CHAPTER II
Review of Literature

Introduction
The purpose of review of literature is three fold.

1) It places on record general and discipline specific literature on the research problem selected by the researcher.
2) It contributes in exploring research gaps in the existing knowledge.
3) It guides collection of empirical facts (data) and contributes in developing hypothesis and set of research questions.

The review of literature done by the researcher with regard to the present study is grouped into two categories namely: a) General review of literature, b) Sociological literature.

A. General Review of Literature:
In this category, general writers, social thinkers and social scientists other than sociologists are made. The reflections of these scientists on the concept of migration, seasonal migration, bonded labour, child, child labour, child rights, awareness of child rights, informal sector, cultural issues of child rights and child labour and the issues of sugarcane cutters and brick kiln labourers is made. This section also discusses policy issues regarding child labour and child rights among tribal communities.

B. Theoretical Framework:
In this section the theoretical framework and structural model related to research problem is discussed. Based on the analytical reflections on the research reported in above two categories hypothesis have been developed. Given this background, the first part of the general review of literature present the concept of child, child labour and child work.

A. General Review of Literature:
Tribes are “scheduled” under Article 342 of the Indian Constitution. These scheduled tribes are the tribal communities or groups within these communities that are listed in each State/Union territory separately under the Presidential Order “The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes List, Modification Order, 1956,” (Census of India, 1991).

The Constitution of India incorporates several special provisions for the promotion of educational and economic interests of scheduled tribes are their protection from injustice and exploitation. The Tribal Sub-Plan strategy is the vehicle for this. This initiative was adopted at the start of the Fifth Five Year Plan, (1975-1979). The Ministry of Tribal Affairs was formed in October 1999 to take care of scheduled tribes. At around the same time, the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment was formed to assist Scheduled Castes (Tribhuwan Robin & Sherry Karen; 2004).

I. Profile of Tribals in India - According to Anthropological Survey of India, there are 750 tribal groups having a population of 843 lakhs (84 million), which amounts to 8.15% to the total population of the country according to the 2001 census. The State of Maharashtra ranks second in the country after Madhya Pradesh as regards the size of tribal population is concerned. Out of the 750 tribal groups, the Government of India, Ministry of Tribal Affairs has classified 75 groups as PVTGs. Recently the Government of India, Ministry of Tribal Affairs has used another term for PVTGs and i.e. Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs).

This change has been done considering the discriminatory term Primitive Tribal Groups, as it does not fit into the International Human Rights concept. In Maharashtra there are three PVTGs, namely the Katkaris, Kolams and Madias.

The focus of the study is on Katkaris – The Brick Kiln Workers and another major tribe from North-western Maharashtra called Bhils – the
sugar cane cutting tribe. Table No. 1 reveals the population of the tribals in the country.

Table 2.1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>State/Union Territory</th>
<th>Population Total</th>
<th>Population Tribal</th>
<th>Percentage of tribal population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>762.10</td>
<td>50.24</td>
<td>6.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>10.98</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>64.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>266.55</td>
<td>33.09</td>
<td>12.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>829.98</td>
<td>7.58</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>208.54</td>
<td>66.17</td>
<td>31.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>138.51</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>13.48</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>506.71</td>
<td>74.81</td>
<td>14.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>211.44</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>60.78</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>4.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>101.43</td>
<td>11.06</td>
<td>10.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Jharkhand</td>
<td>269.46</td>
<td>70.87</td>
<td>26.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>528.51</td>
<td>34.64</td>
<td>6.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>318.41</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>603.48</td>
<td>122.34</td>
<td>20.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>968.79</td>
<td>85.77</td>
<td>8.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>21.67</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>34.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>23.19</td>
<td>19.93</td>
<td>85.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>8.39</td>
<td>94.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>19.90</td>
<td>17.74</td>
<td>89.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>368.05</td>
<td>81.45</td>
<td>22.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>243.59</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>365.07</td>
<td>70.98</td>
<td>12.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>20.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Tamilnadu</td>
<td>624.06</td>
<td>6.51</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>31.99</td>
<td>9.93</td>
<td>31.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>1661.98</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Uttarakhand</td>
<td>84.89</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>3.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>801.76</td>
<td>44.07</td>
<td>5.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ID | Union Territories |
---|-------------------|
1. | Andaman & Nicobar  |
2. | Chandigarh         |
3. | Dadra & Nagar Haveli |
4. | Diu and Daman      |
5. | Lakshadweep        |
6. | Pondicherry        |
7. | India              |

(Source: Census of India, 2001)
It is evident from the Table No. 1.1 that the tribal population of Maharashtra is second largest tribal population after the State of Madhya Pradesh.

**II. Profile of Tribals in Maharashtra**: Now we shall see what tribes are found in the State of Maharashtra, what are their names, what their population is and what is their decadal growth from 1981 census, as would be revealed by table number 1.2 and table number 1.3 respectively.

Table No.1.2 : Tribe-wise Total Population of the Maharashtra as per 1981, 1991, 2001 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name of Tribe</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Andh</td>
<td>231871, 295380, 372875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Baiga</td>
<td>546, 886, 481</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2.1 Tribe wise total Population of Maharashtra as per 1981, 1991, 2001 census
III. Development Status of Sugarcane cutting & Brick-making migrant labourers: From the above facts it is evident that the social, economic, educational, health, nutritional and political status of the general tribes and those involved in informal sector and more precisely in sugar cane cutting and brick making profession is totally different and projects a wide gap between both the groups. In Maharashtra predominantly found tribes working in these two sectors are the Bhils & Katkaris.
The issue of child rights and child labour among the Bhils (Sugarcane cutters) and among the Katkaris (brick kiln workers) is multi-faceted and is linked with several factors such as:

- Economic background of the migrants
- Educational background of the migrants
- Social background of the migrants
- Health & nutritional status of the migrants
- Migration types and patterns
- Factors that force / push them into seasonal migration
- Factors that force / push them into bonded labour
- Factors that push their children in labour enculturation process.
- Why their children take up jobs as child labourers?
- What rights are the children of sugar cane cutters (the Bhils) and brick kiln workers (the Katkaris) are deprived of?
- What is the level of awareness among the parents regarding child rights and child labour?
- What steps has Government and NGOs taken to tackle the issue of child labour and child rights among the Bhils (Sugar cane cutters) and Katkaris (Brick kiln workers).

**IV. Theoretical Framework**

A. What is Migration?

The concept of migration is as old as human civilizations. Migration is a process through which people move from one place of residence to another. The change in residence results in redistribution of population, both at its origin and at the destination. People migrate on account of
economic, social, political, marital, educational and religious reasons. An integral feature of demographic transformation is migration.

The process of migration changes the size and structure of population. It affects both the places of origin and destination, of migrants. Migratory movements are considered as physical events shaped by environmental forces. Migratory movements are caused due to pressure on land because of rapid growth of population, decline in the rural industries and handicrafts, lack of employment and livelihood etc. Thus, migration is one of the dynamic constituents of population change and a vital component of development. (Tripathy S.N, 2005:24)

War, prosecution, climatic changes and economic forces have been principal movers of the people. Internal migration refers to the movements, which results in a change of usual place of residence. It may consist of the crossing of village or town boundary as a minimum condition for qualifying the movement as integral migration. (Tripathy S.N, 2005:1).

Some social scientists have analyzed migration in terms of psychological difference between movers and non-movers. Some have attempted to illustrate movements in terms of individual migrant’s revealed ‘reasons’. Some have highlighted on socio-economic and structural characteristics of different areas, and others have discussed on geographical or natural resource factors. Indeed, conceptualizing migration is a complex process, which includes four crucial elements – space, residence, and time and activity changes (Tripathy S.N.2006; 2).
Migration may be classified on the basis of ‘duration of stay’. Labourers may move ‘permanently’ or for a prolonged period. They may move for a short period. (Tripathy S.N. 2006; 2).

If the labourers move for a short duration with the intention to return to his place of usual residence, it is known as ‘circular migrants’ or ‘turnover migrants’ or short-term period. (Tripathy S.N. 2006; 2).

An important group of circular migrants consist of ‘seasonal migrants’ those who combine activities in several places according to seasonal labour requirements and availability of seasonal work opportunities. (Tripathy S.N. 2006; 2).

**B. General Terms or Concepts of Migration:**

It is customary to study migration with respect to 1) Internal migration and 2) International migration. Internal migration is the migration of persons within a country, while international migration refers to the movement of people from one country to another. In their book captioned ‘Principles of Population Studies’ (1978), Bhende Asha & Kanitkar Tara have discussed some important concepts or terms of migration which are given below.

**Tripathy S.N. & Das C.** : Migration may be the phenomenon of the flow of the people over shorter or longer distances from one origin to a destination either for temporary or permanent settlement. Migration may be defined as a physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another, this moves learning one social setting and entering a different one.
Winberg (1961) : Winberg defines migration as the change of place permanently or temporarily for an appreciable duration as in case of seasonal labourers.

Mangalam (1968) : According to Mangalam migration is relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical region to another, related by decision making on the part of the migrants on the basis of hierarchically ordered set of valued ends and resulting changes in the interactional systems of the migrants.

The booming Indian economy has provided tremendous opportunities of growth for the top 20 per cent of its population, but those at the bottom have been further marginalized. This has given rise to many new challenges that need to be continuously grappled with. One such challenge is the rising trend of “distress seasonal migration”- tens of millions of families being forced to leave their homes and villages for several months every year, to head for locations near and far, in search of livelihood. In these migrations families are also forced to take their children along. All evidence indicates that the number of children below 14 years of age may already be of the order of 9 million (Panjiar Smita, 2007).

In her book captioned, “Locked Homes Empty Schools” (2007) Panjiar Smita has given some facts which are relevant to this study are as follows:

- Distress Seasonal Migration: An Emerging Phenomenon
Distress Seasonal Migration has been attributed as much to uneven
development (National Commission on Rural Labour – NCRL – 1991) as to caste and social structure. Large scale distress seasonal migrations were triggered off in the late 60s by persistent drought in rainfall –deficit regions of the country. This coincided with the creation of irrigation facilities and commercial agriculture in surplus areas, resulting in high labour demand during specific seasons. Urbanization and infrastructure development in recent decades have also proved catalytic, with employers constantly and persistently reaching out for the unending supply of cheap labour from remote, impoverished pockets. Migrant populations overwhelmingly belong to Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST) and Other Backward Class (OBC) categories. They comprise landless and land poor who possess the least amount of assets, skills or education. Studies reveal that the majority of the migrant labourers in states like Rajasthan, Karnataka, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil and Maharashtra are from the most marginalized sections of society (also see Srivastava, 2005).

As quoted in Rensje Teerink, 1996:214. In her study Teerink has opted for the term ‘seasonal migration’ or ‘circulation’ as defined by Mitchell (1985:30): “..the process in which people periodically leave their permanent residence in search of employment at places too far away to enable them to commute daily, stay at these labour centers for extensive periods and then return to their homes”, with ‘extensive periods’ here lasting up to eight months. Seasonal labour migration can be distinguished from regular migration by the fact that it does not alter the long term distribution of the people because all seasonal migrants will eventually return to their home areas (Chapman & Prothero:1975:39).
As Breman has stressed in his recent study that, ‘Circular mobility accompanies the labour strategy of an entire household and cannot be reduced only to the behaviour of an individual. The price demanded by circulation is the detachment, for a longer or a shorter time, of one or more working members of the household (Breman, 1990:51).

Maharashtra being the most developed State in India is a hub of migration. It provides a dynamic environment for migration for both inter and intra state. Interstate migrations are mostly semi permanent or permanent in nature, whereas intrastate migrations are seasonal in nature. Seasonal employment provides livelihood to millions of poor in the state, especially in rural areas. People from socio-economically deprived categories and resource poor regions migrate to those with intensive agriculture or other labour opportunities. In the destination areas, migrants work in cultivation, mining, quarrying and construction for low wages. Migration therefore plays a very important part of the livelihood strategies of the rural poor. (Wadikar J. & Das M., 2004)

Seasonal migration is a norm in Maharashtra. It has long history of labour mobility and labour migration. There are basically two categories of seasonal migrants. The first category consists of regular seasonal migrants who travel for work during the non-agricultural season. The second category consists of small and medium farmers who migrate to support their livelihoods as a consequence of agro-ecological crisis in the areas they live in. Though the percentage of regular seasonal labour is usually more in the state due to vagaries of the monsoons, lack of adequate infrastructure in terms of irrigation is one of the main reasons for the number of migrants from the second category to be on the rise.
Irrespective of these considerations, migrations acts as a compensating mechanism to reduce the disadvantageous position of the poor. (Wadikar J. & Das M., 2004)

The sugar factories in western Maharashtra, the brick kilns in Thane district, quarries in Ratnagiri and various construction sites form the centers of seasonal migrations. People from under-developed areas who are prone to calamities and lack employment opportunities outside the agricultural season, prefer migration. Usually, labourers migrate with their families. Women and children constitute a high proportion of the migrant population. The motive behind migrating with the family is obviously more employment. According to statistics, Maharashtra occupies the third place in India in the use of child labour. They contribute significantly to the income of households. Migration often involves longer working hours, poor living and working conditions and poor access to basic facilities like access to education, health, food contribution system, etc. (Wadikar J. & Das M., 2004).

It has been recognized that seasonal migration is an accepted option in the normal livelihood strategies of the rural poor. For the sugarcane cutters, migration started as a strategy to cope with the worsening situation of dry-land agriculture created by drought, crop failure and poor terms of trade. Sugarcane cutting is labour intensive activity requiring very high levels of physical stamina and energy. (Wadikar J. & Das M., 2004).

The sugarcane crushing season is operational from November to April / May. During this six-month period, people from central Maharashtra and Marathwada region, migrate to the lush sugarcane belt.
A large majority of labourers come from Beed, Jalgaon, Ahmednagar, Nashik, Jalna, Parbhani, Aurangabad and Latur districts, all in Marathwada region except Ahmednagar, Jalgaon and Nashik. Those families normally belong to the poorest strata of the society and are mostly landless or marginal farmers. Scarcity of resources and debt burden accompanied with dry spells of monsoon force people from these areas to migrate to nearby districts. *(Wadikar J. & Das M., 2004).*

A recent survey of the sending villages indicates that 20% of migrating families belong to the Maratha community while the remaining 80% include groups from the Other Backward Castes (OBC), Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) covering the Vanjaris, Bhills, Dhangars, Bouddhas, Matangs, Gujjars and a few Muslims. *(Dhamankar Mona; 2005:2).* These labourers come through contractors/agents, popularly known as Mukadams appointed by the factory management system. Contractors / Agents bring labourers in tolis or groups. Each toil consists of 30 to 100 labourers. The factory management makes advance payments to these agents, who in turn give advances to the labourers. The agents get a commission from the wages of the labourers. *(Wadikar J. & Das M., 2004).*

The advance amount is offset against their labour. If they are unable to pay off the advance money in a season, they have to go in for employment for another season. It is a vicious cycle. *(Wadikar J. & Das M., 2004).*

According to the Office of the Sugar Commissioner, the cyclical, seasonal migrations of sugarcane labourers started in 1960 when the first cooperative sugar factories were established. The system of contracting labor is the same for cooperative and private factories. Generally, adult
couples migrate leaving older people behind to look after the land and cattle, if any. Older children (>14 yrs) though not part of the sugarcane cutting labor unit accompany their parents to the fields everyday while those between 6 to 14 yrs old are brought along to be looked after by the younger siblings. At present, around 500,000 to 700,000 laborers migrate with approx. 200,000 children in the 6 to 12 age group.

S.N. Tripathy conducted a study in Kalahandi, Bolangir and Malkangiri districts of Orissa, which are drought prone, tribal dominated and backward districts of the State. The research study was conducted to study ‘dynamics of tribal migration’. An analysis of primary data collected from 300 tribal migrant and 150 non-migrant households brings into light the following findings:

1. 50 % of the migrant households and 60 % of non-migrant households are in the family size of 3-4 members. The family size of the nonmigrant household is higher than the migrant households.

2. 66 % of the sample migrant households reported their marital status as “married”.

3. It is revealed from the study that 65 % of the households were migrated through contractors.

4. A high percentage (55.97) of tribal has migrated to outside the state.

5. Tribal migrants in the age group of 20 – 40 (61.36 %) constitute a sizeable portion of the total migrant workmen.

6. The different tribal groups who have migrated are Mundas (31.82 %), Kandhs (27.98 %), Santhals (14.35 %) and Koyas (6.10 %).

7. Agriculture is the main occupation of the migrant households at their place of origin.

8. There is extremely high rate of dropout among the children of the
tribal migrant households.

9. Educationally the children of non-migrant household are better than the migrant households.

10. Moneylenders do provide the maximum percentage of loans to the migrant households.

11. More the 53 % of migrant households reported the annual remittance in the range of Rs.1000 to 2000 only.

12. More than 45 % of migrant households’ annual income has been in the range of Rs. 15000 to Rs. 20000. The level of income of the migrant household is better than the non-migrant households.

13. The standard of living migrant household is better than the non migrant households.

14. Compared to the non-migrant households the “non-consumption” expenditure of the migrant households is better. Therefore, the migrant households enjoy comparatively higher living standard.

15. A significant percentage is diverted towards loan payment by the migrant households, which has adverse affect on their living standard and keep them in the vicious circle of poverty.

16. The important reasons of migration are poverty, search for livelihood and compelled by advance taken.

17. Poor sanitation, unhygienic environment long hours of work are the important problems reported by the migration workmen.

18. 62 % of migrant households have reported that they perform 8 to 11 +hours at work in a day. In their book captioned, “Down and Out” (2000), Breman Jan & Das Arvind, has given some facts which are relevant to this study are as follows:

An initial study, started in 1977, into their coming and mode of employment throughout the campaign, showed that the majority of the
50,000 men, women and children had been recruited from the neighboring State of Maharashtra.

Ten years later, a repeat survey showed that the army of workers had doubled in the meantime. At the end of 1980s, it could be stated with reasonable certainty that seasonal migrants mobilized for the sugarcane harvest in South Gujarat totaled 1,50,000. Today their numbers are even greater. It is a fact that some 20 years ago the inflow of migrant labour began to increase strongly. The workers are almost all Adivasi and Dalit (Tribal & Scheduled Caste) peasants from the eastern hills bordering Maharashtra.

The need to earn more cash on the one hand and the increasing pressure of population - particularly due to the felling of forests which had provided many sorts of subsidiary income- on the other hand, have caused an increasing outflow of labour to the plains of south Gujarat. The mass – but nevertheless temporary and cyclical –migration starts immediately after the monsoon.

In ‘normal’ years these migrant workers come in groups of 10 to 15 men and women around the time for harvesting various crops in order, to satisfy their needs for money. They bring their own food for the duration of their stay. The migrants go directly go their addresses where they have been before and old contacts send them on to possible new employers. They do not migrate for an indefinite time but for a few weeks only, until the grain brought with them is exhausted. The gang then returns home, to make the same journey again somewhat later in the season.
Arrangements made long beforehand and sometimes sealed with a cash advance, contribute to the fairly tight rhythm that characterizes seasonal migration.

It is obvious that the push-pull approach has been useful in listing the several factors which affect migratory movements and has several times offered convincing explanations of migratory phenomena. It is also apparent that, in most cases, migrations occur not because of either push or pull factors alone but as a result of the combined effect of both (Bhende & Kanitkar, 1978). Reventain’s laws of migration restated by Everett Lee in 1956. To him, the forces exerting an influence on migrant perceptions into ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors. The former are negative factors, which force migrants to leave origin areas, while the latter are ‘positive’ factors attracting migrants to destination areas. (Tripathy S.N. 2005:27).

As discussed in the conceptual model, researcher has identified certain key push factors namely poverty, landlessness, economic and food crisis, indebtedness, unemployment, temporary housing conditions, unskilled labour, illiteracy, victims of social and economic insecurity as well as three pull factors namely Kharchi i.e. weekly expenses, Uchal i.e. loan and labour guarantee that forced the Katkari brick kiln labourers and Bhil sugarcane cutters into seasonal migration. Their poor socio-economic conditions and status of financial insecurity further forces their children who migrate to the place of destination into domestic and commercial child labour. This further deprives their children of their rights. Thus, the children get deprived from all the rights and their young parents spend
their early adulthood as victims of economic exploitation, bonded labour indebtedness, hardships etc. at the worksites.

The concept of seasonal migration is most usually associated with agriculture labour and daily wage labour. It often involves change in residence for a short or reasonably long period. Though migrant labourers are found everywhere in the world, India has probably more migrant workers than any other Asian countries. These are involved mainly in the harvesting of plantation crops such as tea, cotton, rice and sugarcane (Lahiri:1984). Seasonal Migration is not a new phenomenon and is observed throughout India (Kasar: 1992). In Maharashtra, there are some 1.5 lakhs migrants from poor peasants and labourers families in dry districts who work from six to eight months a year for cutting and hauling sugarcane in the irrigated belts (Omvedt:1981).

Breman Jan, 1979, stated that the type of seasonal migration that takes place in and around sugar factories is mostly bound with capitalist development. He narrated the socio-economic life of workers including the role of mukadams, recruitment of workers, wages, working conditions, working hours and nature of exploitation etc. He found that the seasonal migration among the Bhils is spread over the areas of North Gujarat to Narmada. The labourers from Khandesh region of Maharashtra also migrate seasonally to the sugar factories in South Gujarat.

Jugale (1997), in his book entitled, “Employment Wages and Industrial Relations” explored two aspects namely: 1) most of the recruitments were made through contractors. 2) No provision of holiday, leave facilities were made available to the seasonal workers.
Salve (1991), emphasized the economic and socio-cultural life of migrant cane cutters in Kolhapur district, in the state of Maharashtra. He further analyzed the conditions at work places and focused on every day problems extensively.

Kasar (1992), in his study brought out that the cooperative sugar industry has significant contribution in the gross annual income and income of migrant household indicating beneficial effects of seasonal migration on the economy of migrant farm labourers in Maharashtra. Deshpande (2008), in her study captioned, “Health and Nutritional Status of seasonal Migrants” has studied three aspects namely physical, reproductive and mental healthcare practices.

In his study captioned, “Migration and Development : A Sociological Study of Migrant Sugarcane Cutters in Kolhapur district” Kendre Balaji (2009) studied problems and development issues of following castes: Maratha, Gujar, Kumbhar, Nhavi, Vanjari, Dhangar, Telangi, Hatkar, Lamani, Chambhar, Bhil, Mang, Mahar, Kasab (Muslim). Kendre Balaji however, has not studied child labour and child rights issues of sugarcane cutters. Similarly Bajpai Asha (2003), (2006) too has not studied child rights and child labour issues of children of sugarcane cutters and Brick kiln workers. Bokil Milind (2006) highlighted the problems of Katkaris at the brick kilns, but he too did not touch the subject. Hence the present subject is original in its kind.

H. Bonded labour: The Concept - The ‘bonded labour system’ refers to the relationship between a creditor and a debtor who obtains loan owing to the economic compulsions confronting his day-to day life and agrees to abide by the terms dictated by the creditor. The important term of the
agreement is that the debtor agrees to mortgage his services of any or all the members of his family, for a specified or unspecified period. The relationship built on an agreement is on such unequal terms that while for every labour or service, there must be fair remuneration equivalent to the price of labour in the market, under the bonded labour system; the service is rendered for the debt or in lieu of the interest accruing to the debt. The debtor either works without receiving any remuneration or if at all there is any remuneration it is much less than the minimum wage (notified under a Minimum Wages Act) or the prevailing rate of market wage.

It was Breman Jan who brought with him the experience of both the deprivation suffered by the working class in Europe till the Second World War as well as the dynamics of the prosperous social democratic society and the welfare state created then. His contribution of the knowledge he had gathered during more than a decade of field work among the labourers of South Gujarat:

The transformation of the Kaliparaj black skinned:

- Hali bonded into Halpatis;
- The changing forms of bondage;
- Attachement and other forms of employment;
- Altering forms of self perceptions among untouchables, from traditional untouchables through the Gandhian Harijan (Child of God) to Dalit (oppressed). Since then much has happened to labourers not only in the rural milieu but also in the urban setting.

From one, the wall that is supposed to divide urban and rural, formal and informal, organized and unorganized labour has been shown up to have nothing more than an illusion. This duality was questioned by Breman Jan and others and was demonstrated as being false; there is
infact a continuam between these various forms of labour in social, economic as well as political context.

His book captioned, “Down and Out” with Das Arvind (2000), looks at the conditions of workers in the formal sector in and around Surat, in South Gujarat, which was the site of Breman’s research reported in “Footloose Labour” (1996) and out breaks the world of Indian labour. Presenting text and snapshots from the lives of labourers – in villages, on the move and at work sites – the book engages with the experience of laboring in different industries – textile, sugar, brick making and construction. He has thrown light on new theoretical insights such as distress seasonal migration, struggles and hardships of labourers for survival, gender, oldage and division of labour, labour and inequalities in an Indian village, labour and globalization living, socio-economic and working conditions of migrant labourers both in rural and urban areas. He is of the view that, as the tides of globalization and privatization sweep across the world, it sometimes appears as if the labourer has been ablitrated from public discourse. The processes of contractualization and casualization push workers out from the so called formal sector to largely non-unionised informal sector. Hence millions of labourers languish in squalor, poverty and misery.

The Katakari brick kiln labourers and Bhil sugarcane cutters – the target population of the present study is no exception to the rule. Thus far no Sociological study has been conducted on these groups, hence it has been undertaken.

Scientific progress in the fields of anthropology, biology, medicine, psychology and social research during the past hundred years has changed the attitude of society towards the child. He no longer is treated
as an adult person only smaller in stature but as a human being with his own different rhythm of life and with his own laws of biological and mental growth. We are aware that the child is following drives, social forces and motivations which are basically different from those which govern adult behaviour.” (Friedlander W.A., 1955:327)

Poverty is one of the major factor which is responsible for the migration of Bhil Sugarcane cutters and Katkari Brick kiln labourers, therefore it is necessary to discuss the concept of Poverty at this juncture.

Concepts given by various social Sociologists have been discussed here. Poverty and richness are relative terms. The poverty line in any given society is determines by the customs and mode of living. The poverty line in India is not at the same point as in the USA or UK. As defined by Gillin and Gillin “Poverty is that condition in which a person, either because of inadequate income or unwise expenditures, does not maintain a scale of living high enough to provide for his physical and mental efficiency and to enable him and his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of the society of which he is a member.” (Madan G.R, 2009).

Poverty is a situation that gives rise to a feeling of a discrepancy between what one has and what one “should have”. What one should have is an internal construct; hence each person’s felling and experience of poverty is individual and unique. But the feeling of ‘powerlessness’ and ‘resourcelessness’ is possessed by all poor people. Berstein Henry (1992) has identified the following dimensions of poverty:

- Lack of livelihood strategies
- Inaccessibility to resources (money, land, credit)
- Feeling of insecurity and frustrations
- Inability to maintain and develop social relations with others as a consequence of lack of resources.

**Harrington (1958:83)** defined poverty with reference to ‘deprivation’. According to him, poverty is the deprivation of those minimal levels of food, health, housing, education, and recreation which are compatible with the contemporary technology, beliefs and values of a particular society. **Rein (1968:76)** identifies three elements in Poverty: subsistence, inequality and externality. Subsistence emphasizes the provisions of sufficient resources to maintain health and working capacity in the sense of survival, and capacity to maintain physical efficiency. Inequality compares the lot of individuals at the bottom layer of stratified income levels with that of the more privileged people in the same society. Their deprivation is relative. Externality focuses on the social consequences of poverty for the rest of society, apart from the impact on the poor themselves (**Ahuja Ram;2007:30**).

According to **Fyfe A. (1989)** as cited in **Siddiqui (2003:10)**, “Child labour is work which impairs the health and development of children”.

According to V.V. Giri, Former President of India, “The term child labour is commonly interpreted in two different ways – the first, as an economic practice and secondly, as social evil. In the first context, it signifies employment of children in gainful occupation with a view to adding income of children to that of the family. It is in second context that the term child labour is generally used. It is necessary to take into account the character of the job in which children are engaged, the
hazards to which they are exposed and opportunities of development which they have been denied.”

The Factory Act of 1948 clearly states that, any person below the age of 15 years either under compulsion or voluntarily work in an organized or unorganized sector is termed as child labour. According to Government of Andhra Pradesh, children who are not going to school are child labourers. *(Yashmanthan, Issue I, April-June, 2005).*

Thus, child labour is basically physical, mental and social abuse of childhood.

Sociological studies by *Breman Jan & Das Arvind (2000), Breman Jan (1996), Tribhuwan Robin & Patil Jayshree (2008), Shende Sadashive (2011), Tribhuwan Robin & Rgnahild Andreason (2003)* although have conducted research studies on various labourers belonging to informal sector such as the sugarcane cutters, brick kiln workers, hawkers, salt pan workers, stone quarry works etc. very few studies have made reference of the child labour and rights issues. In fact there are hardly any studies on the child labour and child rights issues among the Katkari brick kiln labourers and Bhil sugarcane cutters. The Katkaris who work as labourers at the brick kilns and sugarcane cutters migrate seasonally to their respective places of destination for survival. Furthermore, studies by *Naik T.B. (1965), Singh K.S. (2004), Tribhuwan Robin and Sherry Karen (2004), Tribhuwan Robin and Kulkarni Vijaya (1999), Gare G.M. (1982)* in their studies on the Bhils have not made any reference of child labour and child rights among the sugarcane cutting Bhil labourers.

The above mentioned studies reviewed by the researcher indicate and are substantially evident to prove that the child labour and rights issues of the Bhil children whose parents work as sugarcane cutters as well the children of Katkari brick kiln labourers have not been researched. After reviewing secondary literature a pilot study was conducted by the researcher to assess the gaps in the existing Sociological research on the target population. Fifty respondents from each tribe were informally interviewed during the pilot study. Besides the parents, children involved in labour were too interviewed, including contractors, Sugar School and Bhonga School teachers and NGO representatives working for the Bhils and Katkaris.

Wage rates in the agricultural sector in India show wide variations across States. Further, the rates reported vary from source to source. Therefore, it has become difficult to have a realistic picture of the rates without a thorough scrutiny of the methods of collection of data, adjustments made for arriving at constant wages, etc. In the Maharashtra context, it is observed that rural wage rates are far higher than elsewhere and that their change over time is uneven across districts, even within the same district.
Further, there exist different types of explanation for wage rate increases - rise in labour productivity, wage bargaining, and increasing consumer prices. Studies do not exist, however, about the dynamics of the sugarcane cutter labour market in the different parts of the State. There are reasons to suspect that besides the market forces of supply and demand and the extra-market interventions including wage bargaining, cultural factors such as caste and religious status also still play some role in different parts of the State. It is to examine the process of wage determination in two rural, local settings that A. A. Baby endeavours in his project *The pattern of wage movement of rural, urban skilled and unskilled workers: a local level approach to study wage bargaining in Maharashtra*. The study is being conducted in the predominantly sugarcane-producing district.

The agricultural sector in Maharashtra has been undergoing a significant structural transformation from seasonal and annual crops to perennial cash crops. The shift seems to have had significant implications for the sugarcane cutter labour market. Demand for labour in agriculture has drastically come down with the decline of cultivation of sugarcane and other seasonal crops. What are the changes taking place in the sugarcane cutter labour market in terms of spatial and occupational shifts? Have the shifts led to fall in rural wages? Is the sugarcane cutter labour market getting increasingly segmented? It is to these questions that R. Mahesh has turned in his project *Labour mobility in rural areas*. The fieldwork was completed in the selected district.

The sugarcane cutter labour market in Maharashtra is undergoing significant structural changes. Decline in the area under sugarcane cultivation, fragmentation of land holdings consequent on agrarian reforms, and partitioning of land holdings of households have reduced the
average size of the farms to a few cents. These and similar changes have brought about rapid changes in cropping and land use patterns. The recent slump in sugarcane prices has led to retrenchment of workers. An important casualty of these developments is the displacement of farm labour. A survival strategy adopted by some such displaced agricultural labourers has been to lease in wet land for cultivation of seasonal cash crops such as banana, ginger, green vegetables, and betel vineyards. In an enquiry into the Betel cultivation on leased-in land by marginal farms and displaced agricultural labourers, Omana Cherian traces the origins of growth of betel vineyard cultivation, the recent changes in its organizational structures, their economic viability and the demand conditions for betel leaves.

Working and living conditions of persons engaged in traditional household crafts are seldom discussed in studies. K. A. Stephenson in his project Economics of labour in the traditional handicrafts industries of Maharashtra - a case study of selected district is engaged in looking into the conditions of the rural artisan households that live by producing craft items using these materials.

This project has shed light on the problems and prospects of these crafts which have successfully stood the test of time till now, thanks to the exquisite artistic quality of the products. Sugarcane, normally a large-scale plantation crop, is cultivated in Maharashtra in tiny holdings also as small farmers' crop.

Thousands of workers make a living as sugarcane tappers depending on these small farms. With the introduction of high-yielding hybrid varieties of sugarcane, cutting has become a highly skilled profession since defective methods of cutting lead to diseases of the trees and disorders in their growth and yields. Not only has cutting to be done skillfully, it has
to be performed during specific hours of the day too; that is cutting is to be done during early hours of the day.

The problem remains, however, that tappers in small sugarcane holdings seldom get full time work and that their income levels remain meager. It is to examine the work, wages, and employment conditions of tappers of small-scale sugarcane farms that T. V. Usha Devi has taken up the project Socio-economic profile of sugarcane tappers in the small holding sector of different district. The study was about examining the problems and prospects of sugarcane cutting women workers. It is expected that the study would come up with suggestions for institutional intervention for ameliorating the conditions of the sugarcane-cutting workers.

Employment prospects of the educated persons both in rural and urban areas of the State are dim. Self-employment among them is slowly catching up in recent years. However, urban-rural differences, and differences arising from socio-economic and educational factors persist.

The enquiry being made by Reji Raman in his project Motivating factors of the educated self-employed in Maharashtra addresses some of these questions. The study is based on field level data collected from 500 sugarcane cutter labourers of various district.

B. A. Prakash has been doing research on the project entitled Urban unemployment: a study of Maharashtra. Maharashtra has the highest rates of unemployment of both the educated and the uneducated, and both in rural and urban areas, among the States of India. Prakash examines the question of urban unemployment in its various dimensions. He also makes effort to study the relationship between unemployment and the social, economic, and educational background of the unemployed and to estimate the waiting period of the educated unemployed. The concepts and definitions followed by National Sample Survey (NSS) regarding
unemployment are used in this study. Based on a stratified sample of the wards of the different City, information was been collected from 300 households. The information was analyzed and the report was published. Alcoholism is a rising menace in the Maharashtra society. Consumption of liquor - particularly liquor of the spurious kind - has killed several hundreds of persons in the State in the past two decades. In the face of strong popular protests by the media, the government implemented ban in 1996 on consumption of arrack, which was supposed to be the main culprit in the growth of drunkenness, impoverishment of households, increase in morbidity levels, and destitution of women. The ban has had several repercussions, both positive and negative. An immediate result of the ban was the loss of jobs for several thousands of workers in arrack shops. But, women in poor households welcomed the ban due to hope of better days ahead as their men would not fritter money away on the bottle. However, things seem to have changed for the worse. Drunkenness has not come down, trade in spurious killer brews has become widely prevalent and the poor households are becoming destitute even faster. It is against this background that an enquiry into the Impact of closing down of arrack shops on households - a case study was been taken up by M. Usha Devi. The specific objectives were the following: to study the impact of closing down of arrack shops on workers and the consumption levels of the households in the vicinity of the closed down shops; to find out whether the closing down has led to reduction of alcohol consumption in the localities concerned and if not why; and to examine the effect that the closing down has had on the earning levels of sugarcane cutters in the area. The work was started in October 1999. A paradox that social scientists have been trying to resolve in Maharashtra is the simultaneous existence of labour shortage and
widespread unemployment among the youth, particularly in rural areas. The project entitled Village sustainable development was taken up by Rajan Gurukkal with a view not only to decomposing the paradox, but also to initiating an action plan for equipping the educated unemployed youth in a selected locality in Kottayam district to take up work on a team basis. The hypothesis was that unemployment among the educated was more the result of unemployability rather than non-availability of employment opportunities. Unemployment was caused by contempt for manual labour and the daily wage practice and the fear of job insecurity. Non-physical labour, monthly salary, and job security were considered prestigious. The researchers endeavoured through the project to bring about an attitudinal change among the unemployed youth through a series of experiments at training, conscientisation, co-operativisation, and financial support. Eventually, the trained youth were organised under a co-operative society and the researcher found work opportunities for them. However, the endeavour did not fully succeed: the attempt to transform the youth into an enterprising group did not materialise; attempts to persuade the local administration to take up responsibility of sustaining the work team could not succeed either. The major lessons drawn by the researcher are the following: educated youth remain unemployed not necessarily due to non-availability of opportunities but due to extra-economic factors; unwillingness to do physical labour does not arise from contempt, but from inability to do hard physical work; one-shot conscientisation effort or training is not enough to solve the problem; a discursive approach is essential; it is important not to instil false hopes of employment in the trainees. In fine, the prevailing notion of infra dig jobs dies hard; but co-operativisation is a promising avenue to fight this attitudinal malaise.