Conclusion
In India, Child labour has remained a big intractable problem, even after more than 60 years of our independence. The Child work participation rates show the prevalence of it in India, than in other developing countries.

The present study is an attempt to highlight the factors which influence the incidence of child labour in brick kiln in UP. The major objectives of this study were:

- To look into the spatio-temporal trends in child labour across Kanpur district and Uttar Pradesh.
- To examine the incidence of child labour by age, sex, caste, education and other social and economic characteristics in Brick Kilns.
- To identify the socio-economic factors responsible for the incidence of child labour in study region.
- To analyze the nature of work, work environment and wages paid to child labour in the Brick Kilns.
- To trace the implications of child labour on morbidity and health of working children in the Brick Kilns.
- To critically examine the government policy and various legislation and their effectiveness in eradication of child labour.
- The role of various international organizations and NGOs in eradication of child labour and suggestions how they can be more effective.
- To suggest a strategy for eradication of child labour comprising government, international organizations and NGO’s efforts and coordination.

These objectives were the basis of the following research questions:

**R.Q:** What are the spatial trends of child labour across the districts in Uttar Pradesh? Whether child labour has increased or decreased in the districts over the period and what are the causes for decrease or increase.

**R.Q:** Does age, sex, caste, education and other social economic characteristics of child labour vary across selected Brick kilns in Kanpur Nagar district of U.P.?
Major Findings from brick kiln

1. Brick-making is an important economic activity in rural India. There are over 100,000 brick kilns producing more than 140 billion bricks per year. The brick industry provides livelihood to an estimated 15 million people.

2. If we presume that each of 100,000 brick kilns employs on an average 30 to 35 children (a rough estimate, based on the observation from the study area) the total number of child labour worked out to be 3-3.5 million.
3. In the study of select 10 Brick kilns in Kanpur Nagar district, it was found out that a total of 847 workers were registered in the muster rolls. On a rough estimate of about 2.6 percent (a conservative estimate considering majority of workers are nuclear families) workers per house hold (living and working with his family on the site) toil in the surveyed brick kilns. Hence, in total, about 2100 labour work in these brick kilns.

4. It was also observed that many family working in the brick kilns many times in the same brick kiln for many generation (in one surveyed brick kiln the 80% of the workers were working with the same owner for last 20 years although the site of brick kiln shifted. They started working as child and now their children have joined them. The nature of job done by children and the category in which they worked in, shows that child labour is widespread although it is hidden by not including them in the muster rolls.

5. India has witnessed high growth in real estate, construction sector in recent years (over last 10 years the growth rate has been over 6%). The construction of nearly everything from airports to container ports to mega super market, high rise buildings together with a $10 billion countrywide road construction plan, has set the stage for high growth.

6. The demand for bricks has given a boost to the brick kiln industry. It was observed that in the study area that most of brick kilns owners have expanded their business by installing new brick kilns. In the last five years, ten new brick kilns have been installed mainly by the kilns owners already operating in the area.

7. Thus, with increased demand, more number of brick kilns have mushroomed exacerbating the environmental pollution as well as increase in child labour as more number of families are being employed to meet the demand.
8. The interviews with the owners of brick kilns in the area revealed that majority of them belong to OBC caste and upper caste.

9. It was observed that there are about 35-40 brick kilns exist within 20 km from the Kanpur city along the N.H-2 (Kanpur- Allahabad segment). These kilns are located near the high way and in close proximity to the city. The main factor influencing the location of brick kilns is the availability of good quality soil, land price and accessibility. The study has been done on ten sample brick fields. Most of these kilns have been functioning for many years.

10. Three sizes of brick kilns exist in Kanpur- 1. Small size brick kilns with production capacity of up to 500,000 bricks in one cycle (chhakar) or season 2. Medium size brick kilns with production capacity between 500,000 -700,000 bricks 3. Large size brick kilns with production capacity between 700,000 -14,00,000 bricks. Most of the kilns surveyed produce between 500,000 -700,000 bricks in a chakkar.

11. The brick making is a low technology process which is characterized by distinct division of labour. Starting from moulding till extraction of the baked bricks from the kiln, the division of labour may be broadly categorized as six fold: 1. moulders (Pathnewala) 2. Carter/Loader (Dhoaidar) 3. Stacker (Beldar) 4. (Rabishaha) 5. Firer (Jhokwa) 6. Unloader (Nikasi) (workers categories and their main functions explained in a Table-3.3).

12. The moulders are the largest concentration of workers. This work also employs the majority of child labour working in the kiln. Transporters/carters (Dhoaiwala) that transport the raw bricks to kilns and other category of carters ( Nikasi) who take out baked bricks from the kilns form second largest categories of workers including child labour in the kiln.

13. Millions of the child labours are working in the brick kilns in appalling conditions despite the prohibition of child labour in the country. The child labour (Prohibition
and Regulation) Act, 1986 stipulates that anyone employing children in the work which is hazardous to their well-being would be liable to prosecution and other penal action. However, in case of brick child labour, the application of this law is difficult as brick owners do not employ them directly. The child labours neither get any payment for the work nor do their names exist in their muster rolls.

14. The visits to the working site revealed that at least on average 30-35 children are working in each of surveyed brick kilns. As per table-3.5, 90 percent of the children above 5 years living in the Kilns with their family were working in the brick kilns. Among the girls, this proportion was even higher i.e. 93 percent of total girls were participating in the brick making process. In case of moulders, 91 percent of total children were doing various brick work explained in detail in the third chapter. The proportion of female child labour was highest among pathnewala and dhoaiwala. In more difficult jobs which required going inside kiln like Rabihahasa and Nikasi more male child labours were found working than females. There was no incident of child labour in the more skilled and hazardous job like Beldar (stacker inside the kiln and Jalaiwala (Firer).

The type of work done by children and division of work:

15. Children participate in the brick making process mainly involving pathai, dhowai and nikasi work. Both girls and boys work as pathnewala. Mainly male children are seen amongst dhowai and nikasiwala, helping load or unload bricks but more often involved in transporting bricks by mules or donkeys from the kiln. No children were ever found working as jalaiwalas.

16. The study of payment system in the brick kilns is important. The piece rate payment system prevalent in brick kiln industry has bearing on the incidence of the child labour and encourages the employment of children by their parents if not brick kilns owners.

17. The system of work in based on a piece rate basis. Contracts are entered into on the basis of per 1000 bricks made. The piece rates for making brick in the study areas is
Rs.150 per 1000 bricks. The rate for transporting the raw bricks to the kilns depend upon the distance however the minimum rate is Rs. 50/1000 bricks. For Nikasi i.e. taking out fired (baked) bricks from the kilns is normally Rs. 40 per 1,000. As compared to Dhoai (bharai or loading), Nikasi is paid a lower rate since cartage is to a much shorter distance of a few yards. One cycle of bricks may take up to three months. The contracts are normally done per 100,000 bricks. The piece rate and monthly wages may vary a little across different brick kilns in the region.

18. The workers are recruited through Thekedar (labour agents/ contractors) of the kiln owners and such recruitment is accompanied by payment of advances to the workers for a specified period of employment. The entire family (including old, disabled dependent person) comprising husband, wife and children move to the brick kilns and work as one unit for the full season of the operating kiln. Only the male heads or rather only the adult males are registered as workers in the muster rolls of the employers and the rest of the vast labour force remains invisible to social production and therefore for all practical purposes to the social accounting within the economy. The women accompanying the men could be the wives, sisters or widowed mothers. The children in the family could also include younger brothers of the workers apart from the children of the workers.

19. The advance paid to the workers is a system that insures guaranteed supply of labour to the kilns.

20. Working and Living Conditions: The working conditions are tough and hazardous to children well being. Workers work for long hours as they have an incentive to finish work and go home. The workers live in improvised sheds on the site itself. The housing conditions are poor with workers required to stay in low height shacks adjacent to the brick kilns. Working hours vary from 12 to 14 for all workers. The workers working on piece rate basis can take off whenever they want and work at their own pace however due to their obligation to complete the work under contract and motive to maximize their earnings make them work for longer hours. It was reported by the respondents, (Pathnewala and Dhoaiwala) during summers they starts working as early as 2.30 or 3.00 am in the night and continue to work whole day. The
workers on monthly wages get holidays depending upon amount and pace of work. Generally, the Jala-iwala and other workers on monthly wages have no holidays during peak of the work. There is no bonus or no provident fund, no gratuity; no medical benefits (except for few free over the counter bought common medicines), no maternity leave, no protective gear for the workers, in fact, none of the acts pertaining to work place standards applied; be it social, economic, health, or safety. They are not compensated for days when work stops because of rain. All implements are provided by the owners except moulders bring their own implements for digging, there is no electricity (generator set are used in some brick kilns to pump water), no facility for communication in case of emergency such as phone, no crèche, no separate rest room, no toilets. Temporary brick structures are provided for the workers – a room size of 8 x 6 ft. There is no drainage facility; no open space for cooking, the workers and their children are exposed to the fumes the whole day and at night. Interestingly, liquor shops selling locally brewed liquor are conveniently located and easily accessible to the workers. Onsite accommodations are within brick kilns compound, and consist of rows of small and low height, brick-and-mud rooms. These accommodations are constructed and maintained by occupants with materials provided by the owner. Generally, all around brick kiln there is low height wall boundary made of loose rejected low quality bricks. All houses are built in a row or two along the boundary. The older girls and young women especially suffer from the lack of privacy. Water is available from a common hand pump and tube well often run by diesel engine as electricity supply is erratic and rare. Labour is not charged for on-site accommodation, including water.

21. Child labourers in the brick kilns are predominantly from migrants and low caste family background. The poverty of household in which children need to earn to sustain the family, large family size, low literacy level of parents, lack of schooling facility near work and residence site and adverse social and community environment are the major factors which lead to incidence of child labour. The other indirect contributing factors are high fertility, morality, child women ratio, etc.

22. There is one more category of child labour (which is ignored due to our narrow
definition of child labour but included as child labour in this study because although they work in the household but also participate in brick making as and when time allows), consisting mostly of girls who are involved fully in taking care of domestic works and taking care of younger siblings so that, other members can work in the brick kilns. So, girl child labourers were less evident during visits as often that time many girls were busy in domestic chores. The work done by them may be as strenuous as brick making and deprive them equally with all rights like of any other child labour.

23. **Caste**: If we look at the caste background of child labour households it shows that child labour mainly comes from socially backward classes of SC and OBC. It was evident that, 87 per cent belongs to SC, another 12 per cent are from OBC classes. Only 1 percent belonged to upper caste. This minute number of upper caste workers too work as staff member i.e. provide service and doesn’t do the manual work of brick making.

24. Workers in all categories predominantly came from SC caste. The categories which has substantial representation of OBCs workers were Beldar (25%) Jhokwa (33%) and Nikasi (22%). The first two categories usually paid the monthly wages and require relatively better skills and experience.

25. **Occupation**: The workers primarily belong to the class of agricultural labourers or agricultural labourers cum small and marginal farmers. Several of them also worked as casual labourer. Some of the small and marginal farmers also carry out share cropping (Batai).

26. In the brick kilns, the nature of work done by labour has a bearing on the incidence of the child labour. The family based work (paid on piece-rate) is the highest among moulders, where children too assist the adults and constitute the majority of child labour in the brick kilns. Among other categories, where children will not be able to contribute, the family size varies. Wives accompany all categories of workers who are paid on piece-rate. The firers and the beldars (those who arrange the bricks in the kiln for firing) are the only category of workers who are not accompanied by their family members. The living condition of the firers also does not permit the presence of their
family members. Except for the principal worker, the male head, none of the other workers, be it the women or the children below 18 are registered as workers in the muster rolls. All the women work along with their husbands and children work too both male and female.

27. Literacy Rates and Schooling Facility: On a rough estimate, majority of workers who belongs to SC and OBCs class are also illiterate. The illiterate and poor parents tend to take decision based on their immediate need and consider the investment in children unaffordable. They have this fear even after education their children may not get the job. In addition to money costs, the opportunity costs of education—in the form of foregone income from child labour or foregone utility of services from the child at home may be an important factor determining education-related decisions. It was observed that only 10 percent of the children living in brick kilns are going school rest either do the work in brick kilns or help in household chores. Only 13 percent of boys and only 7 percent of girls are attending the school. Among moulders which also constitute the major chunk of child labour the percentage of school going children was just 9 percent. The low socio-economic status of the parents as well as lack of education facility was the major factors. The duration of stay is also only 7-8 months which is less than an academic year is also one factor of discontinuation of the education. In fact, the majority of children enrolled in the school but 83 percent dropped out before completing class 5th and 9 percent dropped before completing 8th class. Only 8 percent of the child labour in brick kilns never attended the school. Therefore, there is need of delineating those factors which force the children to leave school and start working.

28. List of Hazards: Child labourers suffer from the same accidents, ill-health and fatalities as young and adult workers. However, because of their lack of experience, their lack of education on hazards and risks, and the fact that their bodies are still growing, children may be exposed to special risks. For example, frequent awkward or heavy lifting and repetitive strains can permanently injure growing spines or limbs, especially, if poorly designed equipment is being used. Skin, eye, respiratory or nervous problems often occur in children exposed to hazardous materials and toxic
pollution and children are vulnerable to much lower levels of exposure than adults.

29. Child labour in brick kilns has not been recognized as a worst form of child labour in India however our impression was that working conditions in brick kilns are bad and particularly hazardous for children. Children engaged in various tasks continuously lift and carry heavy burdens and squat for long periods at the sancha. In the absence of specific medical studies, one can only speculate about damage to knees, lower legs and the spine. Exposure to emissions from burning fuel and dust is another health and safety issue, made worse for children living on-site.

30. Children participate in several stages of brick production (explained in the previous chapters) however, mainly engaged in mouding the bricks, mixing mud fetching and giving water. Children also fetch and carry bricks to and from the kilns and load and unload the kilns. Children and their families work long hours, often in the early hours of the morning during the summer.

31. It was noticed that the common illness among child workers were headache, body pain, fever, cough, and eye pain diarrhea and physical injuries. It was observed that 45 percent of child labourers complained one or more above mentioned illness. The proportion of females was more (48 percent) as compare to boys (42 percent) reported some kind of illness. Both males and females suffered from body pain and incidence reported was as high as 76 percent in girls and 74 percent in boys. The wrong posture, long hours of work and exceeding amount of exertion than their young bodies can bear often lead to back pain and pain in feet. The constant exposure to harsh sunlight, dust and smoke causes eye diseases and 25 percent of child labours complained about eye pain. The incidence of constant wheezing and cough was also observed among the child workers more among boys than girls. Boys also suffered more physical injuries mostly because of their careless handling of work than girls. The child labour doing the job of Dhoai and Nikasi (cartage of bricks) suffered more physical injuries due to falling of bricks, tripping and hurt from pack animals. Due to lack of hygiene and safe drinking water the cases of stomach pain and diarrhea were common, 21 percent of children (23 percent girls and 18 percent boys) suffered from the diarrhoea.
Major findings from case studies

At the brick kiln site, it was observed that almost all the children have same routine of working 10-12 hours a day with their families. Many of them are school drop out (class two and five). Although, many of them want to go to school, some parents discourage the education of child with logic ‘Padhne se kya hoga?’ (There is no use of education). In case of girl child labour, it was observed that they are victim of early age marriage and get responsibility of mother at very early age. In some cases, it was observed that some unmarried girls act (perform) the duties of mother in their childhood. The workers are mainly migrated from Bihar, Jharkhand and other nearby districts of Kanpur and mainly they are from scheduled caste background. This was one of objectives of the study. In many cases, child labours are unpaid only male/female head of the family is paid. In brick kiln, labourers generally work for six months and rest of six months they work in their home town (village) as agricultural labourers. The decision to work in brick kilns are taken by head of the family while, no body was satisfied and happy with their job and no medical facility is provided by the owners. Child labourers want to work in a city/town to get good wages.

On very interesting case was observed that a working couple in brick kiln are educating their children and they want to send them to college but their children were living in home town (village) with their grand parents. Few cases were observed where death of male head of family brought female and their children to work as child labour.

Children work for a variety of reasons. Poverty is one of the most important factors. Children work to ensure the survival of their family and themselves. Though children are not well paid, they still serve as major contributors to family income.

Education

Generally, parents prompt their children to work with them. Some parents believe that a formal education is not beneficial, and advocate that children learn work skills through labour at a young age. These views are narrow and do not take the long term developmental benefits of education into account. The problem of schools also contribute to child labour phenomena. Many times children seek employment simply because there is no access to schools (distance, no school at all). When there is access, the low quality of the education often makes attendance a waste of time for the students. Schools in many
areas, especially, in backward districts and rural areas suffer from problems such as overcrowding, inadequate sanitation and apathetic teachers. As a result, parents may find no use in sending their children to school when they could be home learning a skill (for example, agriculture) and supplementing the family income. Because parents have so much control over their children, their perception of the value of school is a main determinant of child attendance. Parents who are educated understand the importance of schooling; therefore they are more willing to send their children to schools.

The tradition and culture are also important factor. The traditional mindset is also important factor in not educating their daughters. The established female role in our country dictates that women will not fit into traditional roles if they become educated. In our social structure, caste system also perpetuates the problem. For example, people of lower castes are expected to perform manual labour and therefore are more apt not to attend school.

Migration
Rapid rural-to-urban migration is also the cause for the increasing rate of child labour in urban areas. Many families leave the severity of agricultural working conditions for cities in order to search for economic opportunities that often do not exist. As a result, poor economic condition force children and their families into urban poverty; children are soon required to work. Uttar Pradesh is a vast state with a lot of socio-economic diversity and disparity therefore, a wide range of variations in the incidence of child labours have been observed in the state.

Poverty
The poverty variable is one of the important determinants of the supply of child labour. It is not, however, clear which is cause and which is the effect between poverty and child labour. It is possible that child labour can perpetuate poverty. In case of brick kilns, it’s especially true where working in the brick kilns has become inter-generational occupation. The deprivation of education and negligent accumulation of social and economic capital even after working in the brick kilns over long period of time has resulted in to the perpetuation of the child labour in the family. It was observed from the field that majority of labours started as child labour along with their parents some 20-25 years ago and now their children are working with them.
The wide spread problem of child labour in the brick kilns needs to be studied extensively. This research paper provided a snap shot of the prevalence and nature of work done by children in the brick kilns. It is our endeavour to look in the socio-economic and demographic factors responsible for the occurrence of child labour in general and in brick kilns in particular. The child labour cannot be eradicated unless the root causes, which force the ignorant and poverty stricken parents to compel their children to work in the brick kilns along them. The prevailing poverty and unemployment reduction and education for all programmes often do not cover the brick kilns labourers because of their seasonal residence in the brick kilns site. To achieve a child labour free brick kilns a more targeted approach is needed.

The problem of child labour is very substantially located in rural areas where poor parents send their children to work for reasons of economic expediency, unable or sometimes unwilling to perceive the long term value of education, especially of girls. Agriculture employs a large number of children and nature of agriculture work in harvesting and showing seasons often require more helping hands, which are readily provided by children. In Urban areas, working children are mainly migrants from rural areas along with their family or alone. These child workers often live and work in inhuman working conditions and are prone to health risks and exploitation. Therefore, child labour is highly inimical to the educational, intellectual and potential economic development of these children. The skill development of children as child labourers is no substitute for the access to social mobility, which is possible through access to the formal educational system. In India, career paths do not lead vertically through various segments of the labour and production processes.

In case of girl child labour, the situation is very alarming. In 1981, girl’s participation rate was 2.16 percent, which increased to 2.57 percent in 1991. Alarmingly, this trend of increase in girl’s participation rates accelerated during 1991-2001 and by 2001, percentage of working girls to total girl population in the state reached 3.32 percent. Gender study of Child workers in the state reveals a very significant aspect that overall increase during 1991-2001 in the percent of total child workers to total children was due to sharp increase in girls’ workers during the decade. This is very alarming and likely to aggravate already precarious condition of girls in the state. It also indicates that
children welfare programmes failed to tackle the reasons which force the girls to work. It also indicates inadequacy of present children welfare schemes in addressing specific problem of girls and gender biases of these schemes. There is a need of more in-depth understanding of causal factors of occurrence of girl child workers and formulate programmes targeted to address this problem.

As pointed out in the chapter two, the girl child participation rate has increased during the decade. In 1991, it rose to 2.57 percent from 2.16 percent in 1981 and 3.32 percent in 2001. The problem of girl child labour is more acute than the boy child labour, studies have revealed that the girl children are largely engaged in running the households from a very early age. Their nature of work includes collection of fuel, fetching water and looking after the younger siblings. Traditional socio-economic factors playa major role in deciding the work pattern of girls. As a matter of fact, despite some improvement in female condition the sons continue to play a dominant role in all aspect of life. Adverse sex ratios, female infanticide, deliberate negligence of girl child in the younger age, lower nutritional and educational status and even the nature of works performed by the girls are some of the indicators which shows discrimination against girls. School attendance of girls is far less than the boys, even the dropout rate of girl is more than that of boys. These factors lead to higher incidence of girl child labour.

This study shows that incidence of full-time child labour in UP has been declining in the decade but continues to be an overwhelmingly rural phenomena. There is preponderance of rural boys still working within the family modes of employment. Numerically, a large segment of rural girls are in nowhere category. Those employed as child workers are also mainly in the family modes of employment.

Child Labour in Rural and Urban Areas

The child work participation rate is much higher in the rural areas, although it declined to 88.22 percent from 90.79 percent in 1981 and again slightly rose to 88.65 in 2001. Most of these child labourers are engaged in the primary sector. In 1991, the highest proportion of child workers in rural area was in Pithoragarh, 99.16 percent; the lowest percentage in Lucknow, 51.96 percent. The districts which had higher percentage of child labour in rural areas were Uttarkashi, Chamoli, Tehrigarhwal, Garhwal, Pithoragarh, Almora,
Nainital, Budaun, Mainpuri, Fatehpur, Allahabad, Lalitpur, Hamirpur, Banda, Kheri, Sitapur, Unnao, Raebareli, Bahraich, Gonda, Barabanki, Faizabad, Sultanpur, Basti, Pratapgarh, Gorakhpur, Deoria, Azamgarh, Jaunpur, Ballia, Ghazipur, Mirzapur. On the other hand, the districts having marginally lower percentage of child labour in rural areas are Lucknow, Agra, Ghaziabad and Kanpur. In 2001, highest proportion of child worker in rural areas was in Shrawasti 99.13 percent followed by Mahrajganj 98.73 percent, Basti 98.62 percent, Kushinagar 98.47 percent and Siddharthnagar 98.46 percent. While the lowest proportion was in Lucknow 52.01 percent, then Agra 56.04 percent, Kanpur Nagar 57.02 percent and Varanasi 58.09 percent. In total, 33 districts had more than the state average of 88.65 percent child workers in rural areas.

While in urban areas working children increased to 11.78 percent in 1991 from 9.21 percent in 1981 and declined to 11.35 percent in 2001. (Please see Fig 2.3) In urban areas, the highest proportion of child workers was 47.9 in Lucknow percent followed by Agra 43.96 percent, Kanpur Nagar 42.98 percent and Varanasi 41.1 percent. The lowest proportion was in Shrawasti 0.87 percent, then Mahrajganj 1.27 percent, Basti 1.38 percent and Kushinagar 1.53 percent.

Girl child labours dominated over boys in most of the districts of Uttar Pradesh in rural areas, as most of the girl children are engaged in performing household activities. But, in urban areas boy child labour’s percentage is higher in most of the districts. It may be due to maximum migration of boys to the urban areas for work.

An interesting fact was observed considering the religion based distribution. The religion-based distribution of child labour shows that, all child labours belonged to the Hindu community. The other communities like Muslim, Christian and Shikhs were absent in the brick kilns in the study area.

**Child Labour and Health**

The present study is limited in its nature and scope. It provides only general picture of health implications of work on child labour. But, it can be convincingly said that the work in brick kilns is hampering the children’s health and growth in both direct and indirect ways. The adverse living conditions, strenuous work, exposure to dust, smoke and pollution are damaging the children health. The deprivation of education because of
work at brick kilns will result in to the inability of acquiring better skills or develop better earning capacity in future. This will have life long adverse impact on child labourer’s health because of low income and non-affordability of proper diet and health care. Children working under appalling conditions in brick kilns, construction, mining, manufacturing and agriculture face immediate threats to their health. However, there is need of more in depth analysis of various variables which affects working child’s health.

Children’s growth is influenced more by environmental factors than genetics up to the age of five. The WHO found that, despite natural differences among individual children, the average potential size of youngsters, across large populations, regionally and globally, is remarkably similar. According to WHO, “Children from India, Norway and Brazil all show similar growth patterns when provided healthy growth conditions early in life”. It is sad that millions of children are deprived of actualization of their optimum health and growth potential due to work. Children are often psychologically traumatized. Sexual and physical abuse is often used by employers to punish workers.

Child labour is detrimental to children, preventing them from enjoying their childhood, hampering their development and sometimes causing lifelong physical or psychological damage. It is also detrimental to families, communities and society as a whole. As both a result and a cause of poverty, child labour perpetuates disadvantage and social exclusion. It undermines national development by keeping children out of school, preventing them from gaining the education and skills that would enable them as adults to contribute to economic growth and prosperity.

**Working Condition**

Child labour in brick kilns has not been recognized as a worst form of exploitation; our impression was that working conditions in brick kilns are bad and particularly hazardous for children engaged in various tasks like continuously lifting and carrying heavy burdens and squat for long periods at the sancha. In the absence of specific medical studies, one can only speculate about damage to knees, lower legs and the spine. Exposure to emissions from burning fuel and dust is another health and safety issue, made worse for children living on-site.
Children engaged in work are exposed to a variety of hazards (e.g. dangerous machinery, falling objects, pesticides, chemicals, abusive employers) that have the potential to seriously damage their health. Working in the hazardous occupations like carpet, brassware, lock, matches, pottery, gems, fireworks, power loom, handloom etc., the children contact various diseases like tuberculosis, acid burns, asthma, acute headaches, breathlessness, silicosis, pneumonia, eye defects, etc. Besides, children who work with dangerous machines and chemicals and furnaces with high temperatures run the risk of getting involved in accident. The hazardous child labourer work in dangerous or unhealthy conditions that could result in a child being killed, or injured and/or made ill as a consequence of poor safety and health standards and working arrangements. Some injuries or ill health may result in permanent disability.

It is very obvious that child labour is at the expense of education and even in the absence of any direct effect of child work activity on health, there can be indirect effect through the sacrifice of education. A lower level of educational attainment might impact negatively on health. The illiterate labourer neither can read the warning and user manuals printed on pesticides nor care much for handling it in proper ways. The precautions observed, in the handling of deadly pesticides by agricultural labourers are positively related with their education level. While many of the health risks, child labourers are exposed to, threaten immediate damage to health, others are likely to develop over many years and might only become manifest in adulthood. Exposures to pesticides, chemicals, dusts and carcinogenic agents in agriculture, mining and quarrying and manufacturing increase the risks of developing bronchial complaints, cancers and a wide variety of diseases. A second factor raising the health risks faced by child labourers relative to adults derivest from the fact that children often work in informal, small scale and illegal settings which, by their very nature, are difficult to regulate. Most child labour is undertaken within the family unit. Children working in small scale farming and manufacturing are often not given the protection promised by health and safety regulation, even when this protection is available.

It seems a bit ironical but in some circumstances there is possibility of a positive impact of child labour on child health. Whilst child labourers are exposed to health hazards they would not otherwise encounter, they also generate resources, which help
maintain themselves and their families. If a positive impact of a child's labour market participation on the resources at a household's disposal is accepted, then empirical support for a positive impact of living standards on health can be cited to support the argument that child labour potentially affects child health positively. In conditions of extreme poverty, this is a plausible and persuasive argument. In addition to any direct negative impact of labour on the working child's health, there may be an indirect impact on the health of siblings operating through the intra-household allocation of resources.

**Girl Child Labour**

The situation is much worse in case of girl child labour. In India, gender bias is most visible in such resource allocation. The female child often gets lesser portion of the share. Consequently, notwithstanding the impact of health hazards confronted in the workplace, siblings especially girls might be expected to experience lower nutritional status and greater morbidity than working male children themselves. In turn, lower calorie intake was associated with higher levels of morbidity. There is a bulk of evidence indicating gender bias in the household allocation of resources. Girl child labour dominated over boys in most of the districts of Uttar Pradesh in rural areas, as most of the girl children are engaged in performing household activities. But, in urban areas boy child labour percentage is higher in most of the districts. It may be due to maximum migration of boys to the urban areas for work.

In short, the relationships between child labour and health are complex. They can be multidimensional, dynamic, positive and negative, causal or spurious. The diversity of potential relationships makes their empirical disentanglement a difficult exercise. There may well be chronic long-term health effects from exposure to hazardous materials that will not show up until the child is an adult and which adversely impact future productive working span of life. This idea was also one of the objectives of the study. A conceptual framework of analysis is required and important issues of measurement and of estimation must be given careful consideration.
Legislation and Policy

Despite the laws and measures dealing with child labour, the stark reality is that children are exploited a lot. In the sixth chapter, a brief history of various legislative acts regarding child labour have been discussed beginning with the Factories Act, 1881, which prescribed the minimum age for employment and fixed working hours for children employed in a factory. Since then, the legislative history has come a long way till the enactment of child labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986. However, this act is not very comprehensive as it exempts from prohibition over 90 per cent of child labour in India. This Act also fails to meet the ILO guideline concerning the minimum age of employment set at fifteen years of age.

The child workers working in hazardous sectors in some specific sectors deserve prior attention because the employment processes in which they work were prohibited under the Factories Act of Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986. Hence, action oriented projects have been drawn up for implementation on pilot basis. It was envisaged that the project would have greater impact due to concerted efforts on many fronts. Despite the announcement of a National Child Labour Policy in 1987, the subsequent constitution of a National Authority for the Elimination of Child Labour (NAECL) and the undertaking of National Child Labour Projects (NCLP) in an increasing number of areas of our country, the goal of ending child labour remains elusive, even in respect of the estimated two million children working in hazardous industries who were to be freed from such tyranny by the year 2000.

Although, the Constitution of India clearly states that child labour is wrong and that measures should be taken to end it. But, no concrete efforts have been made at the national or state level to withdraw from hazardous employment except a comprehensive National Child Labour Policy in 1987, which provided a broad framework for tackling the issue of child labour through legislative action plan, general programmes and project oriented action plan in areas prone to child labour. However, the children are still employed because the legal measures are cleverly violated and bypassed by the employers due to weak law enforcing machinery at different levels.

The sixth chapter indicates that although policies are in place that could potentially reduce the incidence of child labour, enforcement is a problem. If child labour
is to be eradicated, the government and those responsible for enforcement need to start doing their jobs. Policies can and will be developed concerning child labour, but without enforcement they are all useless. Efforts of the Government of India in establishing a National Authority for the Elimination of Child Labour created machinery for co-ordination among nine major Ministries of the federal government are important steps in the right direction. However, the fragmentary nature of our approach to different facets of child welfare, namely, rural education, rural development and child labour policies at the local level needs to be recognized and machinery for a coordinated effort at the village level has to be put in place. Without such a coordinated effort, we can not successfully deal with the issues of child development of which child labour is a part. On the broader developmental front, successful rural development strategy demands ensuring that the foundational building blocks of human resource development are created effectively. Over the past decade, the issue of child labour has risen to prominence on the international agenda. To examine the role and work done by various international agencies was one of the objectives of the study.

**International Organization, Agencies and NGOs**

An increase in the number of organizations dedicated to the elimination of child labour, public debate and media attention, industry-based initiatives such as "codes of conduct" and social labeling schemes are all responses to growing awareness that the exploitation of children's labour is a violation of their most basic human rights. Mobilization at the global level is emerging as a significant force. Consumer groups, human rights and child-centered NGOs, trade unions and employers have organized diverse efforts around the common goal of protecting children from exploitative child work. These global initiatives have raised awareness about the complex problem and are contributing to an international climate that is conducive to action on behalf of working children. Growing voluntary movements of both consumer groups and segments of the corporate sector have gained momentum in recent years in both Europe and North America. There have also been efforts to insert a social clause, prescribing international sanctions against countries that violate basic human and labour rights, including the use of child workers, in international trade agreements through the World Trade Organization.
The growing global concern about children exposed to exploitation has also found expression in the various conventions passed by two of the most relevant intergovernmental agencies, the ILO and UNICEF. The virtually universal ratification of the CRC (Convention on the Right of Child), linked to an effective implementation and reporting process has provided both a new global impetus and perspective. Although, most of these initiatives were independently conceived and carried out their cumulative effect has been to make child labour one of the dominant issues of our time. Child labour is part of a wider social reality at local, national and international levels. Along with wider recognition of the problem of child labour, that has come to better knowledge and understanding of how to tackle it, and the determination to work together towards the common goal of its elimination. The ILO Report clearly point out, poverty and social exclusion produce fertile breeding grounds for child labour. Unfortunately, neither economic reforms nor conventional development models have yielded the promised outcomes for large sections of the population in the developing world. Only through understanding and action at all these levels, in mutually reinforcing ways, can its effective abolition be achieved.

It has been realized that the worldwide effort should be to attack poverty. The United Nations Millennium Summit, held in New York in September 2000, put in place the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). Progress towards achievement of each one of these goals, and, in particular, the goals to halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people living in extreme poverty and to ensure universal primary education by 2015, will provide a backdrop against which the effective abolition of child labour can itself be realized. The UN Commission on Human Rights adopted in 1993 a “Programme of Action for the Elimination of the Exploitation of Child Labour”. Activity under this programme is in an early stage. So far, the main outcome has been the provision of information by a number of governments on the situation of child labour in their countries. Child labour has also received attention by the “expert-level” Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, a subordinate body to the Commission on Human Rights, as well as by the Sub-Commission working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery.
Working with national governments, NGOs (non-governmental organizations), other United Nations agencies and private-sector partners, UNICEF protects children and their rights by providing services and supplies and by helping shape policy agendas and budgets in the best interests of children. This led to one of the successful initiatives of UNICEF in UP to stop child labour, known as ‘Rugmark’ it consists of inspecting carpet factories and certifying that the carpets were not made with child labour. A consumer education program was also launched in North America and Europe, and importers were pressed to join the scheme. However, this is a delicate issue which needs careful handling. It should not tarnish the image of “Made in India brand” thus, hampering the interest of even those manufacturers and exporters which do not use child labour. After carpets, UNICEF focused on other industries like sports, glass, matchstick and firecrackers industries. There is no specific planning for brick kiln child labour.

Co-operation between the various international organizations concerned with children, poverty and development has intensified in recent years. The structural causes of child labour, such as poverty, inequality, and deficient education, health and child protection systems, fall within the mandates of different agencies. Thus, the core mandate of the ILO in this field is complemented by those of UNICEF, the World Bank, WHO, UNDP, UNESCO and others, each of which has expertise and programme experience to bring to bear on solving the problem. The political will and commitment of individual governments to address child labour in cooperation with employers’ and workers’ organizations, other NGOs and relevant parties in society – such as universities and the media – is the starting point for all IPEC action. Sustainability is built in from the start through an emphasis on in-country ownership. Support is given to partner organizations to develop and implement measures which aim at preventing child labour, withdrawing children from hazardous work and providing alternatives, and improving the working conditions as a transitional measure towards the elimination of child labour.

In this regard, there has been a flood of NGOs in recent years. All sort of NGOs have mushroomed in every nook and corner of the country. Therefore, it has become very difficult to sort out genuine from spurious ones. Nevertheless, the role played by various good NGOs can not be undermined because of this reason. The service being rendered by these NGOs should be appreciated and their activities relating to child labour relief and
rehabilitation must be actively supported both by the Central and State Government through financial assistance in the form of projects. There is need of better co-ordination among NGOs and various government agencies at local and regional level. In several districts, there is number of NGOs working in same area providing similar service to same children whereas other needy are left. Hence, there is need of local networking among NGOs through promotion of joint forums. This was also one of the objectives of the study.

Policy Implications
The study brings out a number of patterns of policy interest observable in the dynamics of child labour in India at the national and the state levels. Firstly, the subset of child population defined as child labour in 1986 Act is small and declining, contrary to the alarmist view being projected in the media in India and overseas. In absolute terms, the total number is less than 10 million children with a labour force participation rate of less than 5 per cent. Urban, industrial child labour which is focus of global interest and rural wage based non-agricultural child labour combined is about one million children. In case of Uttar Pradesh, child work participation rate was 3.97 percent in 1991 and 4.08 percent in 2001.

Secondly, variations across states in the incidence of child labour and its rates of decline over the last three decades are rather large. States like Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab are leading in substantially reducing the incidence of child labour while others like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh continue to have a rather sluggish decline though variability among laggards also is quite substantial. Within Uttar Pradesh also there are lots of variations in the incidence of child labour. For instance, highest was in Banda 8.32 percent, followed by Nainital 7.47 percent, Uttarkashi 7.43 percent. And, the lowest proportion was in Mainpuri 1.59 percent and Kanpur 1.67 percent. In UP, child worker proportion has decreased to 3.97 percent from 4.59 percent during the decade 1981-91. But, in 2001 child worker proportion again has increased from 3.97 percent to 4.08 percent.

Thirdly, there is a huge gender bias in the incidence of child labour. In urban areas, there are more boys than girls work as child labourer. Though in percentage terms,
these are substantially lower than in rural areas. A large majority of girls still work within the agricultural sector of rural India. Same is true for Uttar Pradesh also.

For policy-makers the challenge should be not only to eliminate the child labour but elimination of children’s deprivation. Combining the two, the number of children who ought to have received priority attention in 1991 is much larger. Gender bias in this also is very large. Thus, we need to expand schooling facilities to accommodate additional boys and girls who will be released from child labour. A substantial number of this expansion has to be in the rural areas of the backward districts.

Lastly, despite the staggering numbers, situation in state is far from hopeless. The positive examples of the districts with declining proportion of children in labour force suggest that examples are within state.

At the community level, with a degree of socio-political urgency, the problem can be handled within one generation with a major shift in public policies on child development, of which child labour policies are a sub-set. The cost of doing nothing would be enormous. In that case, in the year 2010, India would have the dubious distinction of having world’s largest concentration of illiterate workers of all ages with rather poor capacity to deal with the technology of a globally integrated and highly exploited Indian economy and a major chunk will belong to UP. Much brighter scenarios are feasible and ought to be the core of our policy agenda.

**Developing a Strategy to Eradicate Child Labour**

The problem of child labour is multidimensional and multifaceted. In order to eliminate the problem of child labour an integrated approach is required. The following action priorities can be adopted for the child labour eradicate

The state of education in UP also needs to be improved. High illiteracy and dropout rates are reflective of the inadequacy of the educational system. Poverty plays a role in the ineffectiveness of the educational system. Dropout rates are high because children are forced to work in order to support their families. The attitudes of the people also contribute to the lack of enrollment -- parents feel that work develops skills that can be used to earn an income, while education does not help in this matter. Compulsory education may help in regard to these attitudes. The example of Kerala shows that
compulsory education has worked in those areas. India is making progress in terms of educational policy as well as improvement in the literacy rate. The results of 2001 are quite impressive and it can be hoped there will be corresponding decline in the incidence of the child labour too. The literacy rate in UP also improved to 57.36 percent in 2001 from poor 41.6 percent in 1991. However, there is need of further improvement especially female literacy rate which is still 42.98 percent. There is need of better implementation of ongoing education programmes for instance, if the DPEP which is undergoing in 54 districts of UP is implemented properly then it will be a great step in achieving universal education, and eradicating child labour.

Vocational, pre-vocational and skills training has a crucial role to play in rehabilitation of former child workers. But from this we can also draw important conclusions on what content is necessary in universal education, if it is to function effectively as prevention of child labour. “Education For All” should lead to decent work for men and women.

The strategic use of mass communication channels and the involvement of journalists and other communicators can be critical to spreading ideas and creating new social norms conducive to human rights to a large population, in a short period of time. Local and national media can be utilized to promote awareness of the problem and to mobilize the widest possible support for the initiatives undertaken at all levels for the eradication of the worst forms of child labour and for the welfare of underprivileged children. Rallies, demonstrations, conferences and seminars etc can be used for the purpose. Traditional and innovative methods, such as theatre, dance, and music, to reach out to vulnerable groups, including parents and child labourers can be also used.

Legislation has been able to control child labour in the formal sector to some degree. As a result, child labour is most prevalent in the highly unmonitored, informal and rural sectors. Because much of child labor is either in the informal sector or illegal, there is a lack of accurate data on this subject. Further quantification is necessary in order to learn more about this problem. The lack of enforcement of labour restrictions perpetuates child labour.

There has been a great deal of attention on ‘hazardous’ work by children. The Child Labour Prohibition and Regulation Act, 1986 listed 18 industries as hazardous and
banned the employment of children in them. A further list of 35 industries has been notified during 1998. There may cover less than 20% of child workers. This focus tends to divert attention from the thousands of children who are in occupations not listed, such as domestic service. There are large numbers of children in domestic service but they are among the most invisible child labourers and are therefore difficult to survey and analyze. Child domestics are often ignored by policy-makers and excluded from the coverage of legislation.

However, all occupations can be hazardous given the age of the child, lack of safety measures, and the callous attitude of employers. Most programmes whether by Governments or NGOs tend to be for children engaged in most hazardous activities. So majority of child labourers engaged in domestic services and other unorganized service largely left unattended. Therefore, there is need of comprehensive legislation on child labour covering all types of child labour although priority can be given to worst form of child labour. Needless to say, such laws should enforce properly, if we want to have a future without child labour.

If a goal of to decrease the supply of child labour, that must happen at the source of the family. There is need of family empowerment. The families need to be enabled to protect and provide for their children. If families are to understand that child labour is a contributing problem and not a solution to poverty, they must be supported to find solutions that include increased family income and purchasing power. To better understand the harmful long-term impact of child labour on the well-being of the child and the family, families must also be in a position to demand quality education for their children and make use of opportunities that will enable them to keep their children away from harmful work and in school. With social support and assistance, there is all possibility that families will become campaigners against child labour and supporters of education when they perceive its relevance and its importance.

Educating children and their families about the dangers and risks involved in child labour in relation to their health, safety and development is also very important. The education of children about their rights and child labour problems should be integrated within the curriculum of all formal and non-formal education.
The problem of child labour cannot be solved without the participation of children. They have their own analysis of society; they have their own strategies not only for survival but also their conditions of work, their conditions in life. Therefore, we also must take their views and suggestion in to account while formulating any strategy for the child labour eradication.

Civil society organizations and other local institutions and actors can work together with local governmental authorities to change attitudes and practices. Dialogue and negotiation can be encouraged by creating or strengthening indigenous community groups where families have a safe space to examine their own practices and develop ideas for change.

In our society, women and girls face discrimination in access to health, education, employment and in all other areas. In addition, they are victims of some oppressive and rigid customs and traditions that perpetuate their disadvantage. Women lag behind men in regard to education, literacy, health, and persons living in absolute poverty. All these factors lead to more vulnerable conditions for the girl child labourers. Therefore, there is need for special focus on girl child workers. Similarly there is need of elimination of caste system which hampers the efforts to eradicate child labour. NGOs, Civil society organizations and other local institutions and actors can play important in this area.

If the appropriate role of government is to create conditions for the fulfillment of citizens’ aspirations, it is most often the role of NGOs and civil society organizations to help strengthen communities’ capacities to articulate their claims and make their demands known. Where powerful economic or political interests may resist the elimination of child labour, NGOs can create a countervailing public constituency that makes government action possible, even necessary. NGOs have, in fact, led the movement against child labour and promoted principles of child rights over the past several decades. Awareness raising or other social mobilization activities are frequently an integral part of their work. NGOs can also expose child labour abuse; and monitor follow-up action taken by the respective authorities.

A key challenge is not only to learn from and replicate experience, but to build networks, to share information, widen awareness, and more importantly increase pressure
on government leaders to perform their policy making, legislative, and supportive role in addressing child labour. The London-based Child Rights Information Network is a good example of the type of coalition building in which NGOs need to engage.

The sixth Chapter which reviews the work done by various agencies, Intergovernmental, Governmental as well as Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the field of child labour eradication clearly highlight the need of better co-ordination among these agencies especially at local level. This study indicated wide reach of local NGOs which are present in the almost all the districts of Uttar Pradesh. They can be very useful in eradication of child labour provided they are better equipped, trained and supported by government and international agencies to meet the challenge of child labour eradication. Moreover, there is need of a regulatory framework to check the spurious NGOs which exist in plenty in the state.

Promoting productive employment for youth is closely linked to the abolition of child labour in two main ways. First, the general prospect of future unemployment or underemployment discourages children and their parents from investing in education and skills training, thus helping to perpetuate child labour among younger children. Second, the lack of decent work opportunities for young people leaving school and entering the labour market for the first time means they may fall prey to unprotected, hazardous work, thus themselves becoming child labourers.

Creating a broad social alliance is a necessary condition for the elimination of child labour. It must reach from the highest levels of global power and influence to the hardest to reach, poorest and most powerless communities and families. This includes all branches and levels of government; civil society organizations, employers and trade unions, consumer groups, the media, families, children, teachers, health professionals, social workers and street educators.

It would be more appropriate to deal with the issue in wider spectrum and broader perspective. Development schemes must be evolved and implemented specially for the parents of child labour with a view to make the families economically sound and in turn it will pave the way to withdrawing of children from hazardous occupations. Greater amount of public awareness is to be created besides addressing to the basic needs. Both Government agencies and NGOs learn to work together and focus attention in the
direction of possible elimination of child workers from hazardous occupations. Rights of children must be protected and silent dehumanization is to be averted. Besides, there must be some amount of political will to tackle this social evil and ensure just society and thereby fulfilling the constitutional obligations. Finally, solution to the problem of child labour lies in Universalization of Primary Education (UPE) in its letter and spirit with the intention of ensuring balanced human resource development in the contemporary Indian society.