CHAPTER I

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Food security is an essential element of overall human wellbeing and an important milestone on the path of complete poverty alleviation. Enough food available at a national level is only a necessary condition for households to have access to food but it is not sufficient condition. The Nobel laureate Amartya Sen defined food security by emphasizing on consumption, demand, supply and accessibility of food to the vulnerable people in terms of entitlement and endowment. However, adequate resources are available in the world to produce enough food for its population for few next decades, but the unequal distribution of income and inadequate purchasing power creates the problem of food accessibility. Thus, non accessibility of food is one of the variants of food insecurity, making low purchasing power and income inequalities as important dimensions of food insecurity as well as the well known dimension of food availability.

Food security as a concept originated in the mid-1970s, in the discussions of international food problems at a time of global food crisis. The initial focus of attention was primarily on food supply problems - of assuring the availability and to some degree the price stability of basic foodstuffs at the international and national level. The international and institutional set of concerns related with supply side of food has reflected the changing organization of the global food economy that had precipitated the crisis. A process of international negotiation followed, leading to the World Food Conference of 1974, and a new set of institutional arrangements covering information, resources for promoting food security and forums for dialogue on policy issues (ODI, 1997).

Food security was defined in the 1974 World Food Summit as “Availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices (WFC, 1975)”. In 1983, FAO expanded its concept to include securing access by vulnerable people to available supplies, implying that attention should be balanced between the demand and supply side of the food security equation. Thus, the definition was ensuring that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food that they need (FAO, 1983). In 1986, the highly influential World Bank report “Poverty and Hunger” (World Bank, 1986) focused on the temporal dynamics of food insecurity. It introduced the widely accepted distinction between food insecurity, associated with problems of continuing or structural poverty and low incomes, and transitory food insecurity, which involved periods of intensified pressure.
caused by natural disasters, economic collapse or conflict. This concept of food security is further elaborated and thus definition became access of all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life.

By the mid-1990s food security was recognized as a significant concern, spanning a spectrum from the individual to the global level. However, access now involved sufficient food, indicating continuing concern with protein-energy malnutrition. But the definition was broadened to incorporate food safety and also nutritional balance, reflecting concerns about food composition and minor nutrient requirements for an active and healthy life. Food preferences, socially or culturally determined, now became a consideration. The potentially high degree of context specificity implies that the concept had both lost its simplicity and was not itself a goal, but an intermediating set of actions that contribute to an active and healthy life.

**Food Insecurity: Concepts and Definitions**

“Food insecurity exists whenever the availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or the ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways is limited or uncertain.” Hunger, in its meaning of the uneasy or painful sensation caused by a lack of food, is in this definition a potential, although not necessary, consequence of food insecurity. Malnutrition is also a potential, although not necessary, consequence of food insecurity (Anderson, 1990). The 1994 UNDP Human Development Report promoted the construct of human security, including a number of component aspects, of which food security was only one (HDR-UNDP, 1994). This concept is closely related to the human rights perspective on development that has, in turn, influenced discussions about food security. The 1996 World Food Summit adopted a still more complex and accepted definition it describes food security at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels [is achieved] when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO-World Food Summit, 1996)

This definition is again refined in The State of Food Insecurity 2001 as “Food security [is] a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 2002).”

This new emphasis on consumption, the demand side and the issues of access by vulnerable people to food, is most closely identified with the seminal study by Amartya Sen
(Sen, 1981). Eschewing the use of the concept of food security, he focuses on the entitlements of individuals and households. In his study he has identified the lack of entitlement as the major cause of food insecurity and thus great famine in Bengal. Therefore, the task of every government should be to make necessary arrangements for providing physical supply of a minimum level of food grains at the national level, during all periods including the periods of harvest failure. On the other hand Sen’s analysis has also paved the way for the examination of intra-household distribution and allocation of food and has resulted in a shift of focus from national and household level food security to individual level food and nutrition security.

Essentially, food security can be described as a phenomenon relating to individuals. It is the nutritional status of the individual household member that is the ultimate focus, and the risk of that adequate status not being achieved or becoming undermined. The latter risk describes the vulnerability of individuals in this context. As the definitions reviewed above imply, vulnerability may occur both as a chronic and transitory phenomenon. Thus, “Food insecurity exists when all people, at all times, do not have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (FAO, 2003).” Therefore, adequate nutrition and adequate food are inextricably linked and considering food as a hunger quenching agent does not make a complete definition of food insecurity. The nutritious food promotes growth and development and maintains overall physical and mental health of people both young and old. Insufficient nutrition is a combination of a macronutrient and a micronutrient deficit in the diet. In fact, micronutrient malnutrition often called “hidden hunger” because it is not readily apparent from clinical signs of a wasted body. Macronutrient refers to total calories gathered from carbohydrates, fats and proteins in the diet, while micronutrient refers to the essential vitamins and minerals such as vitamin A, B, C, D, zinc, iodine and iron.

Food insecurity is a dynamic and complex concept and brings a number of diverse viewpoints and dimensions to form a holistic approach. According to M. S. Swaminathan Research Foundation (2001) ‘food insecurity may be present or potential. A state in present may be food insecure but not be able to remain on that status in future’. Potential food insecurity can occur either due to a potential lack of availability of food or due to a potential lack of livelihood or a potential threat of disease and lack of absorption. Many factors interact to create the situation of food insecurity such as, chronic poverty, low agricultural productivity, high population growth, poor infrastructure, poor water supply and sanitation system, civil conflict, ecological constraints, inappropriate economic policies, limited
cultivable land, cultural practices, vaccinations, lack of nutritional knowledge, low levels of
education, social and gender inequality and natural disasters. A combination of these factors
reflects four major dimensions to assess the state of food insecurity of a nation or community
that are food availability, accessibility, absorption/utilization and stability.

**Food Insecurity and Poverty**

Food insecurity and Poverty are inseparable with each other and almost like two sides of the
same coin. Both are very closely related and co-existing with each other. According to the
European Commission- “Food security is treated as an integral part of a comprehensive
strategy for poverty reduction” (Chakraborty and Hazra, 2007). Poverty is the inability of the
poor households to access adequate food. Low purchasing power always restricts the access.
Food insecurity causes poverty, vulnerability and livelihood insecurity, but is at the same
time also a result of these conditions. Hunger is the poverty of the worst kind, as it tends to
rob one of physical, mental and psychological wellbeing, opportunity, dignity and moral
strength (Bhatt, 2004). Poverty in India defined in terms of poverty line which is a bench
mark, expressed as per capita income. The poverty line income must allow for every member
of a household to access food that must provide 2400 Kcal for rural area and 2100 Kcal for
urban area. The difference in calorie requirement is due to differential energy requirement for
physical activities. One can not dispute that agriculture wage work, even all works related to
agriculture is much more laborious requiring higher level of burning of calorie. The urban
work is rather less laborious therefore requires comparatively less calorie. Nutritionists
therefore, have recommended two calorie norms for two different settings. It is pre assumed
that persistence of poverty is an indication of an abysmal presence of calorie inadequacy
among underprivileged population. Ramasamy and Moorthy (2012) in his article concluded
that nutritional status was affected by a wide range of factors but stressed that poverty is the
root cause of malnutrition in the trilogy of food, health and care issues. Unfortunately, in
India the trend is upsetting and disquieting for planners and policy makers. Poverty reduction
in recent times does not commensurate with increase in calorie intake. Calorie deprivation
continues to be high despite poverty reduction.

**Food Availability**

It refers to the availability of enough food in the system in appropriate quantities. It may be
supplied through domestic production or imports. The question is that not only of food is
available in the system/country but it is available in the right place at the right time and
requires a proper distribution of food across the territories. Besides this, food that is
systematically available is also culturally acceptable.
**Food Accessibility**

It is the function of purchasing power and employment of people. It refers to an access by individuals to adequate resources (entitlements) to acquire appropriate food for a nutritious diet. Food prices also play an important role to purchase an adequate diet. Even if culturally acceptable food is available in a country, people will remain food insecure if they have no purchasing power. In the great Bengal famine of the early 1940s, people were dying outside granaries full of food grains, because they had no purchasing power (Sen, 1986).

**Food Absorption/Utilization**

Food absorption implies the physical capabilities of an individual to digest food in required quantity. It depends on many factors such as adequate nutritive diet, clean drinking water, sanitation, healthcare, intra-household food distribution, education and nutritional health awareness. The consumption of food which has no nutritional value will leave people without energy for a healthy life. Besides, unsafe drinking water, poor sanitation and unhygienic conditions lead to diseases and other forms of attrition. Some improper cooking practices may also cause the loss of water and fat soluble vitamins present in the food. Somewhat less obviously, nutritionally unbalanced diets can also lead to loss of nutrients, as can be illustrated with the example of protein.

**Food Stability**

Food stability has two meanings viz, stability of supply and stability of access and reliable supply of food products is available at all times and for all people (FIVIMS, 2003). It may be hampered at the time of occurrence of any phenomena such as drought, flood, fluctuation of prices, seasonal unemployment. It is, however, a crucial dimension because it is required for understanding the concept of vulnerability. Although poor people are the most vulnerable, but a person can be vulnerable to hunger even if he or she is not actually hungry at a given point of time. The stability depend on storage and saving, balance between supply and demand, the role of state, the government reaction in an emergency etc.

All these four dimensions are not separate but are interlinked. Therefore, the presence of all of them is not necessary to obtain the status of food security. Although food security is defined at the individual level but it may be essential at all individual, household, community and national and even international level. Whenever, any of the dimensions are violated, food security is jeopardized, and food insecurity sets in.
The above diagram is a graphic interpretation of the dimensions of food security. It gives a conceptual framework of food security/insecurity, where the components of food availability, food accessibility, food stability and food utilization, and their causal interlinkages are shown. The diagram clearly shows the progression of food security from the availability of food to accessibility of food to proper food utilization. Finally, the overall outcome for food insecurity is the nutritional status of the population. All three key elements (Availability, access and utilization of food) are important for achieving a good nutritional status.

Nutrition status, as an outcome, results not only from the quality of food but also from the qualities of care and health services, as inputs. Food status is one major factor determining nutrition status. The other two major factors are care and health services. Thus, we can say that nutrition status depends on food status, care status, and health status. In other words, we can also say that nutrition security depends on food security, care security, and health security.

Swaminathan (1998) one of the stalwarts who did a commendable works in the field of food security in India. He divided the post war era into 4 phases on perspective of food security in India or he identified four major phases of paradigm shift in the area of research on food security/insecurity all over the world.

a) 1940s to 60s – Food security was only considered in physical availability terms.

b) 1970s – Economic access to food was considered equally important.

Source: FAO, 2000
c) 1980s – Food security must be considered at the level of the individual and not merely of the household (since within the household women and girl children tend to be undernourished).

d) 1990s – Recognition that micronutrients in addition to environmental hygiene and safe drinking water are important. He concluded that today we have to view food security from the viewpoints of physical, social, economic and environmental access.

Levels of Food Security/Insecurity

Food security can be at the global, national/regional, households, or individual level, where one level does not imply food security at a lower level of aggregation (FIVIMS, 2003). Food security at the global level describes a situation in which enough food is produced in the world. At a national level, a country is food secure when the supply of food is greater than the demand or when the demand for food is greater than the needs. According to Von Braun (1999) “food security at the national level (the ability to obtain sufficient food to meet the needs of all citizens) can, to some extent, be monitored in terms of needs and supply indicators; that is, the quantities of available food versus needs”. Adequate global and national level food supply remains necessary but insufficient conditions for household food security. High levels of food self sufficiency in low income countries have no necessary relationship to their households’ food security, which has to be addressed by specific policies. Furthermore, a food secure country may have groups of people who suffer from food insecurity, and a country which is food insecure may have groups of people who are food secure (Thomson and Metz, 1996).

Food security at the household level is reached when the set of alternative commodity bundles that a household can command in a society, using its totality of rights and opportunities, meet the household’s needs in terms of energy requirement. At the household level, food security implies the occurrence of more demand for food than needs i.e the aggregate of individual requirements (Kifle, 2003). A household is food secure when it has access to the food needed for a healthy life for all its members (adequate in terms of quality, quantity, safety and culturally acceptable), and when it is not at undue risk of losing such access (UN AC/SCN, 1991). This relates to the ability of a household to meet its requirements either from its own production or through purchases. At the individual level, the meaning of food security is much easier to understand. An individual is food secure if his/her consumption is always greater than need (physiological requirement). Meeting household food needs does not guarantee individual food security because within a household, food distribution may be based on a social status, age and sex rather than need (APHCA, 2000).
The main factors that affect an individual’s food intake (individual food security) are household food availability, household behaviours (including decisions and choices regarding food acquisition and intra-household allocation), and individual’s health and nutritional status (mainly through an effect on appetite). In urban areas the main determinants of food availability at the household level are prices and income, access to home production (urban agriculture), and access to formal and informal transfers. Household behaviours, influenced by cultural factors and knowledge, also affect patterns of food demand and distribution within household (Ruel, et.al. 1998).

The Duration of Food Insecurity

The FAO definition of food security (“at all time”) draws an important distinction between chronic and transitory food insecurity, so food security analysts have defined two general types of food insecurity:

a) Chronic Food Insecurity

b) Transitory Food Insecurity

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chronic Food Insecurity</th>
<th>Transitory Food Insecurity</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>is…</strong></td>
<td>Long-term or persistent</td>
<td>Short-term and temporary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>occurs when</strong></td>
<td>people are unable to meet their minimum food requirements over a sustained period of time.</td>
<td>there is a sudden drop in the ability to produce or access enough food to maintain a good nutritional status.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>results from…</strong></td>
<td>extended periods of poverty, lack of assets and inadequate access to productive or financial resources.</td>
<td>short-term shocks and fluctuations in food availability and food access, including year-to-year variations in domestic food production, food prices and household incomes (McKay and Lawson, 2002).</td>
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<td><strong>can be overcomed with…</strong></td>
<td>typical long term development measures also used to address poverty, such as education or access to productive resources, such as credit. They may also need more direct access to food to enable them to raise their productive capacity.</td>
<td>transitory food insecurity is relatively unpredictable and can emerge suddenly. This makes planning and programming more difficult and requires different capacities and types of intervention, including early warning capacity and safety net programmes.</td>
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Source: FAO, 2008

Food insecurity has a third temporal feature. The concept of seasonal food security falls between chronic and transitory food insecurity. Seasonal or cyclical food insecurity may be
evident when there is a recurring pattern of inadequate access to food such as prior to the harvest period (the ‘hungry season’) when household and national food supplies are scarce or the prices higher than during the initial post-harvest period (Devereux et al., 2008). It is similar to chronic food insecurity as it is usually predictable and follows a sequence of known events. However, as seasonal food insecurity is of limited duration it can also be seen as recurrent, transitory food insecurity. This is associated with seasonal fluctuations in the climate, cropping patterns, work opportunities (labour demand) and disease.

**Food Insecurity and Child Labour**

Food Insecurity can lead to a variety of problems, one of them is child labour, whereby the children of food insecure families participate in economic activities. Child labour begins with the high degree of insecurity regarding food in poor households. It is not poverty per se, but food insecurity or the threat of food insecurity that drives families to take the decision to send children to work. The threat of food insecurity drives even households that otherwise have the capacity to educate their children to send them to work, instead, fearing future conditions e.g. droughts and famines that could lead to food insecurity.

![Household Food Insecurity viz-a-viz Child Labour](image)

*Fig 1.2*
Poverty reduces purchasing power that results in lower commands over goods and services in the market. In the absence of any supplemental subsidy to bridge the supply gap, by government or by donor agencies driven by philanthropy, the deficient families have to cope up with reduced amount of all these. The supply of consumption goods particularly of food which included cereal pulses, vegetable and other items for consumption that collectively make a ‘square’ meal would be evidently inadequate. The adverse outcome of inadequate diet is nutritional deficiency. However, the impact may be even among all members or may be skewed favoring a few at the exclusion of others. This distribution will depend obviously on intra-household allocation of food. Thus, poverty that predominantly causes child labour may also cause food insecurity. But, food insecurity is not always resulted of poverty alone. It has to be coupled with lack of social safety net, neglect of the poor and vulnerable and absence of public provisioning of food for the people who cannot afford it in the market. Therefore, poverty can deny access to food-based intervention programme for the poor which does not stand in the way to rescue public distribution system for provisioning of food for the needy at subsidized prices can keep off poverty through expansion of food security net. Consequently, poverty translates itself into a high degree of insecurity. The hard reality of poverty to many families is hunger and poverty in the context of child labour translates itself into lack of food at home and the overwhelming need to fill empty stomachs. Child labour is thus seen as an insurance against food insecurity.

**CONCEPT OF CHILD LABOUR**

Each and every child of the society needs all the facilities that lead them towards the growth and development of their childhood. He needs opportunities not only for physical growth but mind and personality through all the activities. Child labour is a situation in which child becomes economically active works for wages (cash or in-kind); works in the family farm in the production and processing of primary products; works in family enterprises that are making primary products for the market, barter or own consumption; or is unemployed and looking for these types of work (Edmonds et.al., 2005).

Child labour is a universal phenomenon and since immemorial time it has always been existed under different names. Poverty, unemployment, under-employment, lack of social protection, large family, illiteracy and ignorance, bad habits of a family’s bread earners, child as cheap labour, absence of compulsory schooling, illness, disablement or death of wage earner in the family are some of the causes of child labour in India and in many other countries of the world. Child labour is a global phenomena and a harsh reality. Thus, it is
recognised by the sociologists, educationalists, development workers and medical professionals as hazardous and injurious to the child, both physically and mentally.

The term ‘child labour’ is, at times, used as a synonym for employing child or working child. The children, who are engaged in the employment below the age of 14 years or below the age of 14 either paid or unpaid, deprived them the opportunities of development, are called child labour. Any definition turns upon two precise meanings attach to the components of the term ‘child labour’ i.e., ‘child’ in terms of his chronological age and ‘labour’ in terms of its nature, quantum and income generation capacity. Generally, there are two kinds of child labour, the first one is traditional related to assistance in work done by their parents and works done by the children outside the family for kind or cash remuneration to raise the income of the family. According to V. V. Giri (1958), the term child labour is commonly interpreted in two different ways, firstly, as an economic practice and secondly, as social evils. In the first context it signifies employment of children in gainful occupations with a view to adding to the total income of the family. In accessing the nature and the extent of social evil, it is necessary to take into account the character of the jobs on which children are engaged, the danger to which they are exposed and the opportunities of development of which they have denied.

Contemporary world perceived the child labour phenomena as a social problem. There has been a distinct change in the recent past in the values and attitudes of the legitimising group of society vis-à-vis child labour because of some new developments. In the pre-industrial agriculture society of India, children worked as helpers and learners in hereditarily determined family occupations under the gentle supervision of adult family members. The work place was an extension of the home and work was characterized by personal informal relationship. The tasks and technology that work involved were simple and non-hazardous which the child could learn smoothly, almost unconsciously, over the years through association and imitation. The social scenario, however, changed radically with the amount of industrialization and urbanization. Under the impact of the newly generated centrifugal and centripetal forces, there was an unbroken stream of the rural poor migration to urban centres in search of livelihood. The child had to work as an individual person either under an employer or independently. His work environment endangered his physical health and mental growth and led to his exploitation. The protection and welfare of these children therefore became an issue of paramount social significance.
Child Labour Definition

There is no universally accepted definition of working children. Various agencies, organisations and countries have defined child labour in terms of work-types and age criteria. In fact, age is a universally accepted criterion. Even within the country, the definition of child labour may vary from state to state depending upon the interpretation of the acts related to children. Various act passed by governments have defined child labour keeping minimum age criterion in consideration. But the minimum age criterion differed from Act to Act and from work to work.

A more comprehensive definition, taking into account the consequences of labour on children has been provided by the International Labour Organization, according to which: “Child labour includes children prematurely leading adult lives working long hours for low wages under conditions damaging to their health and to their physical and mental development, sometimes separated from their families, frequently, deprived of meaningful educational and training opportunities that could open up for them a better future (ILO, 1983)

According to Inter-parliamentary Union/International Labour Office (2002), the term ‘Child Labour’ is often defined as work that deprives children of their potential and their dignity and that is harmful to physical and mental development. It refers to work that:

i. Is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children

ii. Interferes with their schooling; by depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; by obliging them to leave school prematurely; or by requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.

In its most extreme forms, child labour involves children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illnesses and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets of large cities – often at a very early age. Whether or not particular forms of “work” can be called “child labour” depends on the child’s age, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed and the objectives pursued by individual countries. The answer varies from country to country, as well as among sectors within countries.

According to the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (1979), “When the business of wage earning or of participation in itself or family support conflicts directly or indirectly with the business of growth and education, the result is child labour.”

According to Homer Folks, the chairman of the US National Child Labour Committee, the term ‘child labour’ is generally used to refer “any work by children that interferes with their full physical development, their opportunities for a desirable minimum of
education of their needed recreation (Pati, 1989).” It also seen as, children prone to accidents, often fatal, at work sites, and children chained to looms in dark mills. Currently the term is used in a pejorative sense, suggesting hateful and exploitative (Bhupendra et. al. 2002).

Traditional connotation of Child labour is that it includes all those children who are ‘economically active’ in the age group of 5 years to 14 years if they work regularly and receive payment for it in cash or kind (Singh, 2010). However, officially in India, children in the age group, 5-14 years, who are engaged in production activities and services involving physical activities and/or wages, cash or kind are called child workers. Contemporary research, however has established that children in the age group (5-14), who are out of school, are vulnerable to become child workers (called potential child workers) and could be counted as such. These children generally stay at home to help their parents with household chores including looking after younger siblings or engaging in non-wage physical activities. As a result, they prematurely lead adult lives, working for long hours for low wages under conditions detrimental to their health and mental development. Sometimes they are separated from their families and are deprived of meaningful education and training opportunities that could open up a better future for them (ILO, 1996). Thus the children in this category are defined as nowhere children and counted as child workers (Chaudhri, 1997; Burra 1995)

**What the Constitution Says About Child Labour ?**

- Article 21A casts a duty on the State to provide free and compulsory education to all children between the age of six and 14 years in such manner as the state, may, by law, determine.
- Article 24 of the constitution says: “No child below the age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any or mine or engaged in any hazardous employment.”
- Article 39(f) of the Constitution says: “the State shall, in particular direct its policies towards securing that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment.”
- Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 prohibits the employment of children below the age of 14 in factories, mines and in other forms of hazardous employment.

The Union Government banned on October 10, 2006 employment of all children below the age of 14 years of age in dhabas/hotels, as domestic help in homes and in any form in the hospitality industry (Yojana, 2008). Hence the definition of child labour takes into
account the age factor to decide what constitute child labour, but, it has universally been accepted that those working under the age of 14 in hazardous employment constitute the child labour. It entails the working of children which does not tell upon their health and development.

Child labour is associated with stark poverty. Schooling is considered as the only alternative to child work. Considering schooling and labour market participation as the two extremes of activity statuses of children which may emerge four different situations, such as children (a) only pursuing schooling and do not participate in labour market; (b) mainly pursuing schooling and also participates in labour market; (c) neither pursue schooling nor participate in labour markets; (d) do not pursue schooling only participate in labour market. NCEUS (2007) has analysed the trends of child labour in India by including the out of school children as they are always being at the risk of entering the labour force. In a low income household that is engaged in traditional home-based activities and in a situation where there is a lack of other opportunities and high cost of schooling, impoverished parents is compelled to send their children to the labour market for the survival of the family. On the other hand, children as a worker in households, given the same conditions, have a higher probability than other children to be in the “only working” or “working-and-studying” categories. This is because there are fixed costs associated with sending a child to work outside the home that would offset the returns to that work. Labour at home reduces fixed costs in finding an outside job for children, changing parental opportunity costs and, thus, the decision to send children to school and/or to work. There is growing evidence from the developing countries that there are a significant number of children who neither go to work nor go to school. This category of children is coined as “idle children”. Either these children enjoy leisure or do household chore activities. Since household chores cannot be considered as child work, these children are considered to be idle. This population is active in the informal economy and thus very often “invisible” to official statistics (Biggeri et. al 2009, p. 49).

The child status is quite ambiguous since it includes children really “idle”, children who have never been to school or have dropped out from school or children who are disabled, temporarily looking for a job or doing intensive household chores (Biggeri et. al., 2003). Attending school becomes more expensive as the child moves beyond primary education. The share is much smaller among the younger children (5 to 10 years old), than among the older ones (11 to 14 years old). Household chores, although not accounted as child labour, can significantly affect children’s other capabilities (Biggeri, 2003) to be educated, to have leisure time, etc. Their time allocations, outside of sleeping and eating hours, are as follows:
food preparation; housekeeping work; animal husbandry, fetching drinking water, shopping, and childcare (Sudarshan et al., 2001). These activities, common in most Indian communities, reflect a low economic status of the household.

A number of possibilities exist to explain large observed group of children left out of both school and economic activity. First and most obviously, these children might not go to school or work in economic activities because they are needed at home to perform chores (household chores) such as water collection or caring for younger siblings, which are technically non-economic activities. Another possibility is that they are simply unemployed, i.e., wanting to work in economic activity but unable to find a job having dropped out of school or lost their previous job. A third possibility is that they are chronically ill or disabled, resulting in their exclusion from school and economic activity. Chronic illness or disability could leave children physically unable to perform economic activity, and could leave them excluded from education systems that are unaccommodating to children with special needs. Lastly, they may be absent from school and economic activity because this outcome is optimal in terms of household welfare.

Moreover, as age increase there is a higher probability if not exclusive female involvement in household chores signalling a marked “feminisation” of household chores and the intra-family specialization of tasks (Biggeri, et.al 2003). Working children and students appear to have similar, although lower levels of involvement in household chores, suggesting that responsibility for household chores may not play a central role in exclusion from school and in the non involvement in economic activity.

**Causes of Child Labour**

Child labour is a complex problem and numerous factors influence whether or not children work. A comprehensive understanding of child labour requires a deeper knowledge of several key factors. There are many factors working in combination that promote and perpetuate child labour and therefore the issue can never be studied in isolation. According to State Child Labour Rehabilitation cum Welfare Society, there are various causes of child labour such as poverty, parental illiteracy, tradition of making children learn the family skills, absence of universal compulsory primary education, social apathy and tolerance of child labour, ignorance of the parents about the adverse consequences of child labour, ineffective enforcement of the legal provisions pertaining to child labour, non-availability of and non-accessibility to schools, irrelevant and non-attractive school curriculum. Lastly, employers prefer children as they constitute cheap labour and they are not able to organize themselves against exploitation. There are social, economic, cultural and political
factors, however, two factors namely poverty and an inappropriate education policy are predominantly important. Because poverty create many problems such as child labour, prostitution, corruption, robbery, increased unemployment, poor living conditions, malnutrition etc. (Owolabi, 2012; Ekpenyong & Sibirii, 2011).

**Role of Poverty**

Widespread poverty is one of the major causes of child labour in India. Several studies have also demonstrated that the most notable reason for child labour is being poverty (Bhat & Rather, 2009). In a country like India, where families, are large in size, a general opinion is that any addition to the family income helps ease the burden of a very tedious existence. As a result, parents are forced to send their children to work. Their income supplements the family income and takes care of illness and other contingencies which demand extra money in hand.

Most case studies of child labour do indeed identify the poverty of the household and low level of parental education as important factors in determining the incidence of child labour (ILO, 1992). According to India Urban Poverty Report (2009), there is an increase in the number of poor people living in urban areas with the processes of globalization and urbanization. As per the latest NSSO survey reports there are over 80 million poor people living in the cities and towns of India. The Slum population is also increasing over 61.80 million people were living in slums.

Urban poverty poses the problems of housing and shelter, water, sanitation, health, education, social security and livelihoods along with special needs of vulnerable groups like women, children and aged people. Poor people live in slums which are overcrowded, often polluted and lack basic civic amenities like clean drinking water, sanitation and health facilities. Most of them are involved in informal sector activities where there is constant threat of eviction, removal, confiscation of goods and almost non-existent social security cover.

Poverty, as defined traditionally, usually combines with many children per households, with low literacy and with a horizon of lowly-paid and unskilled jobs, open to child labour. It hence is not surprising if positive correlations can be found. They have been found by many. For example, Cigno, Rosati and Tszannatos (2001), on the basis of data on around 35 thousand households provided by the National Council of Applied Economic Research, have concluded that child work is negatively correlated with household income, and that school enrolment is positively correlated with income.
Lack of Parental Interest

Mostly people in rural areas and some vulnerable groups in urban areas are not exposed to education and are aware of the benefits which literacy and education can bring. Thus, they do not have faith in the educational system and do not care to avail of the educational opportunities for their children. In their opinion, education has no practical use; as such they are bound to send their children for labour. Regarding the relationship between parents’ education and schooling, the most consistent finding in theoretical and empirical research is that low parental educational attainment directly contributes to underinvestment in schooling and increased practice of child labor (Boozer and Suri, 2001; Han and Seiichi, 2006).

Gani and Shah (1998) in their paper ‘Child Labour in Carpet Industry of Kashmir’ explained that education of parents has a strong influence on the future of their children. It has been observed that even in areas with educational facilities parents of poor, illiterate and traditional families send their children to carpet-weaving centres/ Karkhanas, because they do not understand the need for and importance of education to their children (Gani and Shah, 1998)

Family size

Indeed, large poor households usually have more children involved in child labour than children from smaller households, which demonstrates family size have an effect on child labour. Parents oblige their children to work because they are not able to manage the demands of a large size family. There are also gender differences among household size. Not everyone and of all age in the family are working as child labour, which depends on the child’s age and gender, for example boys are more likely to attended to school than girls. Likewise, older siblings often contribute more to the family income (Ahamd, 2012; Boyden and Myers, 1998).

Migration to Urban Areas

Urbanisation has led to migration of children from their rural homes to the cities in order to find employment. In urban areas, when the whole family moves from their village to the cities, they face a problem of lack of shelter, hunger, joblessness, etc. and it forces the children to join the labour force. During the last two decades a lot of migration has occurred from rural areas to urban areas in India due to increased opportunities, education, health, sanitation, infrastructure and other facilities for better living conditions. According to authenticated sources the percentage decadal growth of population in the urban areas during 1991-2001 was 31.2 per cent as compared to 17.9 per cent in rural areas (Tiwari, 2013).
As a consequence of migration to urban areas because of rural push and urban pull factors, children are often forced to live and work in the street as they lack access to basic requirements such as food, shelter etc. and these children become street workers as vendors. Mostly street workers are vulnerable to violence and become more susceptible to illegal works, such as stealing, trafficking drugs and prostitution (Yadav & Sengupta, 2009). These children live in urban poverty, many child labourers live in unhealthy poor conditions slum areas and work in poor environment such as domestic work, or work in hotels and restaurants etc. (Serwadda-Luwaga, 2005).

K. D. Gangrade’s study of Delhi found that there are a substantial number of migrants among child workers, particularly in the field of domestic services. Besides domestic work, they were also working in tea stalls, ‘dhabas’, hawking evening newspapers, rag-pickers, etc. Most of the child workers had migrated from Almora and Gorakhpur, Gonda and Basti districts of Uttar Pradesh and, to some extent, from Bihar (Gangrade, K. D. 1979).

**Traditional Attitudes**

Culture is another factor which is driving children into labour market. Different cultures of many societies make children start work at very young age which are related to traditions and cultural factors. They assumed that children need to learn skills that can be good for their future. According to Tauson (2009) in rural Guatemala; parents prefer their children to work because they consider it beneficial for them as they learn work skills. Similarly, Obinna E and Oleribe, O. (2007) also assume that many families in Africa want their children to help in contributing towards family income.

The parents teach their children a traditional craft at a early age so that when they grow up, they proficient in a job which can become a source of income for them. They believe that if the training is given since childhood, they can learn better because their body is more flexible and pliable and can hence bend, twist, stretch more easily to acquire postures required for particular jobs. Thus, the child becomes a bread winner.

In one of the studies on lock industries of Aligarh it was also found that 15.75 per cent of the working children had joined the lock industry because of their family traditions (Chandra, 1994). Carpet weaving, Pottery, silk and cotton weaving, wood carving, carpentry etc. are some of the traditional crafts taught to children with in their homes. Craftsmen train their children in their hereditary crafts since early childhood as it an asset in the learning process. Even musicians and dancers start to train their children at early age of 5 or 6 (Mustafa and Sharma, 1996).
**Economic shocks**

It is not just the level of household income that matters for child labour, but also its fluctuations. Over the course of a year or several years, a household may have an adequate income overall, but there may be periods of distress. This is particularly the case with small-scale agriculture, when market income depends on a single crop, which may be subject to weather or pest disturbances, changing prices, or other unforeseeable events. However, no household is truly insulated from shocks to its well-being. Accidents or disease may strike, a wage earner may lose his or her job, or a storm may damage the house or other assets. At that time the pressure to put all hands to work increases. Indeed, evidence derived from many countries shows that economic shocks are a significant contributor to the rate of child labour. Yet, while the household emergency may be temporary, the consequences may be permanent, since research also shows that children who leave school to work full-time often fail to return.

Thus, a number of factors are responsible for child labour in India. child labour is a result of various factors such as customs, traditional attitude, lack of school or lack of parental interest to send their children to school, urbanization, industrialization, migration, etc. Besides these, there are certain other factors which are responsible for child labour. Absence of father may be one of them. Unemployment, poor standard of living, deep social pruderies, disinterest in study, negative attitude of the parents towards child welfare, irresponsibility of the male members in the family due to drug addiction, alcoholism, inadequate measure of social security and effective law enforcement machinery are some of the other factors contributing to child labour.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

Through, the present literature survey, the researcher has tried to explore as well as contribute those avenues, which are still untouched. It helps in making comparative statements in the ongoing research with the researchers who already have been undertaken. There is an extensive literature related to food insecurity as well as child labour have been published with reference to India and the other countries of the world. In Indian context; the issue of food security is poorly understood and analyzed focusing mainly on the spatial distribution of food availability but three other important components of food security i.e. food stability, accessibility and utilization have been ignored. One thing very important to note that very little work has been done on the association of household food insecurity and child labour in India at micro level. This literature is organized into three sub-sections. In the first sub-section the literature on food security/insecurity and its all aspects is reviewed. In
the second sub-section the literature on child labour is reviewed. In section three, literature exploring connections of food insecurity and child labour is outlined. Nevertheless, it is difficult to review all the related articles in this direction; however, some selected articles are reviewed as given below:

**Literature Review Related to Food Insecurity**

Rao (1985) in his paper entitled ‘*Food, Nutrition and Poverty in India*’ discussed the problem of food self sufficiency in India from nutritional point of view. The study found that comparing India to the rest of the world, the India’s position was comparatively comfortable in relation to the consumption of cereals, pulses and sugar, but significantly deficient in other food items such as starchy food, fruits, vegetables, milk, fish and eggs. Rao has examined the NSS data for 1973-74 of per capita household expenditure on food consumption. The analysis revealed that the proportion of total expenditure spent on food decreased with increasing consumption expenditure class.

At macro level, to determine the causes of food insecurity, Diakoasavvas (1989) has made an empirical analysis on the causes of short run food insecurity for 49 countries. Two external factors, viz., export earnings and food imports and two internal factors, viz., cereal production and food prices, were considered. Variables were associated with fluctuations in food consumption. As a measure of food instability, an index based on the consumption theory was used. The external and internal factors had a significant bearing on instability in food consumption. But, instability in domestic food production was the most single factor.

Mohammad (1989) analyzed the problems of food production in India. He attempted a state level analysis of trends in area, production, yield of food grain crops, supply and demand for food grains, food availability, and surplus and deficit situations in the country and suggested various strategies of achieving food security.

Mukherjee and Mukherjee (1994) highlighted the role of women in achieving food security in rural areas of West Bengal with special reference to a village named ‘Krishna Rakshit Chak’ in Midnapore district. They explained how women play a vital role in harvesting and gathering food, cooking them, distributing them within households, but consuming the left-overs and often suffering hunger, to reduce food insecurity of other household members. Women have also made a food calendar relating to the seasonality of the availability and shortage of different food items in their villages.
Swaminathan (1996) emphasized on Food Security as a physical and economic access to balanced diets, including the needed macronutrients, safe drinking water and primary health care and primary education to every member of a household.

Wolfe et al. (1996) in their paper entitled “Understanding Food Insecurity in the Elderly: A Conceptual Framework” has tried to determine the potential effects of changes in welfare, health, and nutrition programs on food insecurity in the elderly and factors influencing food insecurity. Using a naturalistic paradigm and methods, a conceptual framework of factors that influence food insecurity status was developed based on in-depth interviews with 41 low-income rural white and urban black elderly individuals in 35 households in upstate New York.

Garrett and Ruel (1999) hypothesized that the determinants of food security and nutritional status in rural and urban areas of Mozambique would differ as well. They found that the determinants of food insecurity and malnutrition, and the magnitudes of their effects, are very nearly the same, although some differentiation in determinants of under nutrition does begin to appear among children 24–60 months old. The difference in observed outcomes appears primarily due to differences in the levels of critical determinants rather than in the nature of the determinants themselves.

Morris (2001) in his paper assessed the degree to which childhood malnutrition and its contributing factors were clustered by neighbourhood in seven different cities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. His analysis was based on data from eight different nationally representative household surveys that used a two stage random sampling design (households within clusters). In each case, the primary sampling unit was a geographical cluster, usually based on administrative subdivisions such as census tracts; the ultimate sampling units consisted of dwellings or households. In general, per capita expenditure and the share of the household budget spent on food showed relatively high spatial clustering across the seven cities, but the magnitude of this clustering varied markedly from city to city. Spatial clustering in the provision of basic services also varied greatly. There was consistently little evidence of spatial clustering of infectious disease, childhood mortality, or the weight-based nutrition indicators. Some cities showed relatively higher levels of spatial clustering on several measures of deprivation simultaneously, while other cities showed consistently lower levels of clustering.

Nord et al. (2002) in their paper “Comparing Household Survey-Based Measures of Food Insecurity Across Countries: Case Studies in India, Uganda, and Bangladesh,” has examined the data which was collected in three such adaptations: A study of child labor in
Orissa, India; a general household survey in Kampala, Uganda; and a study of participants in an income-generation program in Bangladesh. Rasch-model-based methods (a non-linear factor analytic model) were used to assess the suitability of the food security items in each study for scale construction and to assess the internal validity of scales based on the selected items. The feasibility of making such comparisons between surveys conducted in different countries, cultures, and languages was explored by attempting to adjust each of the three test scales to be comparable to the U.S. scale. The paper demonstrated the methods used to assess items, construct a scale, select appropriate thresholds for categorizing households as to food security status, and adjust the metric of the scale in order to make the scale equivalent in meaning to that in another country.

The purpose of the study entitled “Prevalence of food insecurity among households with children in Coimbatore, India” written by Nnakwe and Yegammia (2002) was to determine the prevalence of food insecurity and dietary pattern among households with and without children in Coimbatore. They concluded that 56 per cent of the households without children were food secure, 20 per cent were food insecure without hunger, 23 per cent were food insecure with moderate hunger and 1 per cent reported food insecurity with severe hunger. In comparison, 43 per cent of households with children were food secure, 13 per cent were food insecure without hunger, 15 per cent were food insecure with moderate hunger and 30 per cent reported food insecurity with severe hunger. Seventy six percent of the participants ate regularly while 24 per cent had irregular meal pattern. All the participants failed to consume diets that conform to the national dietary recommendations. The frequency of fruits, vegetables, dairy and meat product consumption was lower than the national standard even without the presence of food insecurity.

The Food Insecurity Atlas of Urban India brought out by the M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation and the World Food Programme (2002) provided comprehensive analysis on the extent of food insecurity in India's cities and towns and uses a series of maps to identify food insecurity "hotspots" from 20 states in the country. The urban Atlas used existing data to analyse food security problems and the main data sources are the Census of India and National Sample Surveys (NSS). Team adopted a broader definition of the concept and views food security from three different angles first, the availability of food, access to food and the absorption of food. In 2001, The M. S. Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF) and the World Food Programme (WFP) released the Food Insecurity Atlas of Rural India. In 2002, the Food Insecurity Atlas of Urban India (FIAUI) was published. Again, in 2008, MSSRF and WFP brought out the Report on the State of Food Insecurity in Rural India.
And the Report on the State of Food Insecurity in Urban India was published in 2010 was an updating of FIAUI and a companion exercise to RSFIRI, using new and enlarged data from sources like NSSO, NFHS and Census 2001. The focus is on chronic food insecurity, with the main concern being with describing and analysing the status and challenge of urban food security in the contemporary context across the major States of India. Mapping the relative position of the States on a food insecurity scale on the basis of a select set of indicators is part of this exercise.

Prskawetz et al. (2003) studied the impact of food distribution on the steady-state portion of food-insecure people in a stationary population. By applying a descriptive model they illustrated the positive feedback between food insecurity, low productivity in production, and inequalities in food distribution. Under these assumptions multiple steady states of the population distribution may result that differ from each other in the share of food-insecure people.

Bhattacharya et al. (2004) by using data from the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey examined the relationship between nutritional status, poverty, and food insecurity for household members of various ages. Their most striking result was that, while poverty was predictive of poor nutrition among preschool children, food insecurity did not provide any additional predictive power for this age group. Among school age children, neither poverty nor food insecurity was associated with nutritional outcomes, while among adults and the elderly; both food insecurity and poverty were predictive. On the basis of these results he suggested that researchers should be cautious about assuming connections between food insecurity and nutritional outcomes, particularly among children.

Little evidence of urban–rural differences in the nature of the determinants or the strength of their associations with nutritional status was found. However, marked differences in the levels of the determinants and in caring practices for children and women in favour of urban areas were documented. Smith et al. (2005) in his study suggest that lower urban malnutrition is due to a series of more favourable socioeconomic conditions, in turn leading to better caring practices for children and their mothers.

Krishnaraj (2005) concluded various papers in this collection on gender and food security which deal precisely with this problem of endowment and exchange entitlement, especially with regard to women. He drew attention to the resources, mainly employment, available to women for procuring food and also suggested that apart from inadequate opportunities for wage labour, lack of command over productive resources acts as a major constraint on those women who do undertake farming for the household. All the papers deal
with rice farming, but were illustrative of the general situation regarding food security among poor women and point to the urgency of public measures for the protection of this vulnerable section.

Economic inequality has been hypothesized to be a determinant of population health, independent of poverty and household income by Larrea and Kawachi (2005). They examined the association between economic inequality and child malnutrition in Ecuador. Economic inequality was measured by the Gini coefficient of household per capita consumption, estimated from the 1990 Census. Childhood stunting, assessed from height-for-age scores, was obtained from the 1998 Living Standards Measurement Survey (LSMS). They controlled for a range of individual and household covariates, including per capita food consumption, education, housing, ethnicity, fertility, access to health services, diarrhea morbidity, child care, mother’s age and diet composition. Maternal education, basic housing conditions, access to health services, ethnicity, fertility, maternal age and diet composition were independently associated with stunting. However, after controlling for relevant covariates, economic inequality at the provincial scale had a statistically significant deleterious effect on stunting. At municipal or local levels, inequality was not associated with stunting.

The study entitled “Stunted growth is associated with physical indicators of malnutrition but not food insecurity among rural school children in Honduras” conducted by Gray et al. (2006) revealed the association between stunting, chronic malnutrition, and food insecurity among school age children in rural Honduras and the relationship between stunted growth and physical indicators of malnutrition. They further emphasized that Malnutrition affects approximately one third of children worldwide. Assessing children’s growth is a meaningful way of studying a population’s nutritional status. All school age children in 5 communities were assessed for physical indicators of malnutrition. Household interviews were performed with a subsample to collect information related to parental and household characteristics, food intake, and food insecurity. There was a correlation between stunting and one measure of food insecurity, and stunting and several physical indicators of malnutrition were related. Because stunted growth was associated with physical indicators of malnutrition, measures to address stunting were warranted.

In the study entitled “Household Food Insecurity and Overweight Status in Young School Children”, Rose and Bodor (2006) have examined the association between food insecurity and overweight status in young school children by using a large, nationally representative sample. Their work on the determinants of obesity has shown a positive
association between household food insecurity and overweight status in adult women. Children with a body mass index 95th percentile of their gender-specific BMI-for-age chart were considered overweight. Multivariate logistic regression was used to assess the relationship between overweight and food insecurity status while controlling for potential demographic, socioeconomic, and behavioural confounders. This research suggested that these arguments would be based on reasons other than a potential link to obesity. Low activity levels and excessive television watching, however, were strongly related to overweight status, a finding that supports continued efforts to intervene in these areas.

Fotso (2007) has tried to assess levels and trends of urban–rural differentials in child malnutrition, and also investigated, whether residual differences exist between urban and rural areas, given comparable measures of socioeconomic status of households and communities. Using data from Demographic and Health Surveys of 15 sub-Saharan African countries, and multilevel modelling, he showed that urban–rural differentials were considerable in all countries, that they have narrowed in most countries due primarily to an increase in urban malnutrition, and have widened in few countries as a result of sharp decline in urban malnutrition. Results also showed that child malnutrition was lower in urban than rural areas. More importantly, using standardized measures of socio-economic status defined at the household and community levels, his study demonstrated that these urban–rural gaps were abolished in almost all wealth and maternal education were controlled.

It was estimated by Tanumihardjo et al. (2007) that by the year 2015 non-communicable diseases associated with over nutrition will surpass under nutrition as the leading causes of death in low-income communities. Therefore, they needed to take heed of the double burden of malnutrition caused by poverty, hunger, and food insecurity. Informing current practitioners, educators, and policymakers and passing this information on to future generations of nutrition students was of paramount importance.

Dinakar and Ramini (2007) written an article entitled ‘Paradox of Food Security’, in which they showed that in spite of the surplus food in the world, pockets of hunger exist. The main reasons for the paradox of food security were different in different regions. In the developing countries it is an issue of distributive justice and quality of governance, less empowerment and entitlement of food. They also stated that economic disparity or incapacity was one of the major reasons of food security in majority of the cases. They suggested that supporting public action and policies coupled with enhanced levels of literacy and education need to address these personal deprivations.
Sidhu et al. (2008) in his study “Food and Nutritional Insecurity and its Determinants in Food Surplus Areas: The Case Study of Punjab State” has revealed that the food and nutritional insecurity prevails even in the food-surplus areas, with low-income households being more vulnerable to it. The study pertains to a total of 262 households, 130 rural and 132 urban in the district of Ludhiana, selected by multistage random sampling procedure. The rural and urban households were further classified on the basis of size of cultivated land and per capita income, respectively. The access to food determined by the level of income and family-size has been found as the most important factor influencing food and nutritional security in food-surplus areas. Increase in production alone does not ensure food and nutritional security. The study has suggested that income and employment opportunities for more vulnerable sections of the society will have to be augmented to alleviate their food insecurity and malnutrition.

Agarwal et al. (2009) in their paper entitled ‘Experiential household food insecurity in an urban underserved slum of North India’ described the levels and determinants of experiential household food insecurity in an underserved urban slum of Delhi (India). A four item scale was adapted from the U.S. six-item short form food security scale and was administered in Hindi through household interviews with 410 female adults. Association of household food insecurity with household economic and socio-demographic characteristics of households were examined by using multiple logistic regressions.

Foley et al. (2009) estimated the extent of food insecurity and its relationship with a variety of socio-economic variables in South Australia. The purpose of the current paper was to present recent data collected by the South Australian state health department on the prevalence and determinants of food insecurity in the State. The study confirms that food insecurity is strongly linked to economic disadvantage. Increasing cost of food was likely to exacerbate food insecurity. The concern was given to food insecurity which was associated with poor health, especially obesity and chronic disease. Comprehensive action at all levels was required to address root causes of food insecurity.

Gundersena and Kreiderb (2009) have identified the effects of food insecurity on child health outcomes. Their work suggested that previous research has more likely underestimated than overestimated the causal impacts of food insecurity on health. They also considered the previous research has estimated that food insecure children are more likely to suffer from a wide array of negative health outcomes than food secure children, leading many to claim that alleviating food insecurity would lead to better health outcomes.
Braun (2010) suggested that ending food insecurity, hunger and malnutrition was a pressing global ethical priority. Despite differences in food production systems, cultural values and economic conditions, hunger was not acceptable under any ethical principles. Yet, progress in combating hunger and malnutrition in developing countries has been discouraging, even as overall global prosperity has increased in past decades. He concluded that a growing number of people were deprived of the fundamental right to food, which was essential for all other rights as well as for human existence itself.

Dev and Sharma (2010) wrote an article “Food Security in India: Performance, Challenges and Policies” in which they have tried to address the few questions. They found that food availability was a necessary condition for food security while India was more or less self-sufficient in cereals but deficit in pulses and oilseeds. Due to changes in consumption patterns, demand for fruits, vegetables, dairy, meat, poultry, and fisheries has been increasing. That’s why they suggested that there was need to increase crop diversification and improve allied activities and access to food could be increased through employment due to growth in labour intensive sectors and/or through social protection programmes. They concluded that this problem needs a multi-disciplinary approach covering diet diversification including micronutrients, women’s empowerment, education, health, safe drinking water, sanitation, and hygiene.

Food insecurity is a serious challenge facing millions of households across Africa. Within these households, distinguishing the incidence of food insecurity between adults and children is often difficult because most surveys rely on the reports of adults. Therefore, in their paper, Kuku et.al. (2011) addressed the shortcoming of previous works by using a survey from over 6000 households in Zimbabwe where interviews were conducted with both an adult caregiver and a child. Using two measures of food insecurity, they found that reports of adults and children differ within households with lower reports of food insecurity among children, with children in the youngest age groups particularly being protected from food shortages Findings also demonstrate the need for multiple measures to comprehensively capture the full picture of food insecurity in the household.

Hannum, et.al. (2012) in their article ‘Poverty, food insecurity and nutritional deprivation in rural China: Implications for children's literacy achievement’ used the data from a survey of children from hundred villages in northwest China and investigated the association of food insecurity with property, and then compared the literacy skills of children in food secure and food insecure households. They concluded that long-term undernourishment and food insecurity strike the poorest disproportionately, but not
exclusively; long-term undernourishment matters for literacy via early achievement; and, after adjusting for socioeconomic status, long-term undernourishment, and prior achievement, food insecure children have significantly lower literacy scores.

**Literature Review Related to Child Labour**

Krishnamurthy and Rani (1983) made a survey of child workers in small restaurants of Warangal. Twenty employers and 28 workers were selected from 62 restaurant based on case study method. The study reveals that most of the child workers were usually assigned the task of washing dishes and cleaning the tables. Eighty per cent of the employers said that children were recruited for lack of adult replacement mainly due to low wages.

Hamid and Ahmed (1994) in their paper focused on the estimation of urban child labour, analysis of its determinants, some of its conditions and their sectoral determinants, and finally put forward some possible solutions. The study was based on the data set consisting of 792 households, drawn from the survey data of 1000 low-income urban households distributed over the entire country. The survey was conducted in 1986 under the auspices of the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, (PIDE). They summarized that poverty was the most pervasive factor affecting child labour, child schooling, household income, gender, occupational status and educational level of the household head, which were all linked to child labour and school enrolment.

Burra (1995)’s work was based on interviews with child workers, employers and officials on various field visits. She described the industrial process on which the children labour, the hours they work, their wages, and the health and safety hazards they endure. The central theme of her work was that child labour in India is rampant and state policies to protect children are poorly planned and badly enforced. The author refuted several myths surrounding child labour. She argued that children did not supplemented adult income but in effect, they displaced adult employment; they are not part of family labour as claimed by the factory owners, their work was not training but are used as cheap labour. Like others, who have analyzed child labour, Burra also found that its rate was underreported and its organization poorly understood. These were the voids she attempted to fill through detailed case studies of five industries (glass, lock making, Gem polishing, pottery and brassware).

Gani and Shah (1998) in their paper entitled ‘Child Labour in Carpet Industry of Kashmir’ examined the incidence, causes and consequences of child labour in carpet industry
of Kashmir and suggested measures for improving their life conditions. Poverty, distress, illiteracy and traditional occupation compelled parents to send their children for work in the industry. The analysis also revealed that the life conditions of these child workers in terms of health, hygiene, diet, working environment, education and levels of living are horrible. Most of them suffer from acute and chronic diseases. They continue to work for long hours, for little wages, in hazardous and exploitative conditions, grossly detrimental to their growth and development. The study leads to the conclusion that despite the efforts of several government and non-government organizations, these tiny hearts were robbed of their child-hood, future, education, mental and physical growth and overall development.

Laskar (2000)’s study on Aligarh lock industry mainly focuses on Muslim child labourers as around 80 per cent of child labourers in the lock industry are Muslims. The children are interviewed by him depending on the co-operation of both the children and their employers or parents. The breakup of samples has been taken for in-depth interviews from different processes of lock making child labourers. Poor section of Muslim population who were not able to manage job or livelihood elsewhere, join degrading, sub-human task in the hazardous and low paying processes of lock-making. Survey also revealed that household economic pressures compelled children to enter into low-wage, hazardous work environment that proves detrimental to their educational and health prospects.

The main objective of the study ‘Child labour in Home based Lock Industries of Aligah’ written by Sekar and Mohammad (2001) was to study the impact of legislation on child labour in home based lock industry in Aligarh. In order to understand the impact of law, it was necessary to study the factors behind the continuance of child labour in Aligarh because law could not be seen in isolation of demand and supply side factors. To fulfil the objective, of the total 18 selected areas in Aligarh City, 700 households with working children and 300 households without working children were selected and interviewed.

In his paper Deshpande (2004), using census and NSS data, has also tried to identify the correlates of variation in the work participation rates of boys and girls 10-14 years old in rural and urban areas of 16 large states in India between 1993-94 and 1999-2000. He suggested that child labour was necessarily a social evil that needed to be abolished whatever its magnitude.

Nepal Living Standards Survey (NLSS), and explored poverty was the main cause of child labour in rural areas, there is a general lack of support for the poverty hypothesis in urban areas. Similarly, improving access to credit has a greater potential for alleviating child labor and enhancing school attendance in rural areas. On the other hand, availability of alternative childcare options promises greater impact in urban areas. Finally, the evidence from all countries suggests that efforts to encourage adult educational level and wage will help curb the prevalence and intensity of child labour and improve the likelihood that children stay in school.

Mehrotra and Biggeri (2004) in their study which was based on studies of home based child workers in five countries in Asia- India, Pakistan, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines. Their study on ‘Intergenerational Transfer of Poverty: Child Labour in Home based Manufacturing in India and Pakistan’ focused on two of the countries in South Asia, viz., India and Pakistan. They emphasized that home based work was hardly benign for child workers who complained of long hours of work and poor health, and were often excluded from schooling. At the policy level, the study did not find direct legislative intervention to be useful. Instead, it advocated a two-pronged intervention to improve the status of these households and reduce child labour.

Mishra and Mishra (2004) wrote a book entitled ‘Tiny Hands in Unorganized Sector’ which concentrated on children working in all categories throughout the Delhi city. Their focus was on providing the perspective of child labour in India and Delhi in particular, examining the reasons for emergence of child labourers, locating the various categories of work in which the children were engaged, examining the socio-economic profile of the child workers and finally, discussing the role of international organizations like ILO, UNICEF, etc. in combating the child labour.

The article ‘Child Labor, Gender, and Health’ written by Jabari et. al (2005) addressed the issue of child labour from a broader perspective that identified child labour as a contributor to inter generational poverty, malnutrition, and limited educational attainment. According to them child labour and nutrition were important issues in both educational attainment and health status. A girl born into poverty is less likely to be able to take full advantage of her schooling opportunities than a girl who is born into a better economic situation. This often propels her into a cycle of employment (either in or out of the home), early marriage, poor health, and subsequent childbearing. They concluded that without a proper developmental start, children are more apt to fail in school and join the labour force earlier, thus repeating the cycle in the next generation and suggested that efforts to eliminate
child labour ought to be integrated with global efforts to eliminate macronutrient deficiencies as well as efforts to improve maternal health.

Using detailed data from Nepal Labor Force Survey (NLFS) of 1998/99, Fafchamps and Wahba (2006) in their paper entitled ‘Child Labour, Urban Proximity and Household Composition’ examined the determinants of child labour with a special emphasis on urban proximity. They found that children residing in or near urban centres attend school more and work less in total, but were more likely to be involved in wage work or in a small business. The larger the urban centre, the stronger the effect was. Urban proximity effects were accounted for by a combination of local labour supply and demand conditions, most notably, the local importance of agriculture, the education level of the parents, and the local wage rate. Child servants, which represent a small proportion of all children, work much harder than other children and appeared particularly at risk.

The article “Child Labour in Bangladesh: Trends, Patterns and Policy Options” written by Khanam (2006) highlighted the trends, patterns and policy options of child labour in Bangladesh particularly during the 1990s. The striking finding in the trend and incidence of child labour in Bangladesh was that while child labour is on a declining trend in other South Asian countries – India and Pakistan and in the world, it has been increasing in Bangladesh. Her study suggested that a combination of policies would be appropriate for reducing child labour. These include employment generation schemes that lead to economic prosperity for the household, compulsory schooling for children, school enrolment subsidy, improving school infrastructure, the quality of education, flexibility in school schedules and adult literacy campaigns that increase community or social awareness, especially of the adult female.

Das and Mukherjee (2007) in their paper “Role of Women in Schooling and Child Labour Decision: The Case of Urban Boys in India” used household level data from NSSO, 55th round (1999–2000) for urban male children. They emphasized that the parents’ level of education (especially Mother’s education) plays an important role in reducing this tendency. Thus it has established the linkage between social and human capital outcomes in the family. They also looked at the incidence of harmful and manual occupations among the child labour. Mother’s education now appears as a very important factor in curbing these incidences.

Biggeri, M. et.al (2009) in their study on ‘Child Labour in Industrial Outworker Household in India’ aimed, on the one hand, to understand whether children in home based work households were more likely to work than other children and how this impacts their capabilities and on the other hand, to outline policy implications in India.
The purpose of the paper entitled “Measuring Deprivation Due to Child Work and Child Labour: A Study for Indian Children” exercised by Das and Mukherjee (2011) was an attempt to study the pattern of child work and child labour in India. They classified child activity depending on age, extent of work and the nature of industries they are occupied in. They formulate a deprivation index for each category of work. In this perspective, they considered the structured light work as skill improving, and hence, beneficial for the children. Lastly, they study the possible determinants of such deprivation among education, income and social status related variables. They used unit level data on employment and unemployment situation in India of National Sample Survey Organization for 61st round (2004–2005).

Reddy and Abbulu (2013) in their research paper ‘Causes of Child Labour in Different Sectors: A Case study of Urban Visakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh’ concentrated to analyze the extent of child labour participation in different sectors along with investigating the main causes of child labour. They used secondary as well as primary sources of data in their research paper to fulfil the objectives. A convenience sample is obtained by selecting 'convenient' population units. From the analysis, the authors concluded that gender of child, level of education, religion, caste of the family and migration were the main reasons of child labour and age of the children has no relationship with it.

**Food Insecurity and Child Labour: Earlier Studies**

In this section, a review exercise of a few studies on the relationship between food insecurity and child labour has been taken. These studies were mostly undertaken by eminent scholars during beginning of the new millennium at the behest of the World Food Programme under the U.N.O. The later was alarmed, concerned and interested in discerning the ill effects of imminent food crisis threatening the humanity at large and poor particular. The ill-effects specially include the swelling of child labour and child malnutrition. The series of research studies on this issue included both empirical survey as well as studies based on secondary data. The study entitled “Food security and child work in Rural India authored by Daly et.al., (2002) is an exercise of different genre. They have meticulously used secondary data to bring home their argument that food insecurity and child labour move together in same direction. They find that food insecurity and child deprivation in general co-exist at least in India’s rural landscape. They had used food insecurity map of rural India prepared by World Food Programme. One could easily locate food deficient areas, of varying degrees, in the map. They prepared a similar map, in line with food insecurity map, child labour infested regions
of India. The latter map was super imposed on the former to see whether child labour zone overlap with food insecure zone.

The location in India having food crisis are those, sheltering highest magnitude of child labour regionally speaking. They recommended massive food-based intervention by the government of eliminates child labour. Another excellent paper in the series is “food security and child work in South India: Determinants and Policies” written by Dev and Ravi (2002). The two scholars have noted that substantial beneficial effect on food based intervention on school going children in the state of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. The mid day meal programme of the two states have succeeded in bringing down the incidence of child labour. The authors have also found astonishingly that the same did not happen in the neighboring states of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The latter has the ill-famed distinction of having the highest percentage of child labour among Indian states. Another paper exclusively focuses on Bihar, infamous for massive failure on many human development indicators, such as, adult illiteracy, child labour and child malnutrition. The paper entitled “child worker in Bihar, A leeway for Household Food Insecurity” authored by Piyush Anthony (2002) is an excellent piece for reading and reflecting on. The paper brings to light the efficiency of food-based intervention programs in combating child labour. The state in question belongs to BIMARU region of the Hindi heartland of India, posing a formidable challenge to India’s growing prospects of being a great power in not so distant future. The region seems to be indelible spot in the ‘progressing’ face of India. The region is marked by extreme economic inequality, social exclusion, gender bias, poverty, caste repression, unequal power relation and many other social ills that do not go well with India’s image as a largest democracy of the world. Child labour is substantially high in Bihar. The author points out that the higher incidence of child labour has linkage with lack of access to schooling. Food insecurity is another obverse of household poverty that perpetuates child labour. The empirical survey of 12 villages across the state brings to light the pervasiveness of ‘kind’ wage instead of cash wage in agriculture work. Children are provided with one square meal a day in exchange for a day’s work. Mid day meal scheme, as the author points out, is yet to be popular in Bihar as a measure for encouraging school participation. Child labour has also a caste dimension. The lower social group endures recurrent food insecurity as a result of their income volatility.

Child labour is also at a higher scale where food insecurity overcast this social existence. An excellent paper “Hunger Illiteracy and child Deprivation in a tribal region: A study of Jharkhand” by Ramchandran and Karan (2002) needs attention. The uniqueness of this study lies in its focus on a tribal state, newly born, carved out from erstwhile state of
Bihar. The present study is based on extensive household survey over 12 villages selected from three representative districts of the state. Seasonality of food insecurity has come to the fore in their study. Adequacy of food prevails in the post-harvest period last for few months. Monsoon is the period of severe food crisis when agricultural wage is hard to find. Most households face two to four months of food shortage with at least two months of near starvation level. The food insecure household falls back on children for income support. The study finds that child labour is high among food insecure household. Underlying the explanatory factors discussed in the foregoing research studies undertaken by prominent scholars in this field, there is a common thread of food insecurity that overlaps all of them. The impact of school feeding programme as well as retention is discernible. Food insecurity not only causes child work but it also prevents school participation.

Joseph (2002) specified a problem of Markapur which is its large number of child labourers due to poor socio-economic conditions and because work in slate quarries is the main and at times the only source of income for the poor in this area. The child workers in the commercial establishments also work for about 8-9 hours a day and are engaged mainly in activities like polishing, colouring and nailing the wooden frame.

Raj and Satpathy (2002) have attempted to analyze the problem of child labour vis-à-vis the problem of food insecurity among rural households in six representative villages spread across three districts namely Bargarh, Sambhalpur and Bolangir of Western Orissa. All the sample households have been selected on the basis of systematic random sampling. Evidences from this small sample survey, their study indicated that social and economic backwardness as reflected in terms of land ownership, caste of the households, and apart from the family size determined the degree of food insecurity of households. The greater the intensity of this insecurity, the more the children would be forced to join work, even though, it is a first option for only one-fifth of the households. The transition of households from the FISM (Food Insecurity with Hunger-Moderate) to FISS (Food Insecurity with Hunger-Severe) needs to be checked urgently to avoid further increase in the proportion of child labour.

Chakrabarty (2011) in his book “Food Security and Child Labour: The Case of Hazardous Occupation” unveils many-sided realities of child employment in tobacco processing. Work with tobacco comes with in the category of ‘worst forms’ as defined by the International Labour Organization. Household survey in a poverty stricken district in West Bengal brings to light the perpetuation of this hazardous occupation of underage children. Intergenerational transfer of low skill work has been found to be associated with perpetual
poverty cycle. Food insecurity haunts these child labour households. Poverty and adult illiteracy have been found to be formidable factors on the supply side arrangement prevalent in these regions are equally responsible. He suggested that the diversification of employment through appropriate skill training for the adults and the expansion of quality schooling for the children are some of the steps for the elimination of this menace.
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