study of a few communities in West Bengal records indirectly the linkage between parental desire for more children as a source of augmenting family income and identifies child labour as an intervening variable. A recent study by Naidu\(^\text{17}\) in Chittoor


district of A.P. shows that in those sectors where employability and earnings of children are high, parental fertility also was found to be high. These studies have highlighted the knowledge gaps and paved the way for further studies at both micro and macro levels on a comparative basis in different sectors and in different regions of India.

In the present study it is expected to analyse major socio-economic aspects and determinants of child-labour and interdependence of child-labour on their parental fertility in some selected areas. The proposed study aim to cover the major aspects of child labour - age, sex, type of occupation, wage level, job security and also occupational and health problems to analyse their influence on parental fertility and also adoption of birth control measures. The inter relationship will be analysed using two approaches viz., a) current child labour and b) labour value of children on fertility.

**Organisation of Chapters**

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. They are 1) Introduction and Review of Literature. 2) Methodology of the study 3) Demographic and social profile trends and differentials in child labour in Tamilnadu and also India. A) Child-labour profile in Tamilnadu - district-wise. 5) Determinants of child labour through micro studies. 6) Factors determining fertility behaviour and path analysis on fertility and 7) Summary, conclusion and policy implications. Since the thesis is focussed on economic demography, greater emphasis is given to economic aspects of fertility behaviour.
Chapter I presents a discussion on theoretical aspects of child-labour followed by a review of literature on child-labour in its various facets—both in the national and international context. A summary of the existing legislations and approaches to tackle their problem both in the long as well as short run is also made. In the later part of this Chapter an exhaustive review of literature on value of children, economic theories of fertility and studies relating to the linkage between value of children—which includes child labour—and parental fertility behaviour—both at the international and national levels. The relevance of the present study is given at the end of this chapter.

In Chapter II methodology adopted in conducting the study is discussed. It begins with the discussion on types and sources of secondary data and their relevance in the present study, procedures adopted in generating primary data, objectives of the study followed by a discussion on the study area and sample frame and size, instruments used for data collection, pattern of analysis of data and finally development of the thesis based on the data analysis are presented subsequently.

Chapter III is devoted to discuss the overall demographic and socio-economic profile of India, with special reference to Tamil Nadu so as to get a glimpse of these factors at macro level in the states as a whole. It has been formulated based on the Census, Sample Registration Scheme, Family Planning and other sources of
secondary data. The chapter begins with a coverage of growth of population in India and also Tamil Nadu during the past decades including density of population. Subsequently certain details of population parameters viz. sex ratio, age distribution and urban population have been given. In the subsequent section, different measures of fertility and mortality viz. child-women ratio, crude birth rate, crude death rate, total fertility rate, infant mortality rate and couple protection rate have been presented. The part two of this chapter highlights on socio-economic profile of the population. They include the literacy level, dependency ratio and work participation rates. They together provide a general profile of the demographic and socio-economic condition of the States as a whole.

After discussing the general population and economic characteristics of the States this chapter is narrowed down to the exact nature of the problem and it focusses on trends and differentials in child labour in Tamil Nadu. It begins with child-labour activities in the State as a whole. Subsequently their activities based on sex and their work by industrial categories and rural urban background have been considered. At the end of this section salient aspects of occupational distribution of child workers have been cross classified by rural urban cum male females-based on 1971 and 81 decades. They provide a synthesis of decade-wise trends and differentials of both male and female child labour married and unmarried in rural and urban areas and also working under different industrial categories. At the end of this chapter results of path analysis on major macro determinants of fertility at the state-level is presented.
In Chapter IV the discussion is focussed on district-wise analysis of certain main features of child labour using secondary data; it begins with the discussion of district-wise percentage share of children, total population of Tamil Nadu, district-wise child work participation rate during the last three decades and goes further into the rural urban distribution of child work participation in the districts of Tamil Nadu, proportion of child workers by sex and place of residence, industry and rural-urban based distribution of child labourers form the latter part of this chapter. Distribution of working children in their major industrial division as classified in the Indian Standard Classification of Occupations is also discussed based on rural-urban residence and the type of occupations in which they are concentrated more so as to locate their major areas of concentration in different districts and occupations besides identifying the trend in occupational mobility during the decades. Inter and intra sectoral mobility of child labourers and also their occupational shift over the decades are also traced out at the end of this chapter. With the presentation in the early chapters the analysis and findings on secondary data have been completed.

Chapter V is devoted to the discussion on determinants of child labour based on primary data relating to the general background followed by familial and parental characteristics. The subsequent chapters also are based on this data. The section 'i' of this chapter begins with the presentation of several general characteristics of the child labourers and also past present and future prospects of child work in their família. Section 'ii' adds additional information
on several economic determinants of the child labourers, including utilisation of child wages, family income and expenditure, savings and debt position, housing condition, sufficiency of child wages to parents and savings made out of child wages, parental education, occupation and then demographic characteristics and also major reasons for child labour. Section 'iii' of the V Chapter consist of discussions on certain problems faced by child-labourers. These include their physical appearance, common diseases, height and weight, educational deprivation, dropping out from schools, wages, hours of work and average number of working days. Inter locational variations in the study area among different variables are also attempted where over possible.

Chapter VI consists of two sections-focusses on factors determining fertility behaviour of parents of the child labourers. The earlier section starts it with the level of parental fertility based on their residential pattern in villages and towns and also for the young and not young mothers. It is followed by several groups of determinants of fertility, to begin with economic determinants of fertility viz. occupational status of the spouse, and that of the respondents, number of dependents in the family yearly family income and housing conditions have been considered. Different dimensions of child labour and value of children are subsequently discussed in this section. They together explain the importance of related economic behaviour. Added to these, certain important social characteristics viz. religion, caste, educational status of the couple and
the type of family have been considered in view of their already established importance to explain a part of the determinants of fertility behaviour. At the end of the first section the importance of family planning explaining the differential fertility and also decline in fertility have been considered. Most of these factors did show their influence in different degrees in explaining the fertility behaviour. Their order of importance and direct and indirect influence are also presented through a path analysis, presented in the ii section of the chapter. In the concluding VII chapter, major findings and the policy implications are drawn up.
B. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Part-I

Child-labour is a very general and vague concept and hence its forms, conditions and circumstances should be specified to judge the nature and extent of the problem within a given situation. Child labour situations are numerous and diverse and on the basis of employment types the following major divisions are made:

a. Typology of Child-Labour

1. Children who work within a family frame-work-often domestic work and non-remunerated as it is sharing family work which is prevalent in all social context and is considered as a process of socialisation. Children pool resources with their parents and the family may be surviving by a strategy of "self-exploitation". Hence children are made to feel it as their moral duty-their economic right and their only guarantee for a livelihood when they grow-up.

2. Children who do non-domestic, non-monetary work often agricultural and usually connected with familial production activity either for auto-consumption or for market production.

3. Wage-labour-which involves many more than official statistics portray - where children are taken on as assistants of older

relatives or other workers and in such cases are doubly vulnera-
ble to exploitation both by the employer and by the intermediate
worker. It takes different forms like working for piece rate
and time-rate, employment having training component - either
paid or unpaid and often termed as apprenticeship - casual
or regular work.

A. Bonded labour in its various forms - either as part of family's
obligations or being pledged by parents for repayment of a debit.

5. Marginal economic activities - mostly found in the informal sector.
Here the work may be casual low-paid basically unproductive
often not contributing to accumulation and often described as
survival activities of a 'lumpen proletariat'. The works may
be legitimate or illegitimate and often elude official statistics.

6. Schooling - its magnitude is difficult to assess as school enrolment
is different from school attendance - which connote regularity
and duration. In low-income environments schooling may be regar-
ded as the main a activity, but actually takes-up only a small
proportion of children's time.

7. Unemployment - in low-income countries children are compelled
to enter labour-force and are particularly prone to suffer from
unemployment. This category is often omitted from official un-
employment figures.

8. Recreation or leisure - which can be distinguished from idleness
due to unemployment by its voluntary nature and has beneficial
effect. It has to be distinguished from reproductive activities
which include physiological activities like sleep, eating, washing and related personal care.

The concept of 'child-labour' is differentiated from child-work as child labour implies any work done by a child which hampers his/her developmental needs and where there is an element of exploitation and hazardous situation of work. Child-work involves activities supportive to one's family work where child is not exposed to exploitative conditions. However the cut-off point between exploitation and non-exploitation is difficult to define. Even family work in a sense is considered as exploitative as they are often deprived of health, education and basic needs which they have earned. Their hidden contribution to the G.N.P. may be compared to that of women's work; it is basic to the economy but it is conveniently over-looked in development planning. 19

b. Magnitude of the problem

i) Developed Economies

Use of child-labour in different economic activities is neither a localised nor a recent phenomenon. Child-labour was an accepted part of economic and cultural behaviour in developed world till the nineteenth century eventhough now, in most of these societies it is a matter of historical interest. In the West, Industrial

Revolution brought with it the mechanised factory system which did not recognise human needs. For the factory owner the possibilities of profit was unlimited if he could find a labour force which was exploitable. Women and children often provided cheap labour in the early stages of industrialisation. This was true both in China in the twentieth century and in Britain in the late nineteenth century. Children who had always been within the family environment were seen as the key to greater profits because they could not make any demands and could be made to work without protest. They were found to be competent, easy to discipline, cheap to maintain and unlikely to organise. The great demand for cheap and docile labour thus became a demand for child-labour. As Karl Marx had observed, for the factory owner, the worker was nothing more than 'personified time'. But could in these countries the magnitude of the problem get reduced? Explanations vary. It is felt that in these industrial capitalist countries cheap adult workers particularly women began to replace children and in the long run the economic effects of child labour could have become counter productive. Child-labour would have taken away not only adult jobs but also lowered adult wages as well. As a result, organised labour movements - allied with social reformers helped to turn the tide against child-labours.

There are one million children who are employed as seasonal workers in the United States and there are instances

of four-year old children helping parents in farm work. In these countries children are supposed to work to earn some pocket money or to provide extra hands during busy season.

ii) Developing Economies

In developing countries, use of child labour seems as an accepted norm of life by employees, child-workers and parents. According to estimates made by International Labour Organisation - a pioneering international organisation concerned with the protection of children in relation to their work in order to avoid abuse and exploitation ever since 1919-56 million children were counted as active in the world in 1976\(^21\). In other words they formed about eight percent of children between the ages of 7 and 15. Out of them almost 55 million (98\%) were found in developing countries. Though the estimate may be an under-estimate, it is the visible, official part of the iceberg. It is found that of the 700 million children between the ages of 7 and 15, approximately 400 million live in under-developed rural zones, 250 million suffering from hunger and scarcely 40 percent effectively attended school. Traditionally in rural societies of Africa child-labour had been considered as a method of socialising


\footnote{22. Ibid.}
children and hence helping them to acquire a sense of responsibility as adults. But a few studies carried out in Kenya tend to show that the concept of child-labour as known in traditional Africa has drastically changed. Kenyan newspapers especially the 'Daily Nation' and 'The Standard' have reported situations where children were working as domestic servants, hawkers, turn-boys and drug peddlers (Kaira, 1980). Another study in rural Kenya showed that parents found children of 11 to 14 years, most important for child-labour and female children were found more useful than male children. It was observed that "children of all ages were very valuable in terms of their labour, making significant contributions directly or indirectly to the family. Thus their classification as "unpaid family workers" or merely 'consumer' may not be valid. On the contrary parents place a heavy reliance on their children's work and indicate that it would be difficult to complete the various tasks without them. Most of the child workers were of 6 to 16 years and drop-outs from school and hailed from rural areas and from large families (an average of 8 children per family) and also from broken homes. Time use of Surveys in Africa (Eg. Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Rhodosia, Zambia and


Uganda) have highlighted the highly seasonal nature of child involvement in non-domestic and non-monetary work. Morice\textsuperscript{27} observed that the small scale informal sector in West African town survived only because they can exploit cheap child-labour. With low productivity and low capitalism, the informal sector persisted in the face of modern capitalistic enterprises only by producing at exceedingly low price. Fake apprenticeships - the exploitation of the children of relatives or simply the use of low paid child-workers lacking other sources support or simply families of desperate for additional income are necessary for survival of the economic system as a whole to provide cheap wage goods and thus maintain low wages. He cautious that effective elimination of child-labour would harm many interests and require profound changes in the economic structure.

The Asian\textsuperscript{28} Scene is not different. In Asia many children work in small shops restaurants and hotels as sweepers, shop-clerks, errand boys and garage attendants. In some countries such as the Phillipines, Thailand and India children work as part of family team or gangs of scavengers to collect garbage. In the Golden Triangle region of South East Asia children are put to work


\textsuperscript{28} Soon Young Yoon - "Asia and the Pacific: Children at risk, Children at Work, a Case Study-II" in Child-Labour A Threat To Health and Development, Published by Defence for Children, Geneva, Switzerland, December, 1981.
in opium fields; but even with children and parents working, opium growing families make little a dollar a day at best. He found that in some parts of Asia thousands of children are reported to be sold each year for prices as low as $50. In Thailand, children work mainly in sweat-shops, massage parlours and brothels. In Sri Lanka children are reported to have been sold to rich land owners and bureaucrats as domestic servants. In industrials in Malaysia, Hong Kong, the Republic of Korea and Singapore, child workers may have long "apprenticeship" before they are 16 years of old. Commercialisation of agriculture increasingly seems to employ large number of children in plantation and agricultural business estates. In India and Pakistan children often help their parents as part of the family team-picking tea-leaves or coffee-beans, weeding, spreading fertilizer or caring for the plants. Child labour is also extensively used in tea and rubber estates in Sri Lanka. Carpet Industry in Pakistan, India and Morrocco uses child-labour extensively as children's small and nimble fingers are considered as good at tying tight knots and they work faster than adults and do more work in a shorter period of time. In export-oriented countries such as Malaysia, Thailand and Republic of Korea and in the Colony of Hong-Kong, Children produce goods from candy and canned foods to glassware.

c. Indian Scene

In India too, children are widely employed in agriculture and allied activities and also in the informal sectors. Defying a dozen legislations passed to protect the interest of child-labour
and also the Constitutional guarantee, they are increasingly found in the carpet industry in Kashmir and Utter Pradesh or Slate industry in Mansura, balloon industry in Dahnu or Match or bidi industry in Tamil Nadu or glass industry in Firozabad—to mention a few.

i) Magnitude of the problem

There is not much unanimity in the magnitude of the problem in India. While the official statistics is satisfied with 14 million child-workers as per 1981 census, and 17.6 million of the National Sample Survey (1983), the Operations Research Group (ORG) Baroda sees it as 30 million and 100 million for the Concerned for Working Children (CWC) Bangalore. Child workers participation rate in India was 12.3 in 1961, 10.03 in 1971 and 7.93 in 1981. Andhra Pradesh which has the highest incidence of child-labour had 10.27 percent of its total workers being children in 1961 and 9.01 percent in 1971. During 1961 and 1971 Censuses. Andhra Pradesh retained first rank in child work participation rate with Kerala having the last rank.

As per 1981 Census figures, Jammu and Kashmir (10.30%) followed by Madhya Pradesh, Sikkim (7.90%) had highest child participation rate with Kerala having the least (1.00%). Roughly one out of ten male children and more than one out of twenty female

30. Ibid.
children were employed in rural areas. Agriculture and allied activities account for more than 4/5 of the working children half of them working as agricultural labourers and others in cultivation and plantations livestock, forestry, fishing etc. The rest 1/5 is engaged in manufacturing, processing, servicing, trade and commerce construction, transport, storage, communication etc. In the urban areas, there were 0.7 million male and 0.2 million female children being employed as main workers and 6.7 million male and 3.5 million female were at work in the rural areas as Marginal workers. \(^\text{31}\) Industry-wise (1981), in the rural areas 3.90 percent of the child work participation of male children were among cultivating families and 3.70 percent among agricultural labour families. The corresponding rates for female child-work participation rates are 1.60 and 2.90 percent respectively. In the urban areas male child-work participation rate was higher in processing and manufacturing in the non-household sector. In the rural areas this percentage was higher for both the genders in the live-stock sector followed by in agricultural sector. About 80 percent of the total child population in 5 to 14 age group were working children and they constituted as much as 7 percent of the total work-force.

ii) State-wise distribution

All States in India do not share equally the burden of child labour. Kerala has the least work participation of children

as per the three census reports whereas Andhra Pradesh\textsuperscript{32} has the highest child work participation rate in 1961 and 1971 Census. Kerala and West Bengal low rates during both in 1961 and 1971 Census and Kerala followed by Gujarat with low rates in 1981.\textsuperscript{33} Work participation rates among children were above the national average in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Punjab.

Occupation-wise they are mostly found in the informal sectors. They are found in most of the activities which adults do like agriculture, fishing, forestry, plantation etc. Other few sectors of concentration are hand-loom industry, construction of building and roads, match industry, weaving etc. They are also found in domestic service hotels, restaurants and canteens. Some are engaged in trash recycling activities, selling items like artificial jewellery, vegetables, fruits snacks and newspapers etc.

d. Determinants of Child-Labour

i) Socio-economic factors

In many traditional agrarian societies all those capable of contributing to the daily and annual cycles of survival and social


33. Shante Kanbargi - "Child-Labour in India", A Census Statistical Profile Table - 3 Monograph,

cohesion work and children too work according to their capabilities. Here usually adults take-up effort-intensive tasks. In societies based on lineage relationships, tributary labour services are often performed by children and adolescents for the community or tribal leaders. Debt bondage and socially sanctioned kinship also make children work for others. Again where adult-wage is low, family members including children have to put extra work to meet household subsistence needs. During the early stage of British Industrial Revolution children were reported to be often substituted for the more expensive adult labour and also when single men and old men found it difficult to get work without child labour assistance. In some cases the decline of domestic subsistence activities and the shift to wage-labour in agriculture have forced children to migrate to seek some income in urban areas or to become domestic servants. In others, children were required to take over quasi-domestic tasks when adult members had to seek wage-employment. Eg. in a rural employment Survey in Egypt it was found that children were hired to do cotton picking and weeding so that men could take higher paying non-agricultural seasonal work. Similarly while children of the richer farmers were freed to attend school on a full-time basis, children of landless


or near landless were forced into labour market to a greater extent as found in Bangladesh and Botswana (Cain, Cain and Mozumdar; Muller)/b,

Child labour in urban environments depend on factors like low wage in small scale and informal sector's resistance to take apprenticeship, dropping out from school, parental unemployment etc. The unorganised and self-employment sector account for a larger number of child employment where countless number of children are working as domestic servants, waiters in hotel/restaurants, way-side tea-shops, hawkers, newspapers sellers, cobblers and shoe-shine boys, vendors, helpers in repair and service shops, construction workers, rag-pickers and casual labourers. Orphan and destitute children are the most vulnerable to yield to work - they feel they are lucky to have any work at all being ignorant of child-labour laws. Entrenched tradition, values and attitudes are other contributory factors. The prevalence of a belief that a child should not expect to be fully supported by others, but should contribute to family finance and also that they learn a useful trade which may enable them to earn a living in future, is another added factor. The dominance of vested interest of the


(a) Cain, M.T. Mozumdar, A. "Rural Labour Market Structure and Reproductive Behaviour in Rural South Asia", Rodgers and Standing.

employer also contributes to child-labour-supply of cheap labour which is docile and amenable and has the prospect of more profit.

Household factors also contribute to child labour like types of household, i.e. household size and the structure. In low-income environs, children in nuclear households are more likely to be in the labour force, Walter’s study in Columbia showed that when income or work opportunity of one or both of parents fell, there was wide spread tendency with rather more girls than boys being required to substitute labour force work for survival.

38 Three factors which tend to raise child activity ratio in low-income industrialising countries are:

1. the extent to which fertility has been declining a greater proportion of working children are drawn from small families.

2. a larger proportion of working children are eldest children and

3. the growth of single parent households, notably consisting of mothers with their children.

39 Tienda using Peru data found that children in single-parent households were the most likely to be in the labour force and that for any given age the birth order of the children strongly


influenced the probability of being economically active; the first child having the highest probability. He also found that occupational status of households also influencing the likelihood of children working. The highest child-activity rates were found in households in which the principal adult worker did agricultural work, particularly as owner-cultivator rather than as a wage-labourer. Households, where parents are in service-occupations particularly if they were self-employed and working in small enterprises, there was likelihood of children working with them than those in which the parents worked in manufacturing industries. Family income is also one of the most important determinants of child-labour activity. Studies on child-labour in Chile (Da Vanzo)^, San Salvador, Sudan (Peek)^b, Columbia (Walter)^1, India (Rosenzweig)^c, and South Asia (Richards)^d and

(c) Walter, J.P. The economics of labour force participation of Rural -Slum-Barrio Youth in Cali, Columbia, a case study; Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Notre Dame (India), 1970.
Leonor) have consistently demonstrated a strong inverse relationship between family income and child activity. Literacy level of parents also seemed to have an inverse relationship with child-labour. Lack of schools and adequate recreational infrastructure, household tensions and uncertainties and family migration to urban centres also lead to economic instability and in-security and large number of children also induce children to child-labour. In Bombay 80 percent of the working children were found to be migrants.

d. Working conditions of Child-Labourers

Children are the most vulnerable group in any population and are in need of great social care. Due to their vulnerability and dependence they are invariably exploited, ill-treated and directed into undesirable channels. While abuse of child-labour has practically disappeared from the modern organised sectors, it is still found in agriculture and allied activities and in the informal sectors especially in developing economics.

(i) Age at which children start working varies considerably in many countries. In some countries they start work at as early an age as six. Studies carried out in India show that children


are forced into labour market between the ages of six and nine. During the data collection for the present study it was a common sight to see children of both sexes of below five years working in match factories, scaring crows while drying fish and winding art-silk thread in weaving units in Tamil Nadu. In Peru children from the poorest urban families usually start work as errand boys, street vandors or domestic servants when they are seven; in the countryside they start working at the age of six. In tobacco plantations of North West Argentina 66 percent of the population aged 6 to 9 years is reported to be working.

Naidu found 23 percent of the child labourers in his study area in Chithoor district of Andhra Pradesh belonging to 5 to 9 age group.

The way children are treated at work are usually determined arbitrarily by the employer. In majority of the cases there is no formal contract of employment. Often the working conditions severely tax working children’s physical, mental and emotional resistance. For example unbearable heat in enclosed premises, inhaling dust, smoke and chemicals or exposure to the severe Climatic conditions, open air work in humid environment badly-lit unhealthy and


excessive noisy workshops lacking the necessary safety devices, rest areas, sanitary installations and medical facilities; having to lift and carry heavy loads or Squat in uncomfortable posture for long hours etc. in violation of the principles set for in the international conventions adopted by the I.L.O. and ratified by many countries in paper. All these bad working conditions are found to be damaging working child's development.

Children who are self-employed are usually better placed but in many cases as for rags and refuse collectors in India the working conditions or environments are neither pleasant nor hygenic. The conditions of children employed in family undertakings are somewhat better since the effort, fatigue and dangers to which they are frequently exposed to are balanced in part at least by the care and attention they receive from other family members.

Hours of work

The daily, weekly and yearly hours of work put in by wage earning children vary according to whether they attend or not or have other jobs and also according to the length of time the employer requires their presence which, of course, depends in turn, on among other things, the sort of work involved and also the subjective factors. Average hours of work vary, showing the extent of exploitation involved. Child workers in Santiago\textsuperscript{45} were reported to put in between 10 to 13 hours a day. In Bombay\textsuperscript{46} it

\textsuperscript{45} Child Labour and Health - Seminar Report, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, p.130, 1982.

\textsuperscript{46} See Cains M.T.
was found that children employed in hotels and restaurants work an average of over 11½ hours a day. In Sivakasi, Iyngér found children working 10 to 14 hours per day. Mehta records that about the plight children aged 8 to 14 ages, working for more than 8 to 10 hours for Rs.3 per day. Children peeling fish in fish processing centres in Kerala work for 15 hours per day. In the present study also, children going into sea for fishing, working in shops, repair-shops, restaurants, are found to work 10 to 14 hours per day.

In Indonesia while ten year old children of peasant families spent 154 hours of work/month in income earning activities, those of rich families worked for only 50 hours per month. Children belonging to land-less and land-poor households worked for longer hours than those belonging to households with relatively more land area.

Usually working hours in domestic services and in restaurants and hotels are particularly long. In most cases children are paid on piece-rate and this puts pressure on them to put in long hours than permitted by their physical endurance, to earn a pittance.

47. Iyengar Vishwapriya - 'Where child-labour and fathers desire' - Indian Express, February 16, 1986.
Thus children are forced to work for very long hours (16 to 17 hours/day) whether it is in the underground coal mines in Columbia, or glass and textile industry in India or carpet factories of Morocoo, Pakistan and India, or domestic work in South America. Thus though I.L.O. conventions and national labour legislations prescribe 5 to 6 hours per day, in practice children have to toil at the tender age for very long hours.

Few studies have shown that girls are found to be working long hours in less productive work than boys and this releases boys and women to do more productive work. Cash value of their work is found to be low. Example, in Nepal\textsuperscript{51} girls of 5 to 9 years of age do more of domestic work and child care than boys of the same age. On an average while girls of this age work for 3.39 hours/day boys work for 2.33 hours/day. In rural Bangladesh\textsuperscript{52} one sample survey revealed that on an average girls aged 10 to 12 worked about 38 hours a week. A study in rural Indonesia\textsuperscript{53} showed that girls aged 10 to 12 did about 22 hours of domestic work per week while those aged between 7 and 9 did for about 18 hours.


ii) Wage Conditions

While working hours are large, the wage they get is not commensurate with the effort and time they put in. Children are usually paid less than adults, even when they do the same work and some receive no pay at all. In a Mexican city market it was found that adult porters were earning 86.7 pesos a day, while children performing the same task earned only 31 pesos a day. In Peru particularly in Lima many children working in street-trades earned a mere 20 dollar a month. In Indonesia children received 70 to 80 percent adult wage. Some times the renumeration granted is minimal, partial and unjust in relation to that of adults performing similar work or in relation to the yield obtained or the price of the merchandise. For example, it is reported that a child received 7 Columbion Pesos for a bag of coal which the employer sold for 180 pesos - equivalent to more than 25 times as much. In various sectors of activity in India, children earn approximately half as much as adults doing the same type of work and are mostly paid on piece-rate basis. Children working in carpet industry in Kashmir earned less than Rs.80/-

55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Indian Express - Newspaper "Glass Factories at Firozabad, April 5th, 6th and 7th, 1986."
per month for work extending 8 to 10 hours/day. Glass industry in I-rozabad where children who have to work near furnaces having a heat of 15,800/- centigrade and handling blazing glasses are paid Rs. 7 to 10 per day based on the type of work they do.

Geetha Menon cites cases of children, aged 8 to 10 years being paid less than Rs. 2/- per day in carpet factories in Kashmir.

Similarly in his study on carpet industry in Uttar Pradesh, Juyal observes that wage is fixed on the basis of ‘dihari’ ie. 6000 knots per square yard of carpet. After succumbing to all kinds of wage cuts a child is reported to earn only Rs. 3 to 5 per day. Balloon factories in Dahana where children work amidst thick clouds of dust and chemical powder, after working on an average of 9 hours per day a child-worker earns Rs.4 to 6.50.

In family undertakings whether of an agricultural, commercial or handicraft, nature, the work done by children is not usually renumerated since the family income is considered to be an undivided whole. Some children receive a fixed wage plus tips.


59. Ibid., p.216.


Others receive only tips. In many cases remuneration is partly or totally in kind, including the provisions of lodging food and minimum clothes.

**e. Consequence of Child-Labour**

Child-labour is multidimensional having economic, social and demographic implications. It is considered as economically unsound, psychologically disastrous and physically and mentally dangerous and harmful. It involves the use of labour at its low point of productivity and is therefore ineffective utilisation of labour power. It prevents the full unfoldment of a child’s potentialities.

i) **Market structure, differentials and inequality**

Child activity pattern influences labour market structure in several ways. One major effect is on sex roles and on sex discrimination in the labour market. Frequently girls are set in quasi-domestic tasks, while boys engage in market or quasi-market activities as White found in Indonesia or differentiation may occur when puberty approaches as in northern Nigeria (Schildkrout).

Sex differentiation between different jobs is also reinforced where children work with parents or relatives of the same sex, girls found


63. See Schildkrout in Rodgers and Standing.
in tea leaf-picking (India -Dube) or domestic service (Child, Silva)\textsuperscript{b,j} and boys engaged in a variety of agricultural pursuits (Bangladesh, Cain and Mozundar). The internalisation of roles which this childhood differentiation implies goes far towards explaining the prevalence and stability of sexual differentiation in work roles among adults. Another effect is linked to the role of schooling in gaining access to urban jobs. Early manual work by poor children denies their educational opportunities and in turn restricts access to better jobs. This may result in cleavage in career structure, employment opportunities and wages which cut through the whole labour market. Differentiation in labour structure is paralleled by differentiation in income. In individual families child work raises the income of poor families relative to that of rich and thereby may reduce inequality. But at the societal level child workers constitute a weak unorganised segment putting downward pressure on unskilled wages as a whole. High level of child employment will be associated with greater inequality of income, wealth and material standards of living.

Cain and Mozumder have tried to show the effect of child-labour on fertility through the differential market structures. They compare labour markets in which wages are established on the

64. Dube, L. 'The economic roles of children in India - Methodological issues' in Rodgers and Standing.
65. Silva M. 'Urban Poverty and child-work: elements for the analysis of child work in Chile' in Rodgers and Standing.
66. See Cain and Mozumder, Rodgers and Stading.
basis of the work of individual and with those which generate a family subsistence wage. In the former the incentives for child work are higher and since higher real family income results from more work units at home, it provides incentives for higher fertility leading to social patterns characterised by higher levels of work and large families. In family based system such incentives are weaker. Using data from rural Bangladesh they identify a labour market structure corresponding to the individualistic wage model, associated with high levels of child-work and exceedingly low-wage levels.

ii) Social Relationships

Economic activities of children play an important, even, critical part in supporting a particular structure of social relationship. Schildkrout's study in Northern Nigeria confirms this. Here women's economic activities are ensured to continue, in spite of Purdah because children act as intermediaries or messengers - transporting good and carrying out errands - thereby freeing women from the need to appear in public. Morice argues that the small scale informal sector in West-African towns survive only because they can exploit cheap child-workers who yield to fake apprenticeship or low wages leading to low cost of production and swelling profits.


Effective elimination of child labour it is feared to harm many interests and require profound changes in the economic structure. Similarly the survival of carpet industry in Morocco owes its survival to child labour, where girls of less than 12 years are used in manufacturing carpets and they are given just rooms and food in the pretext of apprenticeship. This is the same case in the carpet industry in Moradabad in India.

iii) Effects on household and individual behaviour

Child labour will affect to a greater or lesser extent the behaviour of all those who gain or loose from it like changes in fertility patterns and labour supply patterns of household members, particularly that of mothers. The extent of child labour in rural areas also has potential implications for the level and incidence of rural emigration. For instance, the use of child-labour in domestic and farm activities may allow other family members to migrate in search of seasonal or more long term employment. Similar relationships can be foreseen with respect to marriage pattern, consumption behaviour and investment decisions by family production units.

iv) Personal Consequences

The main effect of child labour is on the welfare and development of the children themselves. Studies show that labour force activity will have adverse effect on the health and physical development of children. Work may use up scarce reserves of energy,
weaken resistance to debilitating diseases and expose children to risk of injury. In Japan research into the growth rates of young workers and school children showed that up to the age of 12, there was no difference in the height of the two groups, but later on, those who had started to work before the age of 14, were on an average 4 centimeters shorter than those who began their working life after the age of 18. Spondilitis has been reported to be present in child-workers who sit in the fixed position for hours at a time in Zari-embroidery industry. Damage to eye sight also is reported by Banerjee. Incidence of lead poisoning due to constant exposure to fine particles of Zari - also had been reported by him. Lifting heavy weights or Jobs requiring an abnormal posture can result in permanent spinal deformity cautions Challis and Elliman. Working of children in brick kilns, quarries, asbestos-factories and coal mines for a long period of time can lead to Silicosis, asestosis or phonmoconisis respectively in lungs. Children who have restricted social interaction due to long hours of work per day without holidays suffer the inevitable crippling effects on their emotional development. Other important effects are on education and intellectual development. In many cases early employment by depriving children of schooling and its associated credentials condemn them to a life-time of low status.
and to unskilled jobs. Smoking, drug addiction, smuggling and prostitution are common evils found among working children in India observes Banerjee. A study of 789 accidents caused by machinery in 13 American ** states has shown that 12 percent of the victims were between 5 and 14 years old. In glass industry in Firozabad where children work for 8 to 10 hours are exposed to unbearable working conditions due to the heat of furnaces at 1500° centigrade. This, it is reported to lead to dehydration, heat stroke, vomiting and giddiness and fainting besides accidents due to glass cuts and burns and eye diseases.

Part-II

f. Preventive and palliative approaches adopted in tackling the problem

The foregoing analysis of various aspects of child labour shows that child-labour has become more of exploitative than beneficial and its long-term effects are disastrous. In this context it is a painful to note that India has the largest number of working children on this planet. Within India nearly 50,000 children below

72. See Banarjee.S.


74. Ibid., pp.216-217.

the age of fourteen years are working in the glass industry, making it one of the highest concentration of child-labour in the world.

Governmental efforts in dealing with the problem of child-labour, their protection and ultimately elimination of practice of child-labour broadly fall into four categories:

1. Constitutional guarantees and legislative measures
2. Area and target group oriented development approach
3. Ameliorative services for children
4. Transformation of nature of work to suit the child's development.

At international level, a number of conventions (18) and recommendations laying down labour standards for the protection of children and young persons have been adopted by the International Labour Organisation. These can be classified under three broad groups viz.:

1. Minimum age for employment - there are ten I.L.O. conventions (Nos. 5, 7, 10, 15, 33, 58, 59, 60, 123 and 138) which prescribe minimum age for employment of workers engaged in various sectors like industry, sea, agriculture, underground work, non-industrial establishment etc.

2. Medical Examination - there are five I.L.O. conventions (Nos. 16, 73, 77, 78 and 124) which prescribe the production of a medical certificate of fitness before obtaining employment by young persons engaged in sea, industry, non-industrial employment and underground work.

3. Night work - three conventions (Nos. 6, 79, and 90) attempt to regulate working hours at night of young persons engaged in industry and non-industrial occupations.


Out of the 18, I.L.O. conventions India has ratified six. Of them, three pertain to minimum age restrictions for industrial workers, trimmers and stockers and underground workers; one relates to medical examination of young persons before employment at sea, and two pertain to restriction of night work for young persons engaged in various industrial undertakings relating to mines, quarries, manufacturing industries, construction, transport etc. Besides ratification of I.L.O. conventions other efforts taken by the Indian Government include making certain specific provision and statutory provisions in the constitution of India and enactment of legislations which are aimed at protection of children.
I lit; Asian Regional Iripari Ite Workshop held at Bangkok on Practical Areas to contribute to Child-labour in September, 1986 proposed policy measures like,

1. Reduction in illicit incidence of child-labour at a given rate over a period of time

2. Protection of young and most vulnerable children for eg. by prohibiting the employment of children below 12 to 15 years of age or below the age of completion of compulsory education

3. Abolition of child-labour in any type of work or employment which by its nature or the circumstances under which it is carried out is likely to jeopardise the health, safety or morals of children and young persons.

- A. Provision of general protection of working children through observance of minimum standards of welfare, safety and health at the work place.

a) Constitutional Provisions

Indian Constitution provides for the protection of children against exploitation and moral and material abandonment. Article 15(3) of the Constitution lays down that "nothing in this Article

shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children". Article-24 lays down - "No child below the age of the 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment." Article-39 says that, "the State shall in particular direct its policy towards securing(e) that the health and strength of the workers, women and men and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength and (f) that children and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment." Article-45 declares that, "the State endeavour to provide free and compulsory education for all children till the age of fourteen."

b) Labour Legislations

Legislative provisions date back to Factories Act of 1881 • It sought to regulate the working condition of children of all the workers. It prohibited the employment of children below seven years age and double, and fixed the hours of work. The enactments made subsequently were improvements on the 1881 Act.

India being a founder member of I.L.O. has ratified the legislations viz:

1. The Trade Unions Act, 1926

2. The Children (Pledging of Labour) Act, 1933
3. The Employment of Children Act, 1938

4. The Minimum Wages Act, 1948


Besides these, there are other legislations which prevent/regulate conditions of work of children like:


7. The Mines Act, 1952

8. The Merchant Shipping Act, 1958


10. The Apprentices’ Act, 1961


12. The Beedi and Cigar Worker's (conditions of Employment Act, 1966)

13. Shops and Establishment Acts in various States and Union Territories


The Trade Union Act, 1926 deals with child workers only marginally. Section-21 of this Act does not permit persons below the age of 15 to enroll themselves as the members of any registered trade union, enabling the employers of children to exploit and abuse child labour.
The children (pledging of Labour) Act, 1933 prohibits the making of agreements to pledge the labour of children and the employment of children whose labour has been pledged under such an agreement. 'Child under the Act' means a person who is under the age of 15 years; employing a child whose labour has been pledged is punishable with fine which may extend to Rs.200/-.

The employment of Children Act 1938, amended in 1939, 1948, 1949 and 1951 regulates the employment of children in certain industrial employment like transport of passengers, goods or mail by railways, or connected with a port authority within the limits of the port. It also prohibits the employment of children below 14 years in workshops connected with beedi-making, carpet weaving, cement manufacture, cloth printing, dyeing and weaving, manufacture of matches, explosives and fire-works, Mica cutting and splitting, shellac manufacture, soap manufacture, tanning and wool-cleaning.

Wages and Bonus: Minimum wages Act 1948 amended in 1954, 1957 and 1961 provides for the fixing of (i) a minimum time rate of wages (ii) a minimum piece-rate of wages (iii) a guaranteed time rate of wages and (iv) an over-time rate of wages for different occupations, locations or classes of work for adults, adolescent children and apprentices. It prohibits presence of children in any part of a mine which is below ground or in any open cast-working in which any mining operations is being carried out.
The Factories Act, 1948, amended in 1949 and 1954, prohibits the employment of a child (14 years) or an adolescent (15-18) unless he is certified by an authorised surgeon as to his physical fitness for work and carries a token to that effect while at work.

The plantations Labour Act, 1951 amended in 1953 and 1960, prescribes minimum age for employment as 12, and employment of a child of 12 and above 12 years requires a fitness certificate from an appointed surgeon for every 12 months.

The Mines Act, 1952 relates to the regulation of labour and safety in mines. The minimum age for employment in mines above ground is 15 years.

The Merchant Shipping Act of 1958 prohibits the employment of children under 15 years subject to certain exceptions. It empowers the Government to make necessary rules regarding employment of young persons as and when occasion demands.

The Motor Transport Workers Act, 1961 prohibits the employment of young persons under-15, in any capacity in the motor transport undertaking.

The Apprentices Act, 1961 amended in 1972, lays down that no person shall be qualified or being engaged as an apprentice or to undergo apprenticeship training in any designated trade unless he is atleast fourteen years of age and satisfies such standards of education and physical fitness as may be prescribed.
The Atomic Energy Act, 1962 prohibits the employment of children between the ages of 15 or 14 in certain specified sectors of the industry.

The Beedi and Cigar Workers (conditions of Employment) Act, 1966, had fixed minimum age of employment as 14 years.

Under Shops and Commercial Establishments Act (State Acts) the minimum age provided for employment is 12 years in all States except in the case of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry and Utter Pradesh where the limit fixed is 14 years.

The Children Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, is aimed at regulating child labour. Two significant changes are made in it compared to that of 1938 Act. One is the addition of construction work to the list of hazardous industries and hazardous process. Child Labour is to be banned only in hazardous process and not in the whole industry. The new law has enhanced punishments for employing child-labour. The bill aims to protect child labour in the unorganised sector, such as carpet, weaving, beedi and match industries. It has banned the employment of children below fourteen years age in specified occupations and processes and regulate conditions of work in employment where they are not prohibited from working.

But all these legislations and constitutional safeguards remain mere paper-work and employment of children goes unabated over decades.
Realising the ineffectiveness of these measures in tackling the problem effectively, the government appointed few commissions and committees to study the problem in order to control and eliminate it. The National Commission on Labour was appointed in 1969 to enquire into the conditions of child labourers. The Commission found that the "employment of children persists in varying degrees in the organised sector and that it is more than an economic problem than anything else". But it failed to recommend any legislative action. In 1974, a Working Group was set-up by the Department of Social Welfare to consider the various facets of the child-labour problem. Its recommendations were mostly of administrative in nature. The International Year of the Child (IYC) in 1979 provided another opportunity for all those concerned in this problem to expose to the world various dimensions of the problem and make the world aware of it and react to it. The government of India appointed the National Committee on Child Labour in 1979 under the Chairmanship of Shree M.S. Gurupadasamy to examine the dimensions of the problem, the occupations in which children are employed and to examine the existing laws, their adequacy and implementation and suggest selective action.

An outcome of the recommendations of Gurupadasamy Committee was the convening of Labour Minister's Conference of State Governments in 1983. The Conference recommended the setting-up of a sub-committee. Subsequently a Sub-committee consisting of Labour Ministers of Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal was set-up in 1983 to examine issues as to whether (a) the
minimum age of entry into employment for children should be raised uniformly in all industries and (b) whether we should have a law governing child labour. After studying the problem in child-labour concentrations in Varanasi, Sivakasi and Binnaguri-Dargeeling it observed that "the problem of child-workers cannot be simplified nor can it be treated separately as one existing by itself. It is a part of a very complex socio-economic phenomenon for which no quick or easy solution can be contemplated." However, the Committee recommended an uniform minimum age of entry into employment for all trades or industries and that anomalies in the 1938, and 1948 Acts be removed. Similarly it felt the need to amend the Shops and Commercial Establishments Acts of different States to make the minimum age for employment uniformly at 15 years. Due to the differential conditions of child labour throughout India it felt it impracticable to have a single comprehensive legislation to cover all aspects of working children in different industries because implementation of such a labour law would present formidable difficulties resulting perhaps in a greater outcry against harshness to child-workers and more so, to their parents. But it recommended the enactment of legislation covering (1) the non-formal education of the working children (2) compulsory medical check-up and health care (3) skill development and training (4) transport for working children and (5) contribution to provident Fund by the employers etc.

The three pronged National Policy on Child-labour announced by the Government of India envisages strict enforcement
of labour laws, welfare measures for working children and their families and a project based plan of action for rehabilitating of children after withdrawing them from prohibited employments. All these are in addition to the Child-labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986. While presenting the National Policy the Minister of State for Labour Mr. P. A. Sangma told that 30,000 children working in the ten projects would in the first phase be withdrawn and looked after by the government. The policy would ensure strict and effective enforcement of the provision of loans governing child-labour. Besides, on-going development programme would be utilised for the benefit of the child-labourers and their families. Socio-economic conditions will be created in which compulsions to send the children to work would diminish as the children would be encouraged to go to school. Special schools would be set up in the project areas for the working children having provisions for education, vocational training, supplementary nutrition, health care etc. If necessary, stipends would be given to children taken out of the for bid den employment to compensate them for the loss in earnings.

One off-spring of these recommendation was the enactment of Child-labour (Prohibitional Regulation) Act of 1986 and

another was the setting-up of National Child Labour Programme (NCLP) in order to provide welfare facilities to the working children and their families in ten selected child-labour concentrations like Match industry in Sivakasi, Dimond polishing industry in Surat, precious stone polishing industry in Jaipur, glass industry in Ferozabad, Lock-making in Aligarh, Hand-made carpet industry in Jammu & Kashmir, Makapur and in Madasur.

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The Sivakasi Project implemented since 1986 intended to cover 40,000 child-labourers employed in the match and fire works industries. Apart from child-labour, the beneficiaries include parents of these children and other low income disadvantaged groups. The immediate objective of the programme is to improve the health, nutritional status, working conditions, literacy and skills of child-labourers. It also aims at increasing the income levels of these families by covering them under the existing income-generating scheme like Integrated Rural Development Programme, National Rural Employment Programme and Rural Landless Labourer's Employment Generation Programme. Families which own land are to be given inputs such as irrigation facilities and assistance through banks. The National Child-Labour Programme has plans to provide education for children, as well as to start a school improvement scheme. Health Projects include construction of a 50 bed hospital in Sivakasi for working children, provision of supplementary feeding for working children.

ie. one substantial meal per working day (at a cost of approximately Rs. 1.25) is to be given to the child worker. Provision of non-formal education for child labourers to be given at the factory premises after working hours is also made.

c. Area and Target group oriented Development Approach

Under the poverty ameliorative scheme for 1987-88, the Union Ministry of Labour has sanctioned Rs. 5,98,362 as subsidy for various development schemes to be extended child-labour families in Sivakasi area. Initially as many as 110 child-labour families working in the match industries spread in three blocks viz. Sivakasi, Sathur and Vembakottai are selected for institutional finance through nationalised banks by way of loans with subsidies to selected families to buy milch animal, sheep, bullock carts etc., to eak out a decent livelihood. Loans also will be given with subsidy to start kiosks, cycle shops, petty cloth business etc. Special schools are proposed for educating child-labourers. As per the Scheme Rs. 3,000/- per child per year would be spent. About 2,000 child labours would be imparted fundamental education and also given free noon-meal, stipends and new dress. By 1989-90, the project was to cover 4,000 child-labourers. Non-formal education Centres are also opened by Human Resource Development, Ministry of Union Government. Such schools with function exclusively for child-labourers. The scheme was in

operation since 1984. Departments like Public Health and Preventive Medicine, Medical Services, Water Supply and Drainage Board, Education and Labour Department are involved in the Nutrition Project.

The focus of ameliorative services is on providing working children with basic services like health care, nutrition and education. The Social Inputs Area Development Programme implemented (5IAD) implemented since 198A in Sivakasi area under the auspices of the State Government and UNICEF with an outlay of Rs. 1.36 crores - aims to mitigate the deplorable working conditions prevailing in the match industry. Provision of health coverage drinking water supply, drainage, environmental sanitation, hygienic habits and non-formal education are envisaged under the programme.

Another approach emphasis on transforming the nature of work for children which would be conducive to their development instead of hindrance to them. Ministry of Labour has sponsored a few such experimental programmes in metropolitan areas and small towns. Under this, the employers hire youngsters not because they

82. The Hindu - Newspaper, February 6, 1986.
83. Naidu, U.S. "Exploitation of working children; situation Analysis and Approaches to Improve their conditions", Monograph, Unit for child and Youth Research, Tata Institute of Social Science, Deonar, Bombay-400 088.
are dependable and productive workers. These programmes are managed by non-governmental organisations wherein children are helped to grow and develop by intervening with their employers as well as families.

Part-III

Value of Children - Child Labour and Fertility Behaviour

One of the major factors found to be responsible for the perpetuation of child labour in developing countries is the presence of more children in the family. On the other hand it is also hypothesised that presence of child labour opportunities make poor parents opting for more children. Since the past two and half decades efforts were made to find out the proper linkage between child labour and fertility as child labour is considered as cause consequence of fertility.

Economic Theories of Fertility

In economic theory of fertility it is argued that utility of children has a relationship with fertility. The economic and security utility are supposed to out-weigh the cost of their bringing up in developing economics. The economic and security utility could be analysed in terms of the current and future utility. The current utility compares the economic benefits children render by working at home and out-sido and the physical security they provide to parents when they are disabled. The future utility would be in the form of financial; residential and physical support that children
provide to parents in their old age. Current and future utility of children vary by their work, school status, or the magnitude and intensity of work, the nature of activities performed and the wages earned and contributed to the family income by children vary by their work-school status. For those who study but do not work, the current-utility is the discounted value of their future utility. Those who work and do not attend school maximise their current work or income utility or both by discounting their future income utility. They give maximum current income utility to their parents. So, also they help in household duties. Parents who perceive and realise minimum current utility from their children do not necessarily belong to the upper socio-economic status of the society. They may be from among the poor also. It is a wrong notion that all poor households perceive and realise high work and income utility from their children. Those children who do not have any household assets to work with, or who do not find any work in the labour market could render only the minimum current utility to their parents. Those who neither attend school nor work may belong to the poorest section and those who attend school but do not work may belong to the upper class. In both the cases the current utility of children is minimum. So, economic value of children which includes child labour should not be seen in isolation but it should be understood in the light of the conditions which determine them.
Historical evidence

Repetto (1976) - from historical evidence argued that during 18th and 19th centuries in England child-force participation rates were high during Industrial Revolution. Coontz also (1957, 190) while discussing the evolution of the economic function of the poor families in England, observes that economic function of the family was not basically changed by the impact of industrialisation. Industrialisation led to the destruction of domestic industry and hence the depreciation of the economic contribution of women and children to their families. But their economic depreciation in the home was more than compensated for by the increased demand for women and children in industry and hence there was no economic stimulus for family limitation among the poor. Thus Coontz attributes the population growth during the period of Industrial Revolution to the growth of aggregate demand for labour particularly women and children. He also quotes the Soviet demographer's (Urlarus) observation of the fertility decline in England and Wales in the last quarter of the 19th Century partially due to the abolition of child-labour. But Flimn (1970) found no evidence forthcoming yet to show that opportunities for children's


employment really raised fertility. But in U.S.A. Labergott (1960) found fertility decline preceeding the decline in child-labour.

**Value of children and fertility**

Of the many problems which outwit the efforts of planners, administrators and demographers is the high fertility in the developing economics. Determinants of fertility have been explained by experts of different disciplines differently. One of the determinants of fertility dealt at length is the different dimensions of value and costs and children. Many approaches have emerged due to the efforts of economists, demographers, Sociologists, Psychologists and Anthropologists. Some view that economic changes brought about by industrialisation and urbanisation have created changes in the value and costs of children leading to differences in fertility. Institutional structure of society is viewed as determinant of utility and cost of children (Blake, 88 1972). Hoffman and Hoffman (62) have evolved a socio-psychological approach to the study of value of Children by incorporating all dimensions of value on cost.


of children and their effect on fertility decisions of parents. They have used five broad sets of variables, namely: Value of children, alternative sources of the value, costs barriers and facilitators. The value of children consists of nine categories. They are: (1) Adult status and social identify (2) Expansion of self, tie to larger entity, immortality (3) Morality, religion, altruism, good of the group, norms regarding sexuality, impulsivity, virtue (4) Primary group ties affiliation (5) Stimulations, novelty, fun (6) Creativity, accomplishment, competence (7) Power, influence, effectiveness (8) Social comparison and competitiveness and (9) Economic utility. The last one which is considered as important in developing economics is not given weight-age in this approach. Here the dimensions of the value of children are supposed to intervene socio-demographic factors and psychological and social orientations on the one hand and fertility and family planning on the other. Chung (1979;41) views the inter-relationship between values of children and family size decision as balances between two opposing forces of positive and negative values and child-bearing decision depending on the domination of the opposing ones. As long as positive values of children out-weight negative values, parents may continue to have more children and vice versa. Ridkar (1976)


and Mueller\textsuperscript{92} (1972) fear that economic value of children are more amendable to policy manipulations than non-economic values and costs of children. Mueller\textsuperscript{93} (1976:99) emphasises that economic value of children deserves separate study due to its bearing on the pace of economic development.

Preliminary results on the role of children in household economic activity in Philippines by Bryan\textsuperscript{94} (Byran L.Bouldier) 1976, shows value of children and estimates of the contribution of children to family income and also influence of children on the time allocation of parents. He found in farm families children share fifteen percent of work-time and their share of total family income approximated this percentage. Fifty percent of their income earning time was spent in wage earning jobs and about twenty-percent in income producing home production. Children were reported to contribute "One-fourth of the wage earning time out of family time devoted to income earning activities', children were much more important contributors to family time used in non-income home production and child


care accounting for approximately 30 percent of the former and 25 percent of the latter. Children in non-farm families, contributed about 49 minutes less a week to family income earning time, about 6 hours less in a week to non income home-production and about one half hours more to child-care. The total amount of income contributed by children in farm and non farm families were quite similar—one of the determinants of children's time allocation on children of ages seven and above was parent's education. An increase in the education of parents increased the amount of time spent by children in school with the co-efficient on mother's education being larger than the one on father's education. An increase in father's education diminished the time children devoted to income earning activities, child care and home production but increased their leisure. The effects of mother's education were similar. An increase in family wealth was associated with an increase in the time children devoted to school, child care and leisure and decreased the time spent on working or in home-production. An increase in the hourly wage rate of children increased children's child care time and home production time at the expense of leisure. Each additional family member in the household slightly increased the amount of time children spent on the care of younger siblings and income earning activities and increased their time devoted to other activities. Children's presence had a considerable influence on their parents' allocation of time. Children of all ages appeared to stimulate fathers to work longer time, younger children reduced mother's time in income earning activities and their
leisure. Older male children substituted for mothers' work time and to a lesser extent child-care and home production time and their presence raised mother's time spent in income earning activities. Older children of both the sexes increased substantially mother's leisure.

**Anthropological Evidence**

Nag et al (1976) have in their anthropological time budget study on the economic value of children in Java and Nepal tried to estimate directly the contribution of children's labour in terms of average time spent per day in different types of activities and demonstrated that "the work input by children in Javaness and Nepalese villages is quite substantial" (p.301). This study tried to determine the economic value of children by measuring child labour. They have distinguished between "directly productive work" and "household maintenance" work. They also found that at the current rate of reproduction and under the existing circumstances, children probably have a net positive economic value to their parents apart from the old age security they provided (P.301). Nag examined the sibling number as a determinant factor of child work participation and found that children in larger families tending to be more productive (in terms of time input) than those in small families. The reason being that younger children in large families are encouraged by the example of elder siblings to participate in all kinds of work at an early age. But they could not find a straight forward and direct relationship

between the economic contribution of children and their labour utility to their parents could not be recognised in the rural areas.

It is commonly felt that in developing countries where the cost of bearing and rearing children is low and where children enter into labour force at a very early age, a surviving child seems to be a good asset. Probably this is the rationale of rural couples preference to high fertility. However, it cannot be denied that the tangible contribution of children to household income has a major role to play in the fertility decision making of rural couples.

Simulation Techniques

Using simulation technique Eva Mueller had constructed tentative production and consumption profile by age and sex of children and combined them in both aggregate and life-cycle model situations. The study result indicated that viewed from either life cycle or aggregate perspective, children probably have 'negative economic value' in peasant agriculture. Up to the time they become parents themselves, children consume more than they produce.

Though many of these studies have collected elaborated data on the activities of children in peasant economic they have not paid due attention to establish any relationship between child labour and fertility from either time series data or cross sectional data. But majority of the studies have shown that in rural, traditional
agricultural societies children have a net economic value to their parents.

Cross National Studies Approach

In a cross national study of the value of children (Arnold et al, 1975) economic dimensions were studied within socio-psychological dimensions of value of children. It was found that rural parents emphasised strongly the economic benefits and security from children, while urban middle class parents stressed emotional benefits provided by children. Urban lower-class respondents also found more emotional benefits as compared to economic benefits.

Thailand study (Arnold and Perjaranonda 1977) had brought out a more systematic relationship of perceived economic utility and cost of children with fertility behaviour. High perceived utility of children was found to be associated with low education, low income and farming families. Multivariate analysis confirmed that high fertility desires and low contraceptive use related to husband’s perception of high economic utility of children and low cost of children. An econometric analysis of demographic survey


in Philippines showed that "the strongest confirmation of the determinants of desired family is displayed by the positive co-efficient for child-labour participation indicating that where opportunities exist for children, to help and provide support for the family the parents desire a larger family." (Harman 1970)\(^98\)

United Nation's study (1973) in many countries using national census data on economically active population of various age-groups shows an inverse relationship between degree of industrialisation and child labour participation. It adds support to the hypothesis that economic value of children is greater in agricultural societies than in industrial societies. Nag (1972, 62) gives three reasons for the high economic value of children in agricultural societies: (1) households being the main units of production in agricultural societies, need and facilitate the unpaid labour contribution of children (2) seasonal variation in the demand for labour in agricultural societies makes it necessary for children to join the labour force at an early age (3) prolonged training necessary for effective participation in


industrial production keeps children out of the labour force in industrial societies. On the other hand Schumann's (1982) study of a village in Mexico had tried to link fertility to the perceived relative value of children and found no significant relationship.

An analysis of cross national data of 49 countries showed significant positive correlation between labour force participation rate of children and fertility and concluded that an economic structure where child-labour plays an important part is conducive to high fertility (Kasarda 1971). Analysis of data from many individual developing countries like Egypt (Schults, 1972), Chile (Davanzo, 1972), Thailand (Maurer Ratajezak and Schultz, 1973) and Philippines (Harrman, 1970) shows evidence of positive correlation between


child labour participation rate and fertility. Study in Philippines applying household production framework to micro data shows that "an increase in the value of Child-time has significant positive effect on the completed fertility of the households" (Rosenzweig, 1978). Schull's and Davanzos' studies found significant positive regression co-efficient for child-labour participation rates and negative co-efficients for child-school enrollment rates, with various measures of fertility as dependent variable.

**Economic models of fertility behaviour**

Another approach to the study of determination of fertility involves the use of economic models which have emerged during the last few decades. Some models have tried to apply the micro-economic theory of consumption directly, while others have used cost-benefit techniques. Some models stress the demand side of fertility decisions. A few others have emphasised the supply side besides considering the demand aspects. The different shades of micro theory of fertility try to give an economic interpretation for the differentials in fertility. Value of children is analysed in terms of benefits and costs, Benefits are commonly viewed in terms of income utility, work utility and security utility. It is theorised that while psychict utility motivates affluent urban families to

have children, the economic value of children is a major motivation of demand for children in rural areas (Fawcett, 1972, Schultz 1973-5 and Caldwell, 1976, 193-253, Wong 1977, 323-324).

The pure economic theory put forth by Becker and Chicago and Columbia School deals with the demand side of fertility decisions. In the micro theory of fertility Garg S. Becker (Becker 1960, 209-40) for the first time made a 'Systematic model using the Hicksian Indifference curve Approach' to explain the process of decision making on family size. Individual fertility behaviour is explained in terms of the relationship between household income and demand for children given the contraceptive knowledge and practice. He saw positive relationship between income and demand for children, He says "An increase in income increases both the quantity and


quality of children, but the quantity elasticity of demand for children is smaller than the quality elasticity of demand for children" (Becker, 1960, 174). He theorised, "Fertility is determined by income, child-costs, knowledge uncertainly and tastes" (p.231). He assumed that children can be considered as commodities yielding consumer satisfaction and parents try to optimise their total satisfaction with respect to prices and income. With additional income, parents would like to increase the quantity and quality of the commodity i.e.; children, but their quantity elasticity is smaller than their quality elasticity. He hypothesised that an increase in income leads to an increase in fertility when tastes, costs and contraceptive knowledge, are kept constant. He found a secular decline in American fertility showing positive relationship with income when contraceptive knowledge was held constant. His model is based on the idea that parents make calculations for achieving a certain family size but the model ignored social costs and benefits in fertility decisions making.

Mincer’s version of micro-economic theory of fertility has accommodated child cost to include the opportunity cost of parents as additional children may reduce the capacity of mothers to work for wage. When opportunity cost is measured in terms of wages foregone by mothers, he finds a negative effect on fertility.

Considerable theoretical work had been done during 1970, under the "New Home Economics Approach" wherein the economic value of human time is a crucial factor. In the case of fertility decisions, rising price of time tends to increase the price of children relative to the other goods and services because children are more time intensive than other kinds of durable goods. Hence, from the fertility point of view, the value of mother's time is more valuable than that of father's. Mullineaux (1977) observes 'some studies having considered the statistical relationship between family size and the price of parents' time. The relationship between the father's wage and family size is unclear, but several studies have found that a higher value of mother's time is associated with a lower number of children in the family. These studies typically use a women's wage or number of years of education as a measure of the value of time'. If so, how to answer the riddle of rich families having few children? Propagandists of 'New Home Economics' try to answer it, through 'Price effect' and 'Higher quality effects' according to which the positive income effect is offset by prices of children in relation to others goods. Hence, rich couples try to substitute other consumer goods for children. Another price effect is linked with value of mother's time which depends on the working status of mother. Again higher income families prefer 'higher quality' 

children and so the demand for 'child services' can be met with few but higher quality of children.

By 1975 Harvey Leibenstein put forth an economic theory of population growth using cost-benefit analysis. He identified six types of benefits from children.

They are:

1. Consumption utility i.e. as a source of personal pleasure to parents.
2. Work economic utility i.e. as a source of labour or income.
3. Economic risk-education utility i.e. the risk of failure of some children to contribute can be minimised with more children.
4. Old age security
5. Long-run family status maintenance i.e. the family status attached to children when they fulfil religious and social obligations.
6. Contribution to extended family.

Cost of children include both direct and indirect. Direct cost are those of feeding, clothing, sheltering, and educating of an additional child. Indirect cost are those of educational and earning opportunity foregone by mother in opting for an additional child, the earning foregone by the child if it goes to school, the decreased mobility of parents and shifts in the allocation of parental
time between domestic and non-domestic activities when economic development takes place, and when family income increases, some economic utilities of children tend to decline. The Work economic utility of children declines first as their economic contribution becomes less important and also due to decline of child-employment opportunities with industrialisation, urbanisation, occupational mobility and emergence of nuclear families. 'The nuclear family implies that the economic success or failure of children cannot be appreciated to a significant degree by the parents (Leibenstein 1975, 492). Again at higher income parents can save more for their old-age besides availing themselves of State’s pension payments and so they need not reply on children for old age security. Regarding cost, he is sceptical about the efficacy of price effect offsetting the positive income effect because he feels that as development proceeds, increased in cost of child-rearing need not increase proportionately to increase in income. Hence, he introduced a new theory of consumption based on social status considerations that are critical to the explanation of the utility cost of children. He feels that desires for status maintenance and the fulfilment of new consumption targets compare with child-rearing. Economic development ensures upward movement of households from lower income to higher socio-economic status. The lower income group tries to emulate the 'life style' of the higher income groups, particularly in the possession of status goods. Besides acquisition of certain status goods becomes a target to the family. Thus the pressure to attain or maintaining the increasing standard of consumption makes it difficult to support more children as before.
Easterlin's Model

Another economic approach to fertility analysis was adopted by Easterlin,112 1975. While the earlier micro-economic theories of fertility emphasised the demand for children as the pivot to fertility behaviour; Easterlin's approach gives importance to production aspect of children. It is termed as 'potential output of children' the number of surviving children a house-hold would have if fertility were not deliberately limited (p 500). According to him the demand for children, the potential output of children and cost of fertility regulation (contraception) may determine fertility behaviour indirectly by or in combination. While the demand for children depends on income; prices and tastes the potential output of children depends on natural fertility and the probability of a baby surviving to adulthood. If the potential output falls short of demand-an "excess demand" situation-there is no desire to limit fertility. On the other hand if the potential output exceeds demand-an "excess supply" situation-there is a demand to limit fertility. Again the extent of fertility control also depends on the magnitude of both the psychic and market costs of fertility. The extent of fertility control also depends on the magnitude of both the psychic and market costs of fertility regulation. He also introduced the concept of

'potential income flow through time', which gives a broader definition for the income concept used in the Becker's model. This concept measures both prospective income and the income foregone by the family at one point of time where children enter into labour market at early ages. The exani-expectations of the contribution of children to family's prospective income would directly affect the fertility decision of couples. If the economic contribution of child is available to parents during their family formation stage, they may be tempted to go in for more children to increase the overall economic benefits accruing to them from their children. He thinks that no society is completely ignorant of contraceptive knowledge, but the pecuniary and psychological costs involved in the contraceptive practices which determine the differentials in fertility between the rich and the poor. He feels that in rural areas the psychological and monetary costs of contraception practice are more than the net cost of an additional child (Easterlin, 1969). The low net cost of children in rural societies could be due to the productive role of children from their youngest ages and a low pecuniary cost of rearing them.

Wong's study showed that cost of bearing and rearing farm children


is much lower than that of non-farm children. Studies of Ben Porath and Gronau115 showed that the opportunity cost of bearing children in rural areas is quite smaller than that in urban area.

While Becker's and Easterlin's models are considered to be applicable for only advanced economics Schults believes that his "New Home Economics" applies to the family size decisions in less developed economics. However, United Nations Secretariat117 (1975, 483) feels "although these new developments are important contributions to the theory of fertility behaviour of developed countries it is not clear how useful they are in explaining the behaviour in developing countries. It may, perhaps be argued that a better basis for the formulation of a theory of fertility behaviour in developing countries may be formed by three types of utilities identified by Leibenstein". The household model approach to determinants of fertility behaviour had been criticised by both economists and non-economists as they feel that other motives for having children also have to be studied in depth.


Another approach to fertility analysis worth mentioning is that of "Intergenerational wealth flow-analysis" by Caldwell. Based on Asian and African Setting, he argues that fertility decline is the result of changes in the family's internal economic structure. He found two types of economies: familial based peasant economy and non-familial based capitalistic economy in the rural areas which are distinguished by their organisation or mode of production. The former type of production is characterised by extended family obligation and assistance, and the net wealth flows from younger to older generation (Male) giving them decision-making power and material advantage. "Power in economic decision making usually means power in demographic decision making" (Caldwell, 557) Hence "high fertility is advantageous to the peasant family as a whole and to its most powerful members" (p.550) Large families enable division of labour, meet seasonal demand for labour, cooperative tasks become easier and ultimately lead to prosperity. Fertility remains high as long as the internal economy and the relations of the familiar mode of production i.e. husband engaged in wage earning (capitalistic model) and wife and children in household services (familial model), supports high fertility. Fertility decline occurs along with the transformation from familial capitalistic production which makes high fertility economically not advantageous because intergenerational wealth flows in

favour of children—due to the change in the social regime. He postulated two types of fertility regime separated by a great economic divide. In the post-divide situation, since the wealth flow is towards children there is no economic gain. He stresses that economic divide has to be reached not by economic conditions but by a social phenomenon in which “family is largely nucleated both emotionally and economically, with the former proceeding the latter.”

Many studies undertaken in different parts of the world to assess the economic contribution of children to their parents. Some of these studies have tried to explore the linkage between the economic value of children and fertility in the less developed economics.

**Wealth flow theory**

Caldwell\(^{119}\) (1976, 78-79) through his studies in Ghana and Nigeria tried to measure children’s activities and analyse them in terms of sex, age, education and size of centre of residence to measure parents’ concept of costs and benefits of children and to trace all wealth flows in each direction between parents and children. He observed that in partly subsistence economy children are not only producers for the market and for household consumption

\(^{119}\) See Caldwell J.C. *Fertility and the household economy in Nigeria.*
they also provide subsistence services and make life for adults peasanter and more gracious than it would otherwise be. He found schooling, reducing the number of children engaged informing and marketing and urbanisation reducing the number of boys engaged in farming. He recorded parents saying that children who were not at school brought more income than the cost incurred on them till they were about 15 years of age, while those still at school never did so. He found a net life-time flow of wealth from the younger to the older generation. Major wealth flows include childrens productive labourer, children's household work, children's material and physical help in times of parental sideness and old age, children's contribution to the family and community festivities and ceremonies, contributions from educated children employed in modern sector, extended family's mutual obligations and community help facilitated by high fertility and children's marriage. He found fertility remaining high and economically rational until the wealth flows are reversed.

A study on economic activities of children in Bangladesh by Cain shows interesting facts. He found that costs of children and their contribution to the household economy having direct relevance to fertility decisions. Accepting that male children do involve current return of a "positive net "yield" and considering

their utility in other sex-segregated markets, generate positive ferti-
licity incentives in two ways - (a) through the constraints on female
child productivity (i.e parents need to produce two children on
an average in order to come up with one potential earner); b) through
the additional risks that, economic dependence imposes on women
and the special significance of sons as a hedge against such risks,
the labour market structure of village area entails a high degree
of risk from labourer's stand point. In this setting the rationale
for "portfolio diversification" is strong and it provides an additional
positive incentive for high fertility. He also shows that children
of both sexes began to work and put in relatively long hours of
work at young age, Male children appear to become net producers
atleast by 12, compensate for their cumulative consumption by age
15, and compensate for their own sister's cumulative consumption
by age 22. Male children in particular represent a means of supple-
menting income and accumulating and economic wealth within their
parents' life-time. Cains showed that productivity-wise boys of
well-to-do families were found to be engaged in more income producing
activities than boys of land-less families.

One of the criticisms of this study (Vlassoff\textsuperscript{121})
is that it has limited aim of demonstrating that by quite early ages
children become "net producers" and he feels that there is no link

\textsuperscript{121} See Michael Viansoff "An assessment of studies linking child
labour and fertility behaviour in less developed countries".
found between child work and fertility. Neglect of household structure and its relation to pattern of child work was considered to delimit the scope of assessing as to whom economic benefits accrued or whether the persons benefitted also made fertility decisions. The methodology employed to assess benefits was also considered to have resulted in over estimation of benefits of child work.

**A Critical appraisal**

Vlassoff\(^{122}\) has questioned the practical significance of the theory of intergenerational flows of wealth as almost all less developed countries have now sufficiently progressed beyond the stage in which such a theory would have validity. He questions the application of authorisation extended family structure with the partiaarchial model in other less developed countries in the present context of rapid change in technology, education, urbanisation and even rural industrialisation occuring in them. The abundant land where child-labour could be fruitfully employed does not fit in with the realities of the present day world, he observes. Again equation of wages for different types of child work may pose problems and hence Lividert\(^{123}\) (1983) views child labour as a means of freeing adults, usually the mother to undertake more productive activities.

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and thus children in less developed countries are viewed as "time-supplying". Here again valuation of each unit of time freed it is felt will be difficult to evaluate.

One criticism of the different studies which show the net positive value of child labour and its positive effect on fertility is that they have failed in their purpose. Most of these studies are found to have ignored certain important criteria like costs of raising children, the economic context (particularly the possibility of productive use of adults’ time freed by the activity of children), the importance of education (in changing tastes and preferences from quantity to quality of children and increasing costs while reducing benefits), the need to bring fertility into research design and at the same time to confront the problem of the direction of causality (from child-labour to fertility or Vice-versa). Though ethnographic evidence is scattered, these studies give a reasonable detailed account of the types of work done by children of both the sexes in different ages (Nag 124 1972). Not much attempts have been made by social anthropologists to quantify the economic contribution of children and relate it with fertility behaviour.

Indian Evidence

Unfortunately not much systematic efforts have been made so far in this regard in India. Available evidences on

the link between economic benefits of children and fertility in India are mostly inconclusive due to insufficient data base still in this context, the pioneering work done by Mamdani, M. (1972) is worth mentioning. Through his study of Punjab farmers he observed that fertility was high in Punjab because high fertility makes good economic sense. He found "an over whelming majority of the people….. have a large number of children not because they over estimate their infant mortality rate, but because they want large families. More important, they want them because they need them." Unlike the findings in Khanna study where it was reasoned that process such as land fragmentation would encourage the adoption of fertility control, Mamdanis' argument is that when faced with such pressures people would want larger number of off-springs to augment family income. Children helped their parent's economic position in a whole variety of ways; — they performed tasks around the house sons of agricultural labourer's could earn wages at harvest time, while for the land owners themselves, offsprings could reduce the need to pay wage labour, with more sons a man could increase savings and expand his ownership of land. Thus for the majority of population "a large family means a great income during the busy season and higher savings for the slow season". For agricultural labour households "family planning means voluntarily reducing the family's

labour force. This would mean courting economic disaster and would therefore be extremely irrational”. He stressed the growth of capitalistic relations of production, which he contended increased the demand of parents for children. “The farmer's children can be of considerable assistance, even while they are young”, (pp. 99) “In fact primary responsibility for the cattle can be left to the children and the adults' load lightened a little” (p.99). “If a farmer’s wife has no young children it would means intolerable hardship, (p.99) "seasonality of employment does not affect child labour since children are mostly employed looking after cattle, or doing house work. (p.100) He also discussed the security value of children and their potential as sources of support in old age. He argued that Punjab villagers desired as many children as possible for economic reasons. He found that in poor rural agricultural societies, lots of children were a highly prized possession because they are good economic investments both in the short and long runs. Similar arguments can be found in the writings of D. Monte (1975 Mitra (1973) Sinha (1975), Mandalbalm1 (1974), Nadkarni J (1976)


and in the studies of Khan (1977) Poffenberger (1968).

Khan's study of Muslims in Kanpur city (1979) showed significant negative relationship between perceived benefit of children and number of children ever born, whereas, perceived burden of children had no significant explanatory effect. Mahadevan (1979) in his study in South India that the importance attached to the role of children as source of labour and income significantly explained the fertility variations in the caste groups. The findings of a household time-allocative econometric model applied to the 1961 census data pertaining to the rural population of Indian support the hypothesis that one of the basic conditions motivating Indian families to bear relatively large number of children was the high return to the use of raw labour power of children compared to investments in obtained in schools (Rosenzweig and Evenson, 1977).

A study conducted in rural West Bengal (Bhatta-charya and Hayes, 1983) tried to shed some light on whether


in child labour workers as a positive motivation for fertility in less developed rural areas, as most have maintained, or whether children in urban context may also possibly make positive net contribution. The study tries to identify the determinants of fertility and the direction of causality between it and child-labour. This is done by analysing the pattern of labour participation of adults and children to determine whether fertility rises when children begin to contribute economically or vice versa. Though the results were not convincing, the study made a serious attempt to link fertility and child labour. The authors highlighted the importance of education in reducing child labour as they feel, economic development leads to increase educational opportunities. This initially may have a prontalistic effect and lead to higher fertility. Later, however parents find their that increased costs prevent them from school to work. The added income in no way competensates for the low level of education to which these children are forever more condemned and this generates an anti-natalistic attitude possibly leading to lower fertility. Though no data was collected prove this thesis in its entirety, the study furnishes some partial evidence.

Vlasoff's study in Maharashtra tried to link child-labour (and old age security) with fertility and family planning behaviour. It placed less reliance on child-labour and

more on the value that father's perceived such labour to have. The findings showed that child-labour probably did not motivate high fertility. He reported that children were economically active only among rich families and argues that the rich families who owned land, provide more opportunities for the economic contribution of their children. He found that "The common sense view of young children as poor man's capital is not accurate and clear in the surveyed area. Economic costs outweighed the benefits of son's up to the 16 years of age".

A study conducted in rural Karnataka (Ramesh Kambarqi and P.M. Kulkarni) to find out the extent and the manner in which child labour and schooling affect fertility, found the gross association between child labour and fertility being positive and between child schooling and fertility negative. However, the direct effect of child labour on fertility was insignificant.

A micro study of fisher women in Andhra Pradesh showed that the number of non-adult earners significantly correlated with fertility (Murthy and Rao, 1979).

Another study conducted in the Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh (Naidu A.U., 1982) tried to analyse the inter-

136. Ramesh Kanbarqi & P.M. Kulkarni - "Child labour, Schooling and fertility in Rural Karnataka, South India" (undated) population Research Centre, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore, India.

137. Quoted in Naidu A.D., p.36.

relationship between value of children and fertility in child labour and non-child labour households. The existence of different types of child-labour and absence of child-labour differentially influenced fertility behaviour and child-labour manifested a decessive pro-natalistic influence. The study supports the proposition that fertility and economic status are positively related in traditional societies irrespective of the existence of child-labour and child-schooling. Occupations providing higher child-earnings promoted higher fertility. Past-child-labour was found to have a positive influence on fertility. The perceived labour value of children was positively related to fertility which was found significant in all the sectors studied. In conformity with the economic theories of fertility the data confirmed the hypothesis that the perception of child-cost was inversely related to fertility in each sector. The study showed that children were perceived economically less useful in the child-school sector and more useful in the two child-labour sectors. Perceived value of children was a universally pronatalistic force in the population under study. Economic values of sons were important in child-labour sector and old age security utility of sons was uniformly found in all the sectors. Similarly, economic roles of girls were important in child-labour sector and presence of higher aspirations for children's future was associated with low fertility in all the three sectors.

In a study in Rural Karnataka (AbusalaSherief,

1984) it was found that children in the study area worked as wage earners in addition to contributing their labour services to family agriculture and thus contributing substantially to the rural economy. Small land-holders—who had to use labour intensive cultivation to reap sufficient yield expected to have a large number of children especially male and the motivation to limit family size was almost certainly marginal. There had been sex-dominated work roles with girls rarely undertaking regular wage employment (as their primary activity) but in secondary employment their contribution was substantial. Demand for child-labour differed between the villages studied and the proportion of child-labour was a function of seasonality and demand for labour. All female child workers on farm were from scheduled caste and girls worked on farms where their mothers or some other female relatives worked. Determinants of child-labour differed among caste group. Among scheduled caste parents, he found high fertility advantageous because children of either sex contributed income from a fairly younger age. The steep decline in the demand for child labour in the area was found to discharge parents from having a large number of children. Certain child works like child-care and households duties sickness or pregnancy of a women were found to have demographic implications—many women chose to undergo tubectomt because of the lack of support in performing household functions during repeated pregnancy and after child-birth. Certain economic forces operating in the rural families (like unchanged wage and increasing cost of schooling) tended to reduce the economic value of children across the cross-section of the population—different
groups being affected differently. In this changed situation, for majority of the population studied the economic transfer of the wealth flow was from the parents to the children; a very essential support to induce high fertility thus has been weakened. A consistent increase in the acceptance of family planning in the larger villages partially confirmed that villagers were beginning to evaluate the relative cost and benefits - which will decrease family size in future. But in the smaller villages a fast decline in fertility in the absence of the implementation of labour saving agricultural innovations at a village or regional level may likely to create pressure on children who may be forced to undertake more physical jobs and also bear a greater burden of the family affairs at younger ages in the absence of other siblings to share responsibilities. Added to this, existence of other factors like stable or fairly high infant and child mortality, increased risk that sons may not provide support in old age were prone to enhance the desire for having more children as an insurance against such risk.

Another recent study conducted in six villages of Karnataka showed that the burden of collecting fire-wood for the family falls on children with two serious implications children become vital necessity from the stand point of activity that determines the survival of the family and children must be removed from school to carry out these crucial activities (A.K.N. Reddy 54, 1982).
Though majority of these studies reviewed show the pronatalistic effect of child-work utility; they are criticised on many grounds (Vlassoff, 1979), Dandekar, 1971, Srinivasan and Ramasamy (1977) Kulkarni (1979), Tim Dyson (1986) on aspects like methodology used in assessing benefits, estimation of cost, causality of relationship of variables and differences in frame work of analysis etc.

Relevance to the Present Study

Labour value of children in different areas may differ due to differentials in work input of children. In India where the social institutions and labour market structure, organisation of productive are different and so also poverty and levels of socio-economic development, there may be variations in the labour value

140. Quoted in Ramesh Kambargi, 1986


of children across the country and even within a State or district. Variations in child work participation (given the framework of micro theory of fertility) have implications on the parental perception of the economic value of children and the fertility decision making of the couples. Hence more and more areas specific micro-level studies are needed to ascertain the linkage and the direction of causations between child labour and fertility as both these problems elude our planners and administrators for long.

The present study is proposed to generate new ideas for the first time on several determinants of child-labour and child labour in relation to fertility in Tamil Nadu population. Moreover trends in the growth and distribution of child labour in Tamil Nadu as a whole district wise and occupation wise is analysed for the first time with reference to the past 3 decades and also currently by undertaking micro studies in four district of Tamil Nadu. The present study has generated more new ideas for the first-time on several child-labour and child-labour in relation to fertility. More over trends as a whole and district wise is analysed in the context. Changes in the sex-wise and occupation wise distribution of child labour and inter industry and intra industry mobility of child labour in differencial districts during the period mentioned is also analysed. It is a new attempt in the study of child labour in Tamil Nadu. Further, it examines the existing theoritical basis on economic and demographic models and identify its affirminy and differences with the exising literature which can be seen through
the results of path analysis presented at the end of this thesis. Added to these, linking child-labour in relation to fertility was not attempted so far in Tamil Nadu and therefore it forms an innovative effort in this direction. Thus a combined study on the determinants of child-labour followed by determinants of fertility forms yet another innovation in this study since child labour forms the most important determinant of fertility the linkage between these two has to be identified as one of the neglected areas of the broader concept of child labour and hence this study is conceived taking clue form the proceeding review of literature.