Chapter One

Introduction
**Introduction**

Child labour, specifically refers to young people who are denied of their right to a childhood and working in situations that will damage their growth, their health (both physical and mental) or their education. Children, who work long hours, in dangerous and unhealthy conditions, are often exposed to lasting physical and psychological damage. For example, working at looms in carpet factories can leave children with eye damage, lung disease, stunted growth and a susceptibility to arthritis in later life.

Young people are often involved in child labour because of the system that creates poverty for their families. Their families depend on the income they can provide. But more often than not, those involved in child labour do not earn a living wage; sometimes they earn nothing at all, but come as part of a package, working with their parent or in return for food and shelter.

Conditions of child labour range from that of four-year-olds tied to looms to keep them from running away, to seventeen-year-olds helping out on the family farm. In some cases, a child’s work can be helpful to him or her and to the family; working and earning can be a positive experience in a child’s growing up stages. This depends largely on the age of the child, the conditions in which the child works, and the work also prevents the child from going to school.

The problem of child labour is universal and complex and mostly existing in the developing countries. On the one hand because of poverty, low level of literacy, high fertility rate and due to the backwardness and labour intensive technology in these countries the masses send their children to work. There is a search for cheap labour, which is available in the form of child labour. The complex issue of child labour is a developmental issue worth investigating. The notion that children are being exploited and forced into labour, while not receiving education crucial to development, concerns many people. India is the largest example of a nation plagued by the problem of child labour.

Children are an asset for any society. The child’s role is important for the development of the society and civilization of our ages. The prosperity of the society as well as the nation is hidden within the potentialities of the children and their creative activities. They are the future citizens of the country. In fact whatever we do for our children we do to ensure our own future and future of the country. It is the
responsibility of the society to nurture them through various phases of their development to enable them to make a meaningful contribution to the society. In modern society the concept of human resources keep its deep root around children.

Childhood is the formative phase of life requiring appropriate care for growth and development. Children are not meant to work or earn. So the equal emphasis is given on the physical, mental, educational and intellectual development of the children. They need adequate amount of support, care and warmth from the adults. Unfortunately millions of children in India are deprived of a proper childhood in the sense that they are not provided with the adequate condition for their overall physical and mental development. Instead, they are forced to enter the workforce at an early age. The need of nutritious food, shelter, clothing and sleep, child’s inner life emotions must be recognized and cultivated. Since, these emotions of a child are the source of power can lead to a personal uplift or degradation directing the individual intellect into creative activities and well being of human life or into antisocial channels.¹

There is no uniform definition of a ‘child’, but generally a person between the ages of 0–14 years is considered as a child. The child labour “prohibition and regulation” Act, 1986 and constitution of India defines a child up to the age of 14 years. United Nations considered a person as a child in between the age of 7 to 18 years.

According to Murty², in India child labour is of two types: legal and illegal. Legal child labour includes the child labour which is above the minimum age but not adult. In factories, worker in the category of 14-18 years is considered as child labour. In mines, this age limit is 15-16 years, whereas is considered this age limit is 12 to 15 years. Illegal child labour includes all such child labour which is below this age limit or is working in unorganized sector, agriculture, hotels, houses, etc and it is not covered by child labour legislation. Labour economics studies the problem of legal child labour whereas illegal child labour has often been a neglected dimension.

1.1 What is Child Labour?

The practice of child labour is not a recent phenomenon. It can be traced back to the industrial revolution when the surplus-seeking entrepreneurs drew children into the labour market. As capitalism went through its various stages of development, the phenomenon of child labour came to be concentrated in the developing economies or in areas where capitalism was still developing. Like poverty, illiteracy or other social problem, child labour too emerged as an endemic problem.

The term “Child labour” is often used synonymously with “employed child” or “working child.” The term child labour has been defined differently by different organizations, agencies and countries. 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.

According to the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (1979), “when the business the 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 ILO, “Child labour includes children permanently leading adults 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. Child labour is also defined as having an element of economic compulsion associated with it and involves a time and energy commitment which affects children’s ability to participate in leisure, play and educational activities”.

The operation Research group based in Baroda, defines child labour as “A child falling within the five to fifteen age bracket and is at remunerative work, may be paid or unpaid, and busy in any hour of the day within or outside the family.” Das’s (1984) definition of “child labour” refers to an economic practice and attendant social evil. Child labour as an economic practice signifies employment in gainful occupations and a material contribution to the labour income of the family”.2

V.V.Giri4 termed child labour first as an economic practice and second as a social evil. In economic practice, children are employed in different occupations to

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4 V.V. Giri (1958), “Labour problems in Indian Industry” Asia publishing House, Bombay, P.29
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4 V.V. Giri (1958), “Labour problems in Indian Industry” Asia publishing House, Bombay, P.29
raise the household income. Child labour can be a social evil where the children are deprived of their basic development in terms of mental and physical capacities. Haks, the chairman of the United States National Child labour Commission has defined child labour as any work by children that interferes with their full physical development and their opportunities for desirable minimum level of education or their needed recreation. (Labour Investigation Committee, Main Report 1986).

According to M. S. Subramaniyam, “Child labour means, the employment of children in five to fourteen year of age in gainful occupation, which are injurious to their physical, moral, social and mental development”. In India, the concrete definition of child labour is hard to found. The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation Act 1986) sets the condition of work for children in employment where they are not prohibited from working. In the absence of clear definition of what comprises child labour and conceptual differences and variations in the pattern of work, it becomes very difficult to make an estimate of child workers. This obstacle, as mentioned earlier, has been overcome in the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986, which seeks to obtain uniformity in the definition of child labour in the related laws.

Fyfe (1989), attempts to provide a distinction by differentiating between “Child Work” and “Child labour”. The former being seen as permissible and the latter as exploitation, “Clearly, not all work is bad for children... there is little doubt that many children welcome the opportunity to work, seeing in it the site of passage to adulthood... work which does not detract from other essential activities for children, namely leisure, play and education is not child labour. Child labour is work which impairs the health and development of children”.

The Concerned for Working Children (CWC), a Bangalore based group defines a child labourer as a person who has not completed his/her 15th year of age and is working with or without wages / income on a part time basis CWC, 1985 Others say that any child out of school is a child labour. It follows from the above definition that two major indicators (a) exploitation and (b) age have been used to define child labour. In the context of exploitation, UNICEF has given a comprehensive formulation in its attempt at defining child labour:

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• Starting full-time work at a very early age
• Working too long within or outside the family and unable to attend school
• Work resulting in excessive physical, social and psychological strains upon the child as in the case of sexual exploitation and pornography. Work in sweetshops as well as dangerous work as military service and mining work on the street is unhealthy and dangerous.
• Inadequate remuneration for working outside the family as in case of the child workers in carpet weaving who are paid about US $3 for 60 hours of work.
• Too much responsibility at too early age as in the domestic situation where children under 10 years may have to look after younger brothers and sisters for whole day, thereby forgoing school attendance.
• Work does not facilitate the psychological and social development of the child as in full and repetitive tasks associated with industries like handicrafts.
• Work that inhibits the child self-esteem, as in bonded labour and prostitution and in less extreme cases the negative perception of street children.

However, the product side definition of child labour is any work within or outside the family that threatens health and mental development of the child by denying him or her fundamental as well as non-fundamental rights. According to the Convention of the Rights of the Child (Art.32), “State parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or harmful to the child’s health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development”(Art. 32).

The condition of the girl child worker is pathetic. Their work is invisible because, it is mainly located in the domestic sphere. It defies quantification and monetary valuation and hence is considered as unproductive work. In small-scale industries and unorganized sectors, the girl child works with her parents who invariably enlist her daughter to increase the output. She is however considered only a helper. She is seen as a worker neither by the state or the employer nor by the parents.

Child labour therefore is the work, which involves some degree of exploitation i.e. physical, mental, and economic. It denies the joy to children and access to social opportunities (like education), which eventually impairs the personality and creativity
as well as the evolution and growth of full being and the health and mental
development of the child. The problem of child labour therefore not only constitute
the age of the child, but also the exploitation and abuse. The perception of what
constitutes exploitation/abuse can be very subjective, as it is not easy to differentiate
between the socialization aspects of a child’s activity and its exploitative aspects.

1.2 Historical Perspective

Participation of children in work is not a new phenomenon. It has existed in different
forms in every society throughout human history. Mendelievich\(^6\) has rightly observed
that “to a greater or lesser extent, children in every type of human society have always
taken part, and still do take part in those economic activities which are necessary if
the group to which they belong is to survive”. Child labour has existed in one form or
another in all historical times. In ancient India child labour is found in the form of
child slavery. Children below 8 years were owned by rich people for doing menial
jobs during the period of Chandragupta Maurya. Kautilya, his mentor, also mentions
in his ‘Arthashastra’ about this ignoble practice.\(^7\) This practice took a new form in
medieval India. During this period, a class of landless labourers emerged. These
labourers used their children to help in their economic activities. The period also
witnessed the emergence of craft and trade and the craftsman always used the services
of the children in the family. With occupation being determined on the basis of
heredity, the children were introduced to the traditional craft at an early age.\(^8\) Under
the Mughals, we also find the children being used as slaves. With the emergence of
industrialization during the modern period, the children were for the first time
removed from their domestic surroundings and their labour was exploited for
commercial gains.\(^9\) Children were forced to work for long hours in and hazardous
conditions.

Children in India have been associated with work from immemorial time. The
work that they were asked to undertake used to provide them an opportunity for direct
fulfillment of their natural abilities and for creating potentialities and was thus
conducive to their healthy growth and development. When the structure of the society

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\(^7\) Mehta, P.L., Child Labour and law, Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, p.22
\(^8\) Ibid., p. 25.
\(^9\) Ibid., p. 28.
was not so complicated, various occupations used to be pursued on the caste lines within the framework of joint family system in which the joys and sorrows, pleasure and pains, prosperity and poverty, and business and idleness used to be shared. And needs of all members used to be fulfilled within the available family resources. Elders used to see that the work done by children provided them creative opportunities equipping them with healthy and meaningful experience and there was no adverse effect of the work on the personality of children. Children were in fact given apprenticeship training in these family based occupations in the form of agriculture or agriculture based crafts and trades to prepare them to gradually take up various adult roles. Children used to work without any fear and full freedom in congenial family surrounding. Children used to be provided with opportunities to prepare themselves through the actual work training to take up effectively various responsibilities later on. This continued into independent India and the malaise has been widespread even after 60 years of independence.

1.3 Nature of Child labour Employment and Child Labour in India

Child population can be divided into three distinct subsets: those in schools, those who are economically active on a full-time basis, and those who participate in household activities not classified as gainful employment. The last category can be termed as nowhere children. The boundaries between the three subsets in our country are rather fuzzy. However, broad magnitudes particularly over time between four Census points 1961 to 2001 are not only indicative of the dynamics of child labour and education but, provide a reasonable approximation to the ground reality about sub-sets of child population.

According to the Census of India, (1961), male child population in the age group 5-14 was 5.9 crores. It increased to 7.9 crore in 1971, 9.4 crore in 1981 and 10.9 crores in 1991. Over 30 years, the male child population almost doubled. The proportion in schools increased from 39.8 per cent in 1961 to 56.6 per cent in 1991. Percentage of male child workers declined from 14.6 per cent in 1961 to 9.9 per cent in 1971. It further declined to 8.7 per cent in 1981 and was reported to be 5.7 per cent in 1991. In percentage terms, a decline from 14.6 per cent to 5.7 per cent in 30 years is rather impressive.

In absolute terms, the number of full-time male child workers declined from about 86 lakhs in 1961 to about 62 lakhs in 1991. The number of nowhere male
children was about 2.68 crore in 1961. It had increased to 4.11 crore in 1991. The number in schools was 2.35 crore in 1961 and had increased to 6.17 crore in 1991. Expansion in schooling of male children has been impressive but falls short of the need, thus swelling the ranks of *nowhere children*. If we restrict ourselves to proportions only, the school education has expanded and the percentage of *nowhere children* as well as in labour force has declined. However, in absolute terms, it is only the number of full-time male child labour which has registered a decline. The other two sub-sets of child population have registered increases.

In 1961, there were 5.5 crore girls in the age group 5-14. A large majority of them (69.4 per cent) were *nowhere*, 10.6 per cent were in full-time labour force, and 20.1 per cent were in schools. In 1991, there were 10.06 crore girls in the age group 5-14. More than half of these (50.7 per cent) were *nowhere*, 5.1 per cent in labour force and 44.2 per cent in schools.

Comparison of the dynamics of male and female child population and the proportions of its three sub-sets bring out the following points. Firstly, in absolute numbers, there were 5.46 crore girls against 5.93 crore boys in 1961. In 1991, there were 10.06 crore girls against 10.9 crore boys thus the sex-ratio for girls became more adverse over period. Secondly, 5.1 crore girls were *nowhere* in 1991. Comparable figure for 1961 is 3.79 crore. In 30 years, 1.2 crore girls have been added to the stock (dynamically shifting) of girl children who were neither in schools nor in the labour force. Therefore really serious efforts are needed to improve the condition of the girl child. A major effort to provide meaningful school education will have to be mounted. Thirdly, both in terms of proportions and in terms of absolute numbers, the number of male as well as female full-time child labour has declined between 1961 and 1991. However it may be pointed out that the comparison of the 1961 and 1971 data must be done with precaution because the definitions of child labour are different in the 2 censuses (unpaid workers are not included in the 1971 census). The census data shows an overall child work participation rate of 12.69% in 1961 and 7.13% in 1971 which further declined to 5.37 percent in 1991.

According to 2001 Census, over 1.26 crore children were working in India. The largest numbers of working children in the country are in Uttar Pradesh. The State has 19.27 lakh working children as per 2001 Census. Andhra Pradesh has the second largest working children population with 13.63 lakh followed by Rajasthan with 12.62 lakh and Bihar 11.17 lakh. Other states having significant number of working children are Madhya Pradesh with 10.65 lakh, West Bengal with 8.57 lakh,
Karnataka with 8.22 lakh and Maharashtra 7.64 lakh. The distribution of working children according to 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census is as follow:

Table 1.1
The distribution of working children in 1981, 1991 and 2001 in India

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** Census could not be conducted

1.4 Working Conditions

Today children are required to work individually without being given the personal and paternalistic care that they used to get in earlier times while working in family undertakings within or outside the precincts of their houses. They perform different types of repetitive, monotonous, boring and hazardous jobs and are quite often maltreated and exploited. The effect of participation of children in work today is generally negative and harmful to their proper physical, moral and mental development.

Children are compelled of circumstances to take up jobs that are imposed upon them. The work that children are compelled to do today is characterized by “long hours of work, late hours or night employment, continuous standing, sitting or the use of a single set of muscles, emphasis on the finer neuro-muscular coordination with attendant nervous strain, indoor confinement in noisy factories and dusty trades, carrying heavy load, pressure of speed in the performance of simple mechanical acts,
contact with industrial poisons, exposure to inclement weather, harmful conditions for the growing child particularly susceptible to certain deformation and diseases.10

The condition of work and working conditions are often so bad that the various functions performed by children today have converted their work into labour. The children work on nominal wages for long hours without any rest interval, educational or recreational facilities, beyond their capacity and against their wishes.

Due to rapid urbanization and industrialization the whole social scenario has changed. The joint families started disintegrating which are capable of providing social and economic security. Now, everyone in the family had to struggle hard to survive. The industrial revolution created vast demands for jobs, which pressed the children into labour market. Imperialist nature of industrialization compelled children to participate in the labour force, which were under their control.

The protection and promotion of interests of working children has become a subject of paramount importance today and no civilized society can afford to overlook it. The International Labour Organization enunciated several welfare measures were embodied with several conventions and recommendations. These conventions have been rectified and adopted by many of the member countries of ILO mainly the developed countries. But developing countries like India have not been able to adopt many of such conventions because of their socio-economic set up. And children are kept deprived of the basic amenities like education, nutritional food, medical facilities etc.

1.5 Relevance of Study

This study seeks to examine the incidence of child labour in the Brick Kiln industry in Kanpur district of U.P. The Brick Kiln industry is one of hazardous industries in which employment of child labour is completely banned. However, a large number of child labourers are still employed in this industry. The working conditions are appalling. The mortality rate of children working in the brick kiln is high. Children work barefoot, unprotected from the sun in summer and the cold in winter. They constantly inhale fine quartz dust from the day. Common illness includes tuberculosis, chronic chest infection and silicosis. Children often suffer from injuries to their eyes and fingers. The social environment is also bad. They are often physically and

10 Encyclopaedia of Social Science (1980), pp.412-24
sexually abused. No precise information is available about the total number of kilns and the numbers of child workers in the industries. The estimation of the number of children employed in kiln is very difficult because only male heads are registered as workers in the muster rolls of the employers and other family members of the worker, including children, provide the helping hand.

According to one estimate there are 50,000 brick Kilns all over India, employing on an average 100 workers.\textsuperscript{11} This includes women and children whose names are not mentioned in the muster rolls. The NSSO 55\textsuperscript{th} round estimate 5271 children were working in Brick Kilns of Rural U.P., whereas for urban sector this figures was 1308 children.

Workers in the brick kilns constitute one of the poorest and weakest sections of the society. Essentially agricultural labourers, or marginal and small formers, combing agricultural wage workers, migrate from one state to another in search of employment in the urban informal sectors. The second largest sector after the construction sector, absorbing such a floating labour population and a reserve surplus off the land is the brick kiln industry. These workers are also mostly seasonal migrants.

The reasons of migration depend on the agro-climatic features of the area of origin of migration and fits into the October to June cycle when the kilns operate all over India. The Kilns shut down during the monsoon. The children also follow this seasonal migration cycle along with their family.

\textbf{1.6 Statement of the Problem}

The problem of child labour is enormous in India where a huge number of children start work from as early as 5 year of age. Child labour exists and there is regional variation in its spread across the country. Unfortunately the data available on child labour is inadequate and uneven. Estimates of child workers differ widely from one source to another depending upon the deferential used to identify a worker and method used to estimate the total workforce. Though, there are various constitutional and legal provisions to check the employment of children in India. But, there have been 11.2 million child workers in India in 1991 and 12.6 million in 2001. The figure

\textsuperscript{11} Gupta Jayoti, Informal Labour in Brick Kilns, \textit{Economic and Political Weekly}, August 2, 2003, p.3282
is though reducing according to Census of India. In 1981, the working children population was 13.6 million, that is reduced to 11.2 million in 1991, with the reduction of 2.4 million, yet estimates of several other surveys have shown that the problem of child labour has been increasing over the decades. The number of marginal child workers has too declined to 2.2 million in 1991 than that of 2.4 million in 1981, so 0.2 million reduction during the decade. The working children population was 13.6 million in 1981 that was reduced to 11.2 million in 1991, with the reduction of 2.4 million. The state with the highest child labour population in the country is Andhra Pradesh (1.6 million) working children. Other states with more than one million child labourers are Uttar Pradesh (1.4 million), Madhya Pradesh (1.3 million) and Maharastra (1.06 million).\textsuperscript{12} But in 2001, child labour population again increased from 11.2 million to 12.6 million.

The working children ratio varies from state to state. Andhra Pradesh was on the top and followed by Mizoram, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Meghalaya, Rajasthan etc. The lowest rate is in Kerala, Delhi, Chandigarh, Haryana etc. According to 1991 census\textsuperscript{13} the participation rate by children was 4.33 percent in main workers category and 1.05 percent in the case of marginal workers accounting a total work participation rate of 5.37 percent.

A large proportion of these children lived and worked in rural India. According to 1991 Census, as against 75.0 of main male workers of all ages, 87.6 percent of male workers aged 5-14 were in rural India. In case of female workers the corresponding shares were even higher, 87.1 percent for, main female workers and 92.6 percent for girl main workers.

The NSSO data give different estimates for child labour. However, it also supports the view that the child labours are largely concentrated in the rural India. The NSSO data also gives higher estimates although the gap between Census count and NSSO estimates narrowed overtime. The NSSO estimated that 21.45 million children worked in India in 1983, more than 13.7 million, enumerated by the census in 1981.

National Sample Survey 43rd round conducted in 1987-88 estimated the number of working children as 17.02 million. And, according to the 50th round in 1993-94 the working children population was estimated to be 17.59 million. Out of it 85.8 percent


were living in rural areas and only 14.2 percent in the urban areas. In urban areas, the percentage of girl child labour was 0.5 percent but in case of rural areas the girl child labour was more than 40 percent. According to 55th Round of NSSO conducted in 1999-2000, child labour numbered 10.41 million (5.57 million males and 4.84 million females). Highest number of child labour were in Andhra Pradesh (17.89%) followed by Uttar Pradesh (13.14%), West Bengal (7.93%), Orissa (3.28%), Punjab (1.53%), Rajasthan (1.39%) and the least were in Delhi (0.67%). So, the phenomenon of child labour is significantly higher in rural areas than that of the urban areas. The NSSO data also show the full time child labourers which is 8.9 million of which 90.0 percent lived in rural areas while only 9.1 percents in urban areas. The occurrence is high in rural areas as children are employed in agriculture to do a variety of jobs as sowing, harvesting, plantation, threshing, storing etc. The nature of work is not fixed, it depend on the spot requirement. Wages are very low and the condition of work is harsh. So the children’s is mental and physical growth cannot be proper. The unorganized and informal sectors both in urban and rural areas, account for almost all the child labour force.

However, it is encouraging to see that irrespective to the source, the number of child workers declined over the last two decades. NSSO data estimates that the number of child labour has declined to 10.41 million in 1999-2000.

1.7 Area of Study
Uttar Pradesh has been taken as the area to understand the nature of child labour. Uttar Pradesh is the most populous state with great diversity in terms of socio-economic, demographic as well as physiographic. Kanpur District has high population concentration due to urbanization and industrialization. The study of child labour in Brick Kilns of Kanpur Nagar district of U.P. has been done in details in order to understand the complex nature of child labour. The detailed case study of few selected brick kilns of Kanpur have been under taken in order to understand the various socio-economic factors responsible for occurrence of child labour. The Kanpur has large number of child labour employed in various hazardous industries including Brick Kilns.
1.8 Population Distribution in Uttar Pradesh

There are 166.05 million persons in Uttar Pradesh over an area of 2,36,286 sq kms (Census 2001). The eastern districts of the state show higher concentration of rural population, which, further decreases towards the west. In comparison to rural population urban centers are not much developed. A few big towns like Gorakhpur, Faizabad, Varanasi and Allahabad are situated in this belt. A large concentration of population is also in districts of Western Uttar Pradesh such as Ghaziabad, Meerut, Moradabad, Rampur and Bareli. Economically, it is a developed region. High population concentration is in Lucknow and Kanpur also found due to urbanization and industrialization. Bundelkhand region is less populated. Due to availability of mineral resources some industrialization has been initiated in Jhansi.

Himalayan region (which is now part of Uttaranchal) is the least populated belt of the state due to its physical constraints. Few settlements are located in the river valley and where flat suitable patch of land is available. Doon valley is thickly populated where the famous city of Dehradun is situated. Nainital region is also accounts for population concentration. In higher altitudes population is negligible.


Uttar Pradesh is not able to curtail its population growth in last decade. The growth of population was 25.80 percent during 1991-2001. In fact, it is one of those states where instead of decline in growth it increased slightly. 29 districts out of 70 districts (of present UP) experienced increase in the population growth rate. Ghaziabad retained its first position with a population growth rate of 47.47 percent. It was followed by Sonbhadra 38.18 percent, Bulandshar 35.70 percent, Chitrakoot 34.33 percent Firozabad 33.44 percent and Lucknow 33.25 percent. Chitrakoot witnessed maximum increase in growth rate, its growth rate reached more than double. Agra, Kheri, Shahjanpur, Ghaziabad also experienced very rapid increase in their growth rate. The lowest growth rate was recorded in Baghpat 13.00 percent, which commendably almost halved its growth rate and entered in to last stage of Demographic Transition. It was followed as Auraiya 14.70 percent Hamirpur 17.85 percent, Banda 18.49 percent Jalaun 19.39 percent and Kannauj 19.58 percent. Sant Ravidas Nagar, Bhadohi, Varanasi and Hamirpur witnessed substantial decline in their growth rate.
In comparison, the growth of population was 25.48 percent during 1981-91. The highest growth rate was recorded in Ghaziabad 46.69 percent followed by Sonbhadra 38.18 percent, Lucknow 37.14, Nainital 35.52 percent, Dehradun 34.66 percent, Mirzapur 31.4 percent and Varanasi 31.33 percent, while lowest growth rate was in Garhwal 8.58 percent, Almora 10.46 percent, Pithoragarh 15.77 percent and Tehrigarhwal 16.56 percent.

1.10 Literacy in Uttar Pradesh
There was 41.6 percent literacy in 1991, which increased to 57.36 percent in 2001. Thus, there is a gain of 15.76 percent during this decade. The highest literacy was recorded in Kanpur Nagar 77.63 percent, followed by Auraiya 71.50 percent, Gaaziabad 70.89 percent and Etawah 70.75 percent while lowest literacy rate is in Shrawasti 34.25 percent, Balrampur 34.71 percent, Bahraich 35.79 percent, Badaun 38.83 percent and Rampur 38.95 percent.

Female literacy in Uttar Pradesh was only 25.31 percent in 1991, which was increased to 42.98 percent in 2001. Highest female literacy is again in Kanpur Nagar 72.50 percent, Lucknow 61.22 percent, Auraiya 60.08 percent and Ghaziabad 59.12 percent while lowest in Shrawasti 18.75 percent, Balrampur 21.58 percent, Budaun 25.53 percent Gonda 27.29 percent and Rampur 27.87 percent.

In contrast, the male Literacy rate is relatively quiet high. Forty-One districts recorded higher male literacy rate than all U.P. average of 70.23 percent, out of which seven districts namely Varanasi, Gautam Buddha Nagar, Kanpur Nagar, Etawah, Ghaziabad and Jhansi have male literacy above 80 percent.

1.11 Theoretical Perspective
The idea could be conceptualized in three ways: the first school considers education as a fundamental human right of every child and any child out of school should be treated as a working child. This school of thought argues that it is the responsibility of the state entirely to create necessary infrastructure, and to facilitate free, compulsory and universal access to primary as well as to elementary education. The state can not absolve itself of the responsibility on account of poverty and other economic compulsions or due to lack of infrastructure, logistic support and resources. If children in 5-14 age group are being made to enter the world of work instead of being sent to
school on account social, economic and cultural compulsions, such a process is bound to result in retardation and impoverishment in evolution and growth of the personality of the children so much so that when they cross the threshold of childhood they would not be left with any physical energy or mental acumen to be productive, responsive and responsible adult members of the society.\(^{14}\)

The second school of thought does not find obligatory on the part of the state to deal with the entire problem. This is because, the proponents of this school of thought or of the opinion that the magnitude of the problem is very large and availability of the resources to deal with this problem is less. According to the votaries of this school of thought, we should concentrate first on those children who are employed in hazardous occupation processes release and rehabilitate them through a multi-prolonged approach i.e. a combination of education, nutrition and skill training followed by children working in non-hazardous occupation/industries/processes. Elimination of child labour according to the votaries of this school of thought is perceived as a long term and distant goal to be achieved progressively and sequentially and not in one go.\(^{15}\)

According to the third school of thought both the civil society and state have failed to tackle the problem. This school believes that 'it is best to leave the entire matter to the option, volition or discretion of the children themselves'. State should only encourage and pursue the matter. All these schools take a particular stand about the problem of child labour. They are very strait-jacketed in approach and completely reject the advantage of the other schools. In his book *Development as Freedom*, Amartya Sen argues that development should be seen as a process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy and the state ensure social opportunities for children. Sen classified instrumental freedom into five broad categories:

(1) Political freedom, (2) economic facilities, (3) social opportunities, (5) transparency guarantees and (5) protective security.

While, the importance of access to economic opportunities is widely recognized as a major factor in economic growth, Sen’s perspective requires that, in addition we recognize the value of other instrumental freedoms in the promotion of growth as well as the contribution of economic growth to facilitating access to freedom such as expansion of social service.

\(^{14}\) Mishra Lakshmidhar, Three approaches to Child Labour, Social Change, p.4.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., p.5.
1.12 Literature Survey

Child labour is widely prevalent all over the world. However, the incidence of the child labour is more in developing countries. In India, child labour is a chronic problem. Awareness about this problem came early in developed countries and they more or less solved the problem. Now developing countries are also making efforts to eradicate the child labour. In India too, detailed analytical studies have been done. Various scholars have studied child labour problem in detail by analyzing numerous factors which influences the child labour e.g. demographic, social and economic especially after independence. Moreover, Government, International organizations and NGOs have also done number of studies and field research work.

The review of the existing literature presented here provides a broad idea of the work done in this field. Various factors such as; social and economic factors discussed separately, but they are very much interrelated and inter-dependent on each other.

1.13 Social Factors

There are many social factors, which influence child labour. The important social factors as determinants of child labour are mainly literacy- schooling or enrolment of children and presence of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in population.

According to Mehta\textsuperscript{16} to a large extent agricultural labour, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are overlapping categories. These together would cover 2/3rd of all rural people. She worked out the percentage of child labour in each state to the total child labour in the country and also the percentage of agricultural labour of the country and worked out the correlation between them. These two are significantly and positively correlated. Vemuri noticed in his study of child labour in India, over 61 agro-climatic regions defined by NSSO showed that the presence of scheduled castes in the region increases the occurrences of the child labour.\textsuperscript{17} Singh\textsuperscript{18} in his study showed that among the total working children 72.5 percent belong to the backward


castes followed by that of the scheduled castes 19.8 percent. Sharma, Kumar and Padmadev\textsuperscript{19} observed the same fact and found the incidence of child labour is more in those areas which are socially, educationally and economically not well developed. Dinesh\textsuperscript{20} in his study observed lower schooling rates and higher work participation among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Mishra and Pandey\textsuperscript{21} noticed in a study that 81 percent of the child labour are males and most of them belong to the age group of 7 and above. Almost 45\% of them could never attend the school and about 35\% of them dropped out due to their compelling situation. Singh observed in Kurukshetra that parents were also illiterate. Parents of most of the children were very poor. Dube\textsuperscript{22} by studying different tribal groups in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan found that children often started working even in the age of 7 or 8 years both inside and outside the home. Singh and Mohanty\textsuperscript{23} showed that the lack of education is the main cause of child labour. Lack of education leads to high fertility ultimately results in to higher child labour. According to Sandha and Tewari\textsuperscript{24} most of the child labour are from the rural areas, who lack in school facilities. Laskar\textsuperscript{25} in his study has reported that social and economic presence compels children to enter into low wages, hazardous work environment that proves detrimental to their educational and health prospects. Burra\textsuperscript{26} noticed that most of the children were working due to family pressure and their parents and governments are not careful about their education.

Mustafa and Sharma\textsuperscript{27} say that most of children start working because of their family problems (as rejected by parents or other domestic problem). There is no one

\textsuperscript{20} Dinesh, B.M. (1988), op.cit, p.49.
to care for them. V.V.Giri National Labour Institute observed that parents want to educate the child but poverty forced them to send their child for work. Sattaur\(^{28}\) observed that poverty, feudal system, traditions of society, ignorance of the value of education, child rights and migration to urban areas from rural areas are the causes of child labour. UNICEF's study shows that most of the children who are out of school having economic difficulties for the continuation of their education, they are working either due to lack of money or increase in family expenditure. In the Study of child labour in Mirzapur Carpet Industry, Mishra and Pandey\(^{29}\) found that most of child are illiterate and among literate most of them have left the school at the primary level due to lack of money. Sinha\(^{30}\) says that parents' illiteracy or lower education is a hindrance to the child's proper socialization. Mecpheron\(^{31}\) noticed that majority of poor children are from the developing countries, social policies faces a great challenge of welfare of this group. For poor children survival itself is most often a significant victory, a good deal of attention is paid to a number of specific interventions, as part of social policy for child welfare can increase the chances of survival and reduce level of illness. Sahoo\(^{32}\) says through a survey of village in Orissa that poverty, illiteracy, chronic unemployment, rapid demographic expansion, regional backwardness and apathy of the state are responsible for the child labour. He says that agriculture and allied sectors which employ 90 percent the under aged workforce has received little concern. The nature of agrarian capitalism being primitive is prone to employ and expropriate the cheap labour, including that of children. Ahmad Shah\(^{33}\) reveals that modern industrialization exposed these young to new challenges and hazards. Situation is even worse in the unorganized sector. The working condition is not hygienic; children have to work to supplement the earning of the family. Pandey\(^{34}\) in his study of child labour in Kanpur examines the extent and

causes of the problem and says that social background is the main cause of problem. Vijayagopalan\textsuperscript{35} in his study of carpet industry of Mirzapur (Bhadohi) found the problem originates in the social structure. Krishna Kumar\textsuperscript{36} while studying Bangalore city found that most of children want to study along with the work, as they cannot depend on the family due to poverty.

UNICEF’s\textsuperscript{37} study in many Asian countries like India, Sri Lanka, Philippines and Thailand revealed that most of the children were expected to be at work in home or outside instead of going to school. And a large proportion of school going children, have to work part time, especially those who are from low income group. Male working outside while the girl child is taking care of their younger siblings and helping their mothers in domestic work. Ramanis\textsuperscript{38} survey showed that around 53 percent children are studying as well as working and 28 percent dropped out of school and 19 percent never attended the school. Major proportion of students dropped out of school at the primary and secondary level. There are more boys attending school than the girls.

Phillips\textsuperscript{39} says that several factors like poverty rejection or divorces, family tensions, death of parents, ill treatment by steps, selling children as bounded labourers are the conditions that have brought these children on the street. Singh\textsuperscript{40} observed in his study of education in his study of education in scheduled caste girls that 70 percent of the non-enrolled children are girls; most of them are from the rural areas. Enrolment rate is poor for the girls belonging to scheduled caste and scheduled tribes. Sujata\textsuperscript{41} in his study of yenadi tribe’s education in coastal areas and Rayalseema noticed that they are lagging behind in education, mainly because of low enrolment; alarming dropout rate and considerable stagnation. The main reasons are household economy, agrarian basis of work and children are not interested in education.

1.14 Demographic Factors

There are some demographic factors, which influence child labour. These are fertility, morality, child women ratio etc. It is well known that high growth rate of population; high birth rate and declining mortality rate can lead to unemployment, low wages and low per capita income. This in turn can result in more and more children being engaged in work for the sustenance of a family.

Lieten\textsuperscript{42} studied child labour in the context of demographic factors in Pakistan. He observed that at the age of 12 more than 80 per cent of boys and more than 50 per cent of the girls were attending school, and that less than 20 per cent was working. By the time they were 13 years older 40 percent of the boys and 30 percent of the girls were working. Rosati and Cigno\textsuperscript{43} in their studied in India and found inter connected results. They found nearly 15 per cent of children in the 6-16 age groups to be engaged in paid or unpaid work. Malnad\textsuperscript{44} in his study had found that higher fertility had led to higher family income. A new Concept Consultancy\textsuperscript{45} service had reported that the maximum children belong from large family with high fertility rates. Sumangola and Nagaraja\textsuperscript{46} had studied child labour in context of socio-demographic scenario. They have organized the work into two parts. The first one focuses on trends, differentials and major determinants of child labour at the micro level in the Tamilnadu and also in the different districts. In the second part of another highlight several determinants of fertility behaviour influencing child labour was found out. Kanbargi\textsuperscript{47} conducted a survey and observed weak correlation between child labour and fertility. In fact, the study points out that the effect of child labour on fertility is only indirect and that too quite weak. Parents with high aspiration for their children would not mind for the benefits of child labour and invest in their schooling. Dinesh\textsuperscript{48} in his study had observed that highest child work participation rates are found among

\begin{itemize}
\item Lieten, G.K., *High Fertility and Child Labour in Pakistan*, IDPAD International Conference on Child Labour in South Asia, October 15-17, New Delhi.
\end{itemize}
those families who had three or more siblings. Naidu\textsuperscript{49} during his study in the Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh found that fertility is highest for the occupational groups with high child earning. Vemuri\textsuperscript{50} in his study did not find any significant relationship in child labour and fertility. Nag, White and Peet\textsuperscript{51} studied extensively and they highlighted that the input of work of children in small families is less than that of larger families. They found that children in larger families tend to be more productive than those of smaller families. Hull and Hull\textsuperscript{52} had observed a sharp decline in the intensity of parent’s participation in household duties over their life cycle as women’s participation in economic activities increase outside home after the early year of their marriage. Espershade\textsuperscript{53} observed in his study that the cost of education of children in developed society directly affect fertility while in developing society and country it is reverse. Nadkarni\textsuperscript{54} in his study had found that a large number of children are retained for housework among the small landowners and agricultural labourers.

1.15 Economic Factors
Economic factors are the most important causes of child labour in India. Poor economic condition of parents induces them to send their child to work. The major important economic factors influencing child labour are discussed below:

1.16 Poverty
In almost all studies it has been showed that poverty is the most important cause of child labour. In Report of the Committee on Child Labour\textsuperscript{55} it has been mentioned that nearly half of the population of India is below poverty line. Singh\textsuperscript{56} noticed in his

\begin{itemize}
\item “Report of the Committee on Child Labour”, (1979), Ministry of Labour, Govt. of India, p.8.
\end{itemize}
study that poverty and depending ratio is encouraging child labour. In the report of the working group on the employment of children\textsuperscript{57} it has been noticed that the poor economic condition of a large segment of population associated with dependency ratio in families encourage members to contribute to the family since an early age. Laskar\textsuperscript{58} in his study in Aligarh Lock Industry noticed that problem of child labour in India is rising due to poverty, displacement of the poor from their lands, social insecurity and adult unemployment. The report of child labour in Industries\textsuperscript{59} mentioned that, the root of problem of child labour lie in poverty. Accordingly, 60 percent parents have said poverty to be the main reason. Nangia\textsuperscript{60} in a study of child labour in Delhi said that the parents sent their child to work due to poor economic condition. Singh and Verma by studying child labour in Nainital district of Uttar Pradesh found that the parent of below poverty line sent their child to work. Mehta\textsuperscript{61} had found a highly significant- positive relation between the percentages of child workers to total women as percentage of population below poverty line in different states.

1.17 Unemployment

Child labour is also closely influenced by unemployment. Widespread poverty arising from unemployment forces people to send their children to work. Salazar\textsuperscript{62} in his study of child labour in Colombia noticed that about half of the household surveyed contained at least one unemployed adult, which is the reason for high incidence of child labour. Mishra and Pandey\textsuperscript{63} noticed the same thing, unemployment as well as low wages, forced the parents to send their child to work. Rosenzweing and Evanson \textsuperscript{64} observed in their study that the wage rate of children has a negative influence on the


\textsuperscript{60} Nangia, P., (1987), op.cit, p.61

\textsuperscript{61} Mehta, S.S. (1997), op.cit.


school enrolment of the children. Mehta in her study noted a significant positive correlation between the number of child labour and number of unemployed on daily status basis. Empirically, it has been found wherever the problem of unemployment is low; the child work participant is less. Kumar noticed that lack of employment opportunities and lack of regular and quality employment encourages parents to send their child to work. Children as well as adult workers try hard to get jobs for their basic needs. It is noticed that wherever the problem of unemployment is low child work participation is also low. Rosenzweig and Evahson found a significant negative relationship between the adult female wages rate and child work participation rate. In this study, they had also observed that the wage rate of children has a negative influence on the school enrolment of the children.

1.18 Income and Standard of Living

The income of the household is one of the most important determinants of child labour. Rosenzweig and Evanson observed strong inverse relationship between income of the household and child work participation. Rodgers said that higher income generally associated with a higher level of education and there is a lesser need for the children to work. Jodha and Singh in their study of some villages in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan observed that the child work participation rate is very high among the rural poor. Operation Research group found a high correlation between income of the families and their life style – Lower the income, higher is the child labour. Mamdani while studying social structure of a village of Punjab noticed that household with no land will depend upon the higher

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66 Kumar, Sudhir (1933), “Child Labour and Education”, Children at Work, Problem and Policy, B.R. Publishing Corporation Delhi, p.27.
71 Child Labour in Diamond Industry of Surat City” (1993), Planning Commission, Operation Research Group, Baroda.
number of child labour and large family size for the household income. Dinesh\textsuperscript{73} in his study highlighted that the household income and child work participation is not inversely related. Verma\textsuperscript{74} noticed that girl child is the worst affected. Poor parents employ their children to increase their income. Educating a child is seen as a loss of family income.

1.19 Occupational Status and Child Labour

The type of occupation by the adults of the households has strong influence in child work participation. Naidu\textsuperscript{75} in his study found that demand for child labour depends on the type of occupation. There is difference in child employment and economic value in industrial sector as well as agricultural sector. Rodgers and Standing\textsuperscript{76} in their study found that there is a higher child work participation rates in the households where adult workers do agricultural work. There is less child work participation rate where the households of adults are in service sector. There is difference in child employment and economic value in industrial sector as well as agriculture sector. In a study in Andhra Pradesh, he stated that there is difference in household industrial sector and agriculture sector in respect to child employment and economic value and children. Tripathi\textsuperscript{77} in his study of Pulbani district of Orissa observed that most of the child workers are engaged in primary sector as in agriculture and gathering. Singh\textsuperscript{78} noticed that higher child work participation rate is in those households where adult members are engaged in primary sector. By analyzing various data of different developing countries, Nag\textsuperscript{79} gave some findings regarding the economic values of children:

- The economic value of children is less where adult women literacy is high.
- The economic value of children to their families is higher in agricultural sector than the manufacturing sector.

\textsuperscript{73} Dinesh, B.M. (1972), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{76} Rodgers and Standing, (1981), op.cit.
\textsuperscript{77} Tripathi, S.N. (1991),“Exploitation of Child Labour in India”, Daya Publishing House, Delhi, p.134.
\textsuperscript{79} Nag, M. (1972), op.cit., p.
• The economic value of children tends to decrease with urbanization.
• The economic value of children is more in the large families.
• The economic value of children is likely to be greater in agricultural societies where planting and harvesting are related to monsoon.

1.20 Schooling Facilities
The report of the committee on child labour has mentioned that lack of schooling facilities is responsible for low enrolment rate and high drop out rate among children. Dinesh\textsuperscript{80} in his study noticed that the child work participation rate is lower where there are higher schooling facilities and the child participation rate is higher where schooling facilities are not up to mark. In many areas of the country, there is lack of schooling facilities. Some remote areas are very much away from the schooling facilities, which encourage the parents to engage their child in economic activities.

1.21 Objectives of the present Study
This study aims at meeting the following objectives:
• 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.

\textsuperscript{80} Dinesh, B.M. (1988), op.cit, p.49
1.22 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. (Based on secondary sources of data)

**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.? (Based on primary survey)

**R.Q:** (a): Does the incidence of child labour vary among the various caste and community groups and with the level of literacy? (Based on primary survey)

**R.Q:** (b): Does family size and income together have any affect on the incidence of child labour and contrarily does child labour affect the standard of living of the family? (Based on primary survey)

**R.Q:** (c): Does working children attend any school or literacy programme? (Based on primary survey)

**R.Q:** (a): Does the nature of work, work environment and wages vary in the selected brick kilns? (Based on primary survey)

**R.Q:** (b): Can the push and pull factors and their relative importance resulting in child labour be identified?

**R.Q:** What is the nature and causes of morbidity health conditions and health hazards among the working children in the selected brick kilns? (Based on primary survey)

**R.Q:** By studying and analyzing government policy and various legislation, critically examine the effective of these policies and legislations in eradication of child labour?

**R.Q:** Considering the role of various international organizations and NGOs in eradication of child labour, suggest how their strategy will be more effective?

**R.Q:** Can the government institutions, international organizations, NGOs and other welfare groups work together in coordination for eradication of child labour?
1.23 Source Materials and Methodology

The study is based on primary and secondary sources of information. The major sources are government documents, books, journals, conference papers, official websites etc. The relevant data pertaining to child labour and various other demographic variables has been obtained from the various Census of India publications.

In addition to the above, primary data has been collected from the study region. Kanpur Nagar area has been selected for the study in order to understand the problem of child labour many methods could be applied, some of which include interview, case study, observation and questionnaire method. As regard to the methodology, the study is largely analytical in nature. The various socio-economic correlates of child labour have been critically analyzed. The various aspects and the profile of child labour have been critically examined. The study is based on the collection, computation, evaluation and interpretation of official data and primary data (from study region) available literature on the child labour.

1.24 Research Methodology applied in the field:

Given the nature and location of Brick kilns industry to conduct a study is not easy one. There was no framework or precedence that could provide the researcher with a point of entry except the scarce literature mainly based on narratives of workers in different parts of the world and within the country. For this study, I decided to first visit some of the brick kilns in the adjacent areas of Kanpur Nagar along G.T Road (N.H.-2) that has a concentration of kilns. The growing population and expansion of Kanpur city, fast growing construction sector and construction of 6 lanes Super Highway (N.H.-2) as part of ambitious Golden Quadrilateral Project has resulted in to continuous business to these brick kilns. No precise information is available about the total number of kilns and the number of workers in the area. The efforts to get official data from various sources like sales tax office of Kanpur proved futile. The study concentrates more on the socio-economic features of the labour relations in the kilns based on primary data collected at the site; interviews of different actors other than labourers such as the brick kiln owners, NGOs and officials of local government departments that are responsible for sanctioning of kilns, inspection, and labour disputes.
The visits to the brick kilns and to get the permission and agreement of brick kilns owner was an up hill task. As the brick kilns operate with large-scale unaccounted amounts of money and do not really operate with any proper guidelines such as the Factory Act or any other rules and regulations that bind even the small-scale industries, the owners are very suspicious about meeting anybody. Several visits had to be made to the kilns to finally get the owners to agree to allow the researcher to meet the workers. In one case, after one visit the owner flatly refused the researcher to conduct rest of interviews. It was not possible to simply map the location of the kilns, carry out a hundred per cent census before finalising the sample for the study. The officials, themselves have a stake in the industry because of the commissions and bribes that they receive from the kiln owners for violating almost all minimum labour standards, and other violations which make them (owners) vulnerable to the demands of the officials. The owners themselves have landed interests in the area and are powerful in their own right, are generally well connected with local politicians. Thus, going to the kilns with the officials could not guarantee any transparency in the operation of the brick kiln industry. The brick kilns owners in the study area have formed a loose association to negotiate with officials who protect their interests. It was learned (yet could not verified) this association negotiate the amount (bribe) which should be paid by each owner to officials, so that they should not harass them. The labour inspectors and sales tax officials are the main officials which should be kept happy. In contrast, the poor brick kilns labours do not have any formal or informal workers association which can negotiate on their behalf and protect their interests.

This study is based on observations, interviews of children, their parents, brick kiln owner and other employed member in brick kiln and a sample of 121 households, 167 children and 20 depth case studies from a total of ten kilns that I visited. While the owners agreed to discuss/answer any question I had for them, they did not think it was necessary for me to meet the labourers at all. They were suspicious of my objectives and could not understand why I want to take workers’ interview. After knowing I was asking about children they were adamant and told that none of them worked here and that they live with their family and play whole day. However, few of them cooperated and volunteered to answer my all questions themselves. They insisted that the workers are illiterate and they can not understand your questions. Then added that they are busy with there work so don’t have time to answer
questions. They stressed that they have nothing to do with the family – it is up to the workers if they want to come with their family and employ their women and children. After that, the owners would go on about the problems of harassment by the officials from sales tax department, income tax, Jila Parishad tax, royalty tax. They also reported that the labour and environment departments also create problems for them. They also pointed out the Harijan (SC/ST) Act is also a nuisance for them as police harass them on false complains filed under the act. Apparently, large amount of black money is employed in running the kilns. The banks are reluctant to give credit for kilns, as informed by one owner loan is available from Khadi Gram Udyog however in limited amount substantially lower than required capital. (Brick kilns come under cottage industries)

Anyway after several visits, many common features emerged as far as the brick kilns are concerned especially in the areas that we intended to cover for the study. These were as follows:

Given these features ten kilns in the area were chosen for the survey. In rest general observation and some interviews with owners and labours were conducted. The kilns had nearly the same number of workers and the proportional representation of each category. The difference was in terms of the districts of origin of the workers and mode of recruitment. The choice of the particular kilns chosen for the study was not arrived at based on a sampling method but on the basis of their shared features, the representational nature of typical kilns and on the basis of which owner finally agreed to allow interview of his workers.

Based on field visits an understanding was arrived at the following broad features of the kilns. Division of labour and categories of labour; working condition, engagement of child labour, wage structure; structure of payment; system of recruitment; living conditions and health of children as observed on visits to site; labour-owner relationship.

1.25 Limitations of the study

There are some limitations of this study. Firstly, it was not possible to cover all the brick kilns of Kanpur Nagar. The study has been done on selected 10 brick kilns along National Highway (NH-2) in Kanpur Nagar. Whereas, there are about -40 brick kilns existing within 20 km from Kanpur city along the NH-2 (Kanpur Allahabad segment).
Secondly, it is very difficult to find out total numbers of child labour in brick kiln because only male head of the family are registered in the muster roll. Thirdly, the selection of Brick kiln was not random due to the non-cooperation of some Brick kiln owners who did not allow me to interview their workers. Hence, I had to limit my interview to those Brick kilns whose owners allowed me. Fourthly, it was also to be noticed that there is no precise information about the number of brick kiln and enrolled workers. The district officials like labour inspector, sales tax inspector do not provide right information and lack transparency in the operation of brick kiln industry. Lastly, this research has also been limited due to the lack of enough sociological studies on Brick kiln’s child labour.

1.26 Chapterization

1. Introduction

2. Spatial Pattern and trends of Child labour in U.P.

The chapter two deals broadly different patterns and trends of child labour in Uttar Pradesh, analyzing the census report of 1981, 1991 and 2001. With the description of forms of child labour in different sectors, a categorization has been made up of whole Uttar Pradesh region on the basis of percentage and age group of child labour (both boys and girls). A comparative study has been done to understand the nature and pattern of rural-urban distribution of working children in UP during 1981-1991-2001. With the help of census report 2001, an attempt has been made to categorize the distribution of working children in UP classified by religion. Further, the last section deals with the analysis of decadal changes during 1981-1991 and 1991-2001.

3. Pattern of Child labour across selected Brick Kilns in Kanpur Nagar, U.P.

As it is clear by the title of the chapter ‘pattern of child labour across selected brick kiln in Kanpur, UP, the chapter develops with the background of organization, structure, operations and ownership of the brick kiln. One can better understand the process of making a brick, the socio-economic and living conditions of labourers working in brick kiln. How poorly they are paid and curse of generational labour leading to child labour.
4. Socio-Economic and demographic factors influencing Child labour engaged in Brick Kilns

The chapter aims at identifying the socio-economic factors responsible for the incidence of child labour. Socio-economic factors like female literacy, fertility rate, family size, adult wage rates, diversification of the rural economy and female work participation rates, etc are important determinants of child labour. The chapter presents the socio-economic profile of the surveyed child labour population and their families in the ten brick kiln in Kanpur. A study has been done on migration trends and household characteristics of child labour.

5. Implications of child labour on morbidity and health

The fifth chapter looks on the complexities of child labour and health; the negative and direct effects on their health, working conditions in hazardous industries. It provides the general picture of health implications of work on child labour. But, it can be convincingly said that the work in brick kiln is hampering the children's health and growth in both direct and indirect ways. There is need of effective policy formulation and implementation.

6. Policy intervention and NGOs efforts in eradication of Child labour

The last chapter tries to see the historicity of child labour problem, legal measures for protection of child labour in India and other countries and take a stock of policy intervention for elimination of child labour in India. The chapter also looks into initiatives by international organizations & NGOs and aims to look into the nature and sphere of activities of various agencies i.e. governmental, inter-governmental as well as non-governmental organizations.

7. Conclusion