CASE STUDIES OF CHILD LABOUR
8.1 INTRODUCTION

A Case Work is one way of working with a client for a long time. The counsellor may make his/her own format for carrying out the study. The format may include: personal and family history, school records, information on employment and medical history, if necessary. In carrying out a case study, the counsellor must gather all the necessary information about the client, information that may help the counsellor to determine the causes of the client’s problem, and help him work out ways of helping the client.

8.2 METHODOLOGY

This study utilizes the case study method in order to gain a more qualitative insight into the daily life of children. Without in any way undermining the significance of the quantitative method, the primary focus on the case study method for this particular study lies in the researcher’s desire to escape from some of the obvious limitations of statistics and portray the human side of poverty that is often lost in an over-reliance on numbers. As Oscar Lewis stated in his book Five Families, "Not all aspects of the human being can be studied statistically". The case study method, with its focus on everyday events and interactions, is a very appropriate technique that can complement quantitative findings. This method explores the unique experiences of individuals, in this case the children and provides qualitative insight into the actual working and living condition of the servants. Such an understanding it is hoped, can lead to a better appreciation of the poverty scenario as opposed to those that rely solely upon quantitative indicators that may miss the "trees for the forest".

The present case studies are the product of the researcher's six months of residence in Rayachoty. The case studies are basically constructed from first-hand observation, informal discussions with the child labourers (who were quite shy in the beginning), their owners or bosses (masters who were outright suspicious at first) and the guardians and parents of the child workers themselves.

During the stay in the locality, the researcher became acquainted with several residents in that area and was able to observe the child labourers in those families during social visits. The child labourers who became quite well known to the researcher are represented here due to space constraints and also because the
particular masters were relatively open and helpful in answering the research questions. On the express request of these masters, the bosses and child labourers, the names of the child labourers have been altered to maintain anonymity.

Out of necessity, a majority of peasant families are forced to supplement their meager yield from their landholdings by working as agricultural labourers, construction workers or in a variety of other manual and unskilled labourer. Likewise, as a survival strategy, a large number also migrate both within and outside the mandal in search of economic opportunities. Abject poverty, gradually shrinking landholdings, declining productivity and a general lack of socio-economic opportunities in the drought villages has been forcing people to send their children for work at tender age. The women and the girls have also been forced to follow their men folk for work in an attempt to escape the vicious cycle of poverty, but with a difference. The poverty at homes compels young children to move from villages to urban centres. Invariably, it is these children who will miss out school or other trainings. The harsh reality of poverty takes an especially heavy toll on children, the poorest of the poor and the most vulnerable among the weak. From around age five their labourer is used, sold or exploited depending upon their condition and the nature of the contract.

8.3 CASE STUDIES

The names of children in the following case studies have been changed to protect their identity and maintain anonymity.

Case Study 1

Name : Parimala
Sex : Female
Age : 14
Family : Father, Mother, 2 younger sisters
Present Status : Child Domestic Worker staying with her family
Parimala belongs to a very poor family in Galiveedu with her father spending all his earnings as a daily wage labourer on drinking alcohol and gambling. She and her sisters have never been to school. Parimala was brought to Rayachoty by an older woman from her village at the tender age of 11 to work as a domestic labourer. The family she worked for has seven members. Though earlier she was told that her task was only to take care of a baby, she was made to do all other household chores as well, such as cleaning utensils, washing clothes, sweeping and mopping floors, fetching water and filling up the water drums etc. Her day starts at 5 in the morning and ends only at 12 in the night, during which she hardly gets any rest. For this hard labour, she gets a meager salary of Rs.100 every month, which she never saw as it was collected by the women who brought her to Rayachoty.

She gets slapped and kicked often by the female employer. The rest of the household members also physically hit her, shouted at her, and called her names. Parimala was so badly hit once that she has been hospitalized. At that time too, the employer refused to bear her medical expenses and made her parents pay for the treatment. Instead, he accused Parimala of having stolen precious articles from the house, which led to a lot of stress for Parimala and resulted in psychological problems. After a prolonged treatment at her native place, she was sent back to Rayachoty for work again. Because of her previous traumatizing experience, Parimala did not want to join work again as a child domestic worker, but the woman who had taken her to Rayachoty earlier, persuaded her parents to send Parimala along with her.

This time she found work for Parimala in a new household. This family was a small family, with working husband and wife and their college-going son. Initially she felt very glad about her new workplace, as the work was not as strenuous as before and also because food was good and her new salary was Rs.200 per month. But the employer’s son began troubling her soon. He used to call her into his bedroom, and play pornographic movies on the video. She was forced to watch when she resisted. He also showed her pornographic magazines, and exposed his private parts to Parimala besides touching her breasts. Parimala became very fearful and tense, and did not speak to anyone about her situation. Finally she decided to confide in the women who had brought her to Rayachoty, who then helped her get back to her
family in the village. Finally she was allowed by their parents to go to school after persuasion.

Case Study 2

Name: Jhansi
Sex: Female
Age: 12
Family: Father, Mother, 2 younger brothers
Present Status: Child Domestic Worker staying with her family

Jhansi is the only girl among three boys in her family in Ramapuram. Her two elder brothers are drug abusers and do not attend school regularly. She begins to worry about what will happen to her brothers and family in the future. Because of family problems, she worries and her concentration in her studies has dropped and she had to work as child labourer. The researcher came up with the following solutions to Jhansi’s worries

1. Tried to convince Jhansi that her brothers’ problems are not hers, and that she is not responsible for their behavior.

2. Told Jhansi to work hard in order to achieve her aim of becoming a doctor one day.

3. Asked Jhansi to put herself in her parents’ place, who have worked so hard to save money for their children’s education, only to see them all fail.

4. Approach the brothers and pose the above questions to them. Made them aware of the consequences of their behavior and

5. Finally a NGO has accepted to send her to school.

Jhansi’s pathetic looks for willing and ardent thrust to continued education before joining school and her thanks feelings after the acceptance of her sending to school by the local NGO moved and melted the researcher’s heart.
Case Study 3

Name : Ranjit
Sex : Male
Age : 11
Family : Father, Mother, 2 younger sisters
Present Status : Child Domestic Worker staying with her family

The boy was a native of Galivedu and came from a very poor family. He along with 9 other children from the same place is brought and was placed. Long hours of work (16 hours) with very little food and physical abuse were a part of his life. Unable to take more of this ill treatment he finally escaped from the place and came to Rayachoty.

Rayachoty Control Police referred 14 year-old Ranjith to Rayachoty CHILDLINE. During the course of interactions the child gave the number of the agent. A team meeting was organized following which an Action Plan was formulated to rescue the other children. One of the lady constables, posing as a schoolteacher, called the agent informing him that Ranjith was with her. She asked the agent to come to Rayachoty bus stand at 5 P.M and informed that she would hand over the boy to him at the stated place and time. The next day a team consisting of Circle Inspector, Sub Inspector, the lady constable, and two police constables along with the boy arrived at the bust stand in civil dress. However, the agent did not turn up instead in his place another man was sent. He was arrested.

Based on the information given by the man the police carried raids at three places and rescued 6 children along with the agent on 20th April 2005. All the seven children were provided shelter at the Children’s Home, Rayachoty. The following day they were taken to the District Government Hospital for a medical check-up. An F.I.R was registered and the accused (agent and owner of the Gold shop) were produced before the CJM. The accused were remanded to the Rayachoty Sub Jail for 14 days. Ranjith along with the three other boys have been restored home, while the other 2 boys were produced before the CJM for rehabilitation. Later he was allowed to send school for further education by the Childline Organisation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Study 4</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name        : Rita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex         : Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age         : 12 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original residence : Sanipai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family      : Father, Mother, two elder and one younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Status : Working as Child Domestic Worker in Rayachoty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rita's current place of work is her third house of employment. Brought to Sanipai for domestic work when she was only 8, she was promised by her uncle who brought her that she will stay in a big house with a nice family, and will have a lot of fun and play. However, her condition today resembles anything but that promise. In the house she first worked in, she was severely beaten by the employers, and was insulted and made fun of. The second household of employment was no better, with very little food being given to her, which led to weakness and illness. About her current workplace, where she has been working for the past 5 years, she has many incidents to narrate that indicate that her woes and worries are far from being over. Her remuneration is Rs.400 a monthly, which her paternal uncle collects every 3 or 4 months.

Every day she wakes up at 5:30 AM, and the entire day is spent doing a whole range of household chores, with only 2 hours permitted for rest during the day. After finishing her tasks, it is only after 11:30 PM that she can go to bed. She goes home only once every 6 months. Once when her father visited her in her workplace, he felt insulted by the treatment meted out to him by her employers. Even since, he has not visited the place. She comes to the Sava the Children drop-in non-formal education center, but is often asked to discontinue by her employers. From the time she can remember her association with the household, she recalls countless times when she has been scolded, called names, insulted and compared with other children by her employer. She can remember numerous times when she has been told what a mistake it was to let her into the house, and that she stays there only because of the employer's need and that otherwise she would have been thrown out of the house long ago.
She narrates a particular incident that happened about two years ago. Since she knew no one in Galiveedu, her father gave the number of his friend who worked as a security guard in the town. She used to call him often and he too used to return the calls to enquire after her well-being. Once when she were to come home for a visit, her family asked this man to escort her home from her workplace in Galiveedu. He picked Rita up from the workplace, and told her that since it had become quite dark in the evening, she would have to spend the night at his place before they could proceed to the village in the morning. Once at his home, he started fondling her and showed her some pornographic magazines. She resisted and started crying protesting that he should not show her “dirty pictures”. He told her that everything was ok, and gave her tea to drink after which she felt dizzy and went to sleep. She does not remember what happened next, but the next day when she woke up, she felt extremely uncomfortable, sick and fatigued. The man, before he finally took her to her family instructed her not to tell anyone that she had stayed at his place in the night at Rayachoty.

Rita felt very confused, as she could not believe that an adult she considered a father figure would hurt her. She also felt very scared and betrayed. Thoughts of killing this “uncle” and suicide often came to her mind. Once with her family, she cried a lot and refused to go back to Galiveedu, but did not disclose about the abuse to anyone for fear of reprimand. Her parents listened to her for sometimes and so she spent 6 months with her family in the village, after which they brought her back to the household she is working in Rayachoty. The man who abused her telephoned her a few times, and each time she hung up on him. Her father often asks her why she does not call up that uncle anymore. Later she was allowed to schooling by the local philanthropist on the persuasive pleas made the researcher with the help of the parents and local bodies.

Case Study 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Hema</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>14 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Status</td>
<td>Child Domestic Worker, working in a Galiveedu household</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hema has been working in different households in Galiveedu as a domestic worker for more than four years now, having been brought to the metropolis at the young age of 6. In these six long years as a domestic worker, she has gathered many experiences with different people. Before starting work at her present workplace, she was working with another family for about three-and-half years. He asked me to sleep by his side, as it was late. Aunty being old and weak had slept in the other room and no one heard this conversation. Something pressed against me and I resisted. He then said that I had wasted some forty rupees.” She recalls that he used to touch and fondle her even before she started menstruating, but afterwards it became too painful. She once told this to another woman who used to come to the house to take care of employer’s wife. That woman told Hema that the employer was “spoiling her”, and that she should tell her parents. But she did not disclose this to anyone else, as she feels a little guilty. “After all I had also enjoyed that behaviour once or twice, though I did not know what it was” says she. She also has reservations about telling her parents. Voicing her fear, she says, “My parents will kill me if they get to know about this.” By creating aplomb in her and assigning her to the local NGOs home, she started schooling.

Case Study 6

Name : Sravanti
Sex : Female
Age : 12 years
Original Residence : T.Sundupalli
Family : Father, Mother, 4 younger sisters
(2 working as Child Domestic Workers)
Current status : Child Domestic Worker, working in a household

Sravanti was brought by her farmer father to work at his household in Sambepalle 5 years ago. The family she works for has 3 members-husband, wife and their daughter who studies in VIIth standard. Every day, as she tries to finish the long list of tasks assigned to her such as sweeping the rooms, washing dishes, dusting the house and washing clothes and she also gets to hear threats from her employers, such as-“I will pour hot oil on you”, “I will pour hot water on you”, “I will burn you with a
hot spoon”, especially on days when she gets a little late in waking up in the morning or is not able to finish her tasks in time. She also gets slapped when she does not do the work the way the employer wants her to.

For her hard labour, she receives a paltry sum of rupees 200 per month as remuneration, which her father used to come and collect on a quarterly basis. Recently she asked her father to allow her to deposit the money in a bank, at which he became very angry and told her to do whatever she wanted with the money. She is permitted to visit her family only once every year. Earlier her father used to visit her every 3 months—more to collect her salary than to meet her. But now ever since he has become irritated at her regarding her salary, he has stopped visiting her. He was earlier supposed to come to escort her home for a vacation, but he has not done so. Finally she was adopted by the local NGO home and going to school.

Case Study 7

Name: Aiyappa
Sex: Male
Age: 13
Family: Father, Mother, 2 younger sisters and 1 brother
Present Status: Child Domestic Worker staying with her family

Aiyappa, a 13 year-old boy, hailed from Kurnool, is working in a Vegetarian Hotel located at Veeraballi, for the last two years. He belonged to a Scheduled Caste community. His father is a violent alcoholic who recently disappeared from home. His family had migrated from Kurnool to Veeraballi years ago. Aiyappa had one brother and two sisters also. “Wherever we went my father could never keep his job. We moved five times, and it was always the responsibility of my mother and us children to earn money to live. If we didn’t bring home enough, he would beat us hard and frequently. Now he doesn’t come home any more. While we are moving around, I can’t attend school regularly. I was very poor in studies. When I was 10, I stopped my studies and joined a packing unit in the hotel. There I got only Rs.10 a day. When I was 12, I migrated to Veeraballi for hotel work. Three of my neighbours were working in hotels at Kadapa. So I went along with them and got this job”.  

249
"I get up at 5.30 a.m. and start work. There were 18 workers in this hotel, 12 adult workers and 6 child workers. We all are migrants from Kurnool. Four are my neighbours. We were working on a shift basis from 5.30 A.M to 2 P.M. and 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. I am getting a salary of 400 per month plus required food. We take food according to our taste and preference. "We the child workers are engaged in keeping the premises neat and clean, sweeping and wiping the floor. Washing plates, crockeries and dishes, cutting vegetables, fetching water etc. Some of us are assisting the cooks. Some time we are allowed to give water to the customers."

"Our relation with the employer is cordial. But one time he hit me so badly for a minor mistake that I couldn't work for several days. We have uniform in the hotel provided by the employer. We get fringe 3 benefits from the employer at the time of Sankranti. I like my job, and all the co-workers are my friends. I sleep in the room provided by the employer near to the hotel. We have only one room for all the workers. The only hobby for us is seeing Telugu film on Sundays. We are interested in Hindi film also. I can be able to read, but have no time to do it. I like this job. I do it because I have to help my mother. I am giving major share of my income to my mother. I want to go to school. I want to be a hotel owner, but how can I? I don't drink or take drugs. I would like to continue this job because I need money, for my mother is sick". It is wrong that children have to work, but we do, it's even more wrong that they try to stop us working. The owner after repetitive requests and persuasion in the presence of local bodies, parents and the elite accepted him to study.

Case Study 8

Name : Anji
Sex : Male
Age : 11
Family : Father, Mother, 1 younger sister
Present Status : Child Domestic Worker

Anji hailing from Chittoor district is a boy of 11, working in a bakery manufacturing unit. He has studied up to 5th standard. Anji had to leave his studies due to the untimely death of his brother who was the bread earner for their family a year ago. His uncle and grandparents played a foul game and did not give their share
of property to him and his mother but compelled his mother to get married to one of their relatives, who is also a widower. Anji has two brothers also. He is the eldest. The family resides in a pucca house. His stepfather is a drunkard and always harsh towards him and his brothers. He is always irresponsible towards their family. Anji strongly believes that his stepfather has a key role in the death of his father.

Anji migrated to Ramapuram with the help of a distant relative working in this bakery-manufacturing unit. Anji had to work there more than 12 hours a day. The work is so hazardous because he is working in high temperature. In addition to him there are five child workers and seven adult workers in this unit. He is working here for the last 7 months. He is getting a salary of Rs.300 per month. After his migration he did not visit his family. Last month he gave Rs.500 to his mother through his relative. He told that during work, he has to work like a machine. The work is very tiresome and suffers from physical and psychological fatigue. "I cannot even manage to stand-up in the morning. My whole body aches, but what to do it is my fate; there is no holiday or leisure hours as such for me. He was finally handed over to the local NGO and permitted for schooling.

Case Study 9

Name : Madhu
Sex : Male
Age : 14
Family : Father, Mother, 1 younger sister
Present Status : Child Domestic Worker staying with her family

Madhu, a 14 year-old boy hailed from Ambasamudram, Sambepalli working in a vegetarian hotel at the heart of the city. In addition to him there were six children and seven adult workers in the hotel. Out of the seven adult workers 4 were once child labourers in the same hotel. The owner of the hotel is also hailed from Ambasamudram.

Madhu was sent to hotel work two years before by his parents in agreement with the employer. Before entering this work he was studying in the fifth standard. His parents were working as washerman. Madhu has three sisters and he is the
youngest. At the time of the marriage of the eldest sister his parents borrowed money from the employer. Now he is working in this hotel without any salary. The work allotted to him is sweeping and cleaning the table and utensils. He gets two meals and one breakfast in a day. The work is arranged on the basis of shifts. The hotel opens 18 hours in a day. Madhu has to work more than two hours. He gets one holiday in a week. The owner is very rough towards children. He beat them if he found any mistakes in cleaning. There is always very rush in the hotel therefore, cleaning is very difficult for him. He is not interested to continue in this job. He is interested in studies. Hence he was assigned to the Retired Army Major in Sambepalli as he wanted to adopt. He is now going to school and studying in 6th class.

Case Study 10

Name : Mahesh
Sex : Male
Age : 13
Family : Mother, 1 younger sister and 1 younger brother
Present Status : Child Domestic Worker staying with her family

Mahesh aged 13, having lost his father at the age of 5, was brought up by his maternal uncle. He belongs to a landless Scheduled Caste family from Veeraballi. His mother and two sisters are daily wage earners. They are living in NTR Nagar. One of the brothers of Mahesh is also working in the hotel. Before the present job, Muthu was working as a domestic servant at a rich land owner for a monthly salary of Rs.50 plus two meals a day. He only looks after cattle and assist in farm work. Because of his caste background, domestic works were not assigned to him. Roughly, he worked from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. with about a couple of hour’s break at noon. But during peak agricultural season the recess was reduced to about half an hour. The long and tedious hours of work adversely affected his health and thus he changed his work and migrated to Veeraballi with the help of his brother and found out job in a restaurant for a daily wage of 20 plus three meal a day. He worked there for seven months. His payment there is irregular and working conditions was not good. Therefore he changed his workplace to a teashop. He is getting a salary of Rs.30 per day and three times food for night work. During daytime he has no work. He has to
work from 6 P.M. to 7 A.M. He is living along with the employer. He is looking for a good job or better wages. His ambition in life is to become a big trader. At present he has a saving of Rs.2500. He does not want to do this job for long. Later he has been moved to the charitable trust and the trust in turn accepted him to send to school.

Case Study 11

Name : Satyavel
Sex : Female
Age : 10
Family : Father, Mother, 3 younger sisters and 2 younger brothers
Present Status : Child Domestic Worker staying with her family

Satyavel is a 10-year old boy. He belongs to a Scheduled Caste community. His family consists of parents, three sisters and two younger brothers. They live in Akepadu. His father is a cobbler and his mother works as domestic servant. Satyavel has studied up to third standard and left his studies, as his father was not in a position to bear the school expenses. Satyavel is not interested in continuing his studies because his teacher used to beat him regularly.

Satyavel migrated to Ramapuram last year with the help of a relative who is also a child labour working in a sweet manufacturing unit-Satyavel's friend Venkat managed to set up a job for him. This manufacturing unit was managed by a Muslim migrant. Satyavel has to work for 12 to 13 hours a day from 6 am to 7 pm. He is getting a salary of Rs.300 per month. The work is so hazardous for him because all the time he is engaged in backing and frying. He has to work in the suffocating heat and some of continuously burning ovens. At the time of his entry into this work the manager agreed to give Rs.400 as salary but he is getting Rs.300 only. The employer directly gave it to his parents. The employer gives him food three times a day. Satyavel is staying in the workplace along with his co-workers. Later he was handed over to the SC Welfare Hostel and permitted him for schooling.
Case Study 12

Name : Mallanna
Sex : Male
Age : 13
Family : Father, Mother, 1 younger sister and brother
Present Status : Child Domestic Worker staying with her family

Mallanna is a 13 year-old boy hailing from Bhagavathipuram near Gurramkonda. His father deserted his family when he was studying in the fourth standard. His father, Muthaiya, working in a rice mill, is a dipsomaniac. Mallanna is the eldest son of his family. He has one sister and one brother. His mother is selling vegetables and edibles in the market near to his house. Due to the financial difficulties and poverty of the family Mallanna stopped his studies and engaged as child labourers. Mallanna with the help of the middlemen got a job in a hotel in Sreekaryam near bus stand. The employer offered Rs.600 as monthly salary and accommodation within the hotel. But he gave only Rs.450 per month, for working 13 hours a day. The work he has to do is mopping and cleaning the tables and the floor, washing utensils and fetching water from the public tap. He has to work there always under wet conditions. Therefore, he managed to find out a job in the nearest tea stall, functioning only in the night. Mallanna has been working here for last three months. Now Mallanna is staying along with his employer. He gives food three times a day and salary is paid very promptly. The work in the open air is very interesting to him. His ambition is to start a good hotel. He would like to stay permanently in Rayachoty. He was moved to the NGO home with great difficulty by consoling and cajoling the parents and philanthropic people and permitted him for schooling.

Case Study 13

Name : Manikantam
Sex : Male
Age : 12
Family : Father, Mother, 2 younger sisters
Present Status : Child Domestic Worker staying with her family
Manikantam, a 12-year-old boy hailed from Pulivendla. He is working in a restaurant. There are three adults and two other child labourers aged 15 and 13 employed in the shop. Manikantam stays at the restaurant and works from 8 am to 10 pm. He gets Rs.500 per month plus two meals and breakfast daily. He is also getting two pairs of dress in a year. He is working in this restaurant for the last two years. In addition to his wages, he earns an average of Rs.10 as tip in a day. He is enjoying Sunday as holiday. The employer gave five days of leave for the last Diwali to go home. The employer is very cordial to him and meets medical expenses whenever he fell sick. Manikantam takes his bath every day before opening and after closing of the establishment. During the last month one of the adult workers, who is staying in the restaurant tried to abuse him sexually by compelling him for oral sex with the support and compulsion of another adult worker staying there. But Manikantam has not complained to his employer because of the fear of the adult workers. If he complained, they will give him very hazardous work.

Manikantam sees movie once in a week. He himself receives the wages. He passes four fifth of his wages to his parents. He has no savings. He is satisfied with the present work and likes to continue this job. He was later with the help of parents and local elite admitted in to school.

Case Study 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Kumar</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Father, Mother, 2 younger brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Status</td>
<td>Child Domestic Worker staying with her family</td>
</tr>
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Kumar, hailing from Vinukonda, is a 12-year-old boy who has studied up to fourth standard. His father and brother who are agricultural labourers took him out of school after his mother died. His mother had been an agricultural cooie too and the family needed to compensate for her income. His brother sent him for a handloom cottage industry, but he is not getting anything from there. After four months of work, Kumar managed to leave and migrated to Rayachoty with the help of a friend and found out a job in a wayside tea stall near the railway station. He has been working there for
the last 10 months. He is getting Rs.400 in a month as wages. He has work only at night from 6 pm to 7 pm. His employer treats him as his own child. Kumar is always happy in doing this job. After his migration to Rayachoty, he visited his home two times. Once in a month his brother comes and collects his wages from the employer. The work he is performing now is not tedious for him. He was later shifted to school with the own intention of the employer on the condition that he must work in hotel in non-school hours and on all the holidays.

Case Study 15

Name : Raja
Sex : Male
Age : 12
Family : Father, Mother, 2 younger brothers and one sister
Present Status : Child Domestic Worker staying with her family

Raja is a twelve year old boy working in a vegetarian hotel near the railway station. He hails from Mamandur, Chittoor district. He left his family when he was studying in the seventh standard. He has two brothers and one sister. His father is a blacksmith engaged in making knives and selling them in the market. His father and mother used to quarrel continuously and he was beaten up. Therefore Raja migrated to Rayachoty with the help of a friend, without informing the parents. With the help of his friend, he got this job.

Raja wake up nearly two hours before sun rise, put fire to the oven, wash the utensils, cups and plates, sweep the floor and arrange the furniture. Then he has to assist in the kitchen in the preparation of breakfast items. After the preparation of the breakfast he has to clean the plates used by the customers. He gets rest only when the stream of customers is broken at a point. If there is interval, hardly there is any place to rest. He has to serve the customers and perform varieties of chores till 11 p.m. There is hardly any sleeping place provided to them. Sometimes he sleeps on the corner floor of the restaurant and sometimes outside the restaurant. For the purpose of both and latrine, he has to go outside. He had free time only once in a week. He is getting a salary of Rs.400 per month. But he is giving nothing to his family. He utilises the weekly holiday in seeing Telugu movies. Raja was given proper
counselling and made consciousness on the education and permitted into school with the help of his relatives and his owner.

Case Study 16

Name : Mani
Sex : Male
Age : 14
Family : Father, Mother, 2 younger sisters
Present Status : Child Domestic Worker staying with her family

Mani migrated to Rayachoty four year before when his family moved from Chakrayapet. His parents are rag pickers and they were staying outskirts of Rayachoty. Mani has been working in the hoteliering sector for the last 4 years. He entered into hotel work at the age of nine. "This is my third working place". "I shifted from my working place because of the cruelty of the employer. At the time of my employment the owner offered Rs.300 as salary but he gave me only Rs.100. Also I have to work there for more than 12 hours a day without any rest. Therefore I leave that job and entered into rag picking. I did it for 6 months. I got this job with the help of a broker. The working condition here is comparatively good. Therefore, I like to continue here". Mani is very much interested in doing this job. I don't think the owner was a bad man. He did not abuse me. He shouted at me only if I commit a mistake. However, he has no kindness" I am getting Rs.450 as monthly salary. "The co-workers are very kind towards me". Mani's ambition is to start a hotel. But he was made aware of the value of education and persuaded him properly and allowed for school after preparing him mentally. The old people near the hotel adopted him as their children far away from them and they need a helping hand. He goes to school and works in the hotel and shelters the old couple.

Case Study 17

Name : Rupa
Sex : Female
Age : 14
Family : Father, Mother, 2 younger sisters
Present Status : Child Domestic Worker staying with her family
As one enters the brown three storied house through the metal door, one invariably sees a little girl crouching over a pile of dirty dishes - diligently scrubbing and rinsing the pressure cookers, ripts, pans and plates. The cement landing with a water tap under the stair case is where Rupa, a child labourer does most of her work, cleaning dishes, washing clothes end filling and ferrying water jars to the kitchen on the top floor.

The dimple cheeked Rupa has been working for this middle class family for the past one year, although it is not the first family she has worked for. Grandmother herself has been working for some years at the house of Rupa's owner. Asked why she had to come to Rayachoty, she said that there wasn't enough to eat at home. Rupa says shyly. After separating from his father and two brothers, Rupa's father ended up with 8 unirrigated/dry lands and irrigated paddy field from the ancestral property. The 28 year old man and his wife, 25, till the land but the yield is insufficient to feed the four daughters and one son. During the agriculture off season, he tries to supplement his income by working as a cook.

For her age, Rupa has a busy schedule. She must get up around six in the morning; otherwise she will be late for the morning milk queue. She then makes bed tea and wakes her master's family of three with steaming cups of tea. Soon it's time 10 clean and carry water tom the tap on the landing. On most mornings, Rupa then makes a second trip to the bazaar to purchase vegetables, rice or other items. Upon return, she cuts vegetables, picks out chaff and rocks from the rice and starts cooking for the master who has to leave by 9:30 for work. She also has to ensure that a continuous supply of boiled water is available. She now turns into an efficient waitress, serving the- real energetically to the family. When the family finishes eating their meal, another long bout with dishes commences for Rupa at the scullery. Between numerous errands for her master and mistresses, she quickly gobbles her soup and rice and puts on her coarse blue faded frock. She grabs her bag and rushes off to school around 11 A.M. which is 10 minutes walk away.

Attending school is the payment for her labour. When the 'negotiations' were made, Rupa's mother had insisted that she wanted no 'wage' for her daughter's service only that Rupa be sent to school as long as she wants to. Indeed, Rupa's parents get no
money. Her two meals a day and may be some snack, two sets of clothing a year, some medicine When she is ill and the schooling is what Rupa earns of her labour.

Rupa is enrolled in class one and although primary education is officially supposed to be free, the school still charges Rs.30 annually as registration fee. Additionally her master’s spend about Rs.30 monthly on her books, copies and pencils. The primary reason for her parents decided to send her to work was simple economics - it would mean one less month to feed and secondly because they couldn’t afford her school expenses in their own village school.

Rupa, who looks rather small for her 11 years, is quite intelligent. Her teacher says he works hard, but she failed her mathematics in the quarterly exams. She tries to fit in her homework and study sessions when there is a relative lull in her numerous errands and tasks placed on her and when she can find a quiet corner in the house. But her study often is cut short when any of the family members ask her to bring a glass of water, make tea, rush to the market or do errands in the neighborhood. The school ends at 3:30 P. M. and Rupa gets back home and often tired and hungry. She may get some biscuits and tea, but she is taught not to ask many things and express her needs. There may be a brief rest for her now depending on whether there are any guests at home or many errands to be done. Rupa’s work load increases to the number and frequency of guest arrivals. Soon she has to make tea and then start cleaning dishes again. Some days she does laundry as well. Occasionally when there is no water in the tap, she must carry 10 litter pitchers of water from the tap ten blocks down the street.

Then the evening round commences for Rupa with a trip to the market again. She returns and starts with the bread and tea her mistress usually cooks the vegetables. She has to serve the food in the living room if someone dices to have dinner with the TV. When everyone has eaten (not everyone eats at the same time) and the dishes are taken care of. Rupa eats quietly alone. She then sweeps and scrubs the kitchen. By now, it is nearly 10 - 10.30 P. M. Though she is often exhausted by this hour, she may not be able to go to bed if the family is watching late night TV programme. When the family retires to their beds, Rupa pulls out the bedding from beneath the sofa and spreads it on the floor and is soon fast asleep beneath the big TV cabinet, totally exhausted by the long day’s labours.

259
And she gets no leave; seven days a week, four weeks a month Rupa works. She goes home with her parents for a few days during festivals and her father or mother comes every 4 months to visit her. The mother especially is particular that Rupa should not miss school that is why she does not insist on taking Rupa home often. Very infrequently, Rupa shows signs of home sickness, but if asked, she quickly says nothing is wrong. She is also disciplined never to sit on the beds. Chairs or sofa in the house-she usually curls up in an obscure corner of the house when there is no immediate work to be done. Asked one day alone what she hoped to do in the future 'I don't know what it will be' she said merely adding 'but I must study. Finally she was allowed to further study.

Case Study 18

Name : Giri
Sex : Male
Age : 13
Family : Father, Mother, 2 younger sisters
Present Status : Child Domestic Worker staying with her family

Giri with ill filling clothes can be often seen absorbed with other vernacular weeklies at the neighbourhood newspaper stand. He couldn't be a school boy, his oversized clothes and his odd reading hours - during the mid day - betray that. Upon inquiry, it was found that this voracious reader in a nearby middle class joint family. His father died some five years ago and his mother passed away the next year. Of his three siblings, elder brother, is deaf and mute and is a farm labour for a landholding family and his elder sister is married and has children.

Giri's siblings had started working in their native village when their parents were alive; usually washing dishes, fetching firewood or tending collie. Giri's father made his living by selling firewood in the district headquarters. It got especially hard for the father to make ends meet without any landed property or kinship support when he started a family with a local girl. After the father died, Giri worked for a year but when his mother died next year, he moved to a teacher's house that encouraged him to continue schooling. However, after the fifth grade, Giri decided to quit school, he says he was "ashamed of his servant status among his class mates".

260
Some three years ago, the teacher whom Giri worked, decided to send Giri to her sister who was married. As a domestic servant he has a long day. He is usually up by 5.30 a.m., making and serving the "bed tea". Giri’s master, who works as a junior officer in a large hotel and the wife works for a bank. Between the two of them, Giri and his colleague sweep the floor and fetch water from the community tap, and purchase groceries. As both the master and his wife work in offices, the morning meals have to be ready early. When everybody in the family eats then two boys get to eat. After the meals, the kitchen has to be cleaned and the pile of dishes washed. Later, there are usually some clothes to be washed and ironed.

Around noon the boys are done with their morning chores. Giri’s partner goes out for a few hours to a carpenter’s shop to do apprenticeship. It is during this time that Giri runs off to the nearby news stall where he can read a paper for 15 paise each. He doesn’t get any salary or wages for his labour, but he does get some spending money every now and then (not more than Rs. 40 a month). He spends most of this money at the newspaper stand.

Besides the small pocket money, Giri gets clothing, some medicine when he is sick, and of course, meals and some snacks. However, he has been promised that when he gets older, he will be provided with a salaried employment somewhere. His master offered to have him enrolled in a school, but supposedly Giri refused that for Giri the future consists of the day. Recently, he has been talking about joining the army.

The traumas of his family tragedy have given him a sad looking appearance. Moreover, a childhood spent as a domestic servant has made him shy and reclusive boy. Unless required, he avoids other people and makes minimum conversation. His masters ‘train’ him not to express emotions or feelings and he is encouraged to be obedient. Giri is constantly made aware of his inferior position in the household; he must not sit with his masters, he must address them with honorific "Sir". Asked how he felt about his work he said in a pained voice that where ever he goes, he is destined to suffer. Around 4 ‘o’ clock, it’s time to make tea for the family. The people from the offices return, after cleaning the dishes, Giri usually goes to the market for vegetables and other supplies. The evening meal is readied by 8 PM, the family womenfolk may also help with some of the cooking. The family eats by 8.30 PM, and the two boys
start doing the dirty disease and cleaning the kitchen. Giri is lucky there is another person to share the drudgery. When the evening round is completed, Giri usually goes to watch the TV. The world news interests him and so does sports. The two boys then go to sleep on the floor outside the kitchen. Giri was counselled and permitted him to schooling by his owner with the help of local people on the condition that he must work off-schooling hours and on holidays.

Case Study 19

Name: Kamala
Sex: Female
Age: 10
Family: Father, Mother, 2 younger brothers
Present Status: Child Domestic Worker

For her tender 10 years, Kamala has undergone a lot. When she was only 7 years old Kamala's mother ran away from the first husband and settled with a new man. Kamala and two younger brothers also came with the mother. However, the step father wasn't as kind as he could be and made life difficult for the three children, especially Kamala, Kamala has now been employed as a child labourer in a middle-level travel officer's house. Earlier, it had been arranged to pay her Rs.200 per month, but 5 months ago her employed hired another girl. Subsequently her salary was reduced to Rs.150 month reasoning that her work load would be reduced with another servant sharing the work. The two girls work together from early morning sweeping the house, washing dishes, purchasing groceries and cooking. After the family has eaten and the master has gone for work, the girls usually have to do some laundry. Afterwards they have a few hours of rest during the afternoon. The girls usually spend the afternoon break either resting or talking with the other neighbourhood child labourers.

The evening work shift begins around 3.30. Kamala has to go to the nearby school bus stop to receive the family's children returning from school. The children usually dump the oversized bag, and lunch boxes on to Kamala on the way back as they do when she walks them to the bus stop in the morning. One of the school boy aged 3 and his 5-year old sister are in nursery class. Kamala had also gone to school
for 3 years, but she was unable to continue. Now it is most ironic to observe her lugging two heavy bags of books to and from the school bus when she probably will never have an opportunity to study herself.

This is not Kamala's first job. Before coming as a servant here she worked for 19 months in tailouring shop. The inadequate nutrition, unhealthy working condition and the dusk made her very sick with respiratory problems. She was forced to quit that work and has been working as a servant for Kamala's master's brother-in-law for 14 years. The neighbor of her house promptly arranged for Kamala to work in the present place.

Kamala's mother tends the three younger sons and looks after the meager land holding. The land is insufficient to feed the family, much less pay the Rs. 8,000 debt. The family incurred when the mother got sick two years ago during the birth of her last son from her new husband. Now Kamala's father works as a porter, truck loader depending upon which job is available. On an average day he makes anywhere between Rs. 35 to Rs. 70 provided he can find work. Even with so much sweat and labour, I still can't properly feed the children" said 31 year old Kamala's father while taking a break from cement loading job at shop. Last week, Kamala went to her home for a few days' visit. Her masters have now learnt that she won't be coming back to work for them anymore. Her parents have decided, now that Kamala feels a little better that she should work again at the tailouring because it brings more money than a domestic servant. Kamala was handed over to the NGO Home with the permission of the employer and admitted into school.

DISCUSSIONS

One way or the other these case studies can be linked with the pervasive poverty. The children in the case studies, Rupa and Kamala were from families that owned less than average sized land holdings, Giri's parents were landless, never owning a house, muscles land Rupa and Kamala's families are able to produce sufficient food for about six months, while Giri's parents, when they were alive, had to meet all their costs of living through the sale of firewood and their own labouring. Low yield from agriculture, insufficient earnings make day to day survival difficult for these families. The extremely small land holdings coupled with decreased soil
fertility and accelerating soil erosion is making it increasingly difficult for peasants like Rupa and Kamala's families to make ends meet even at the bare subsistence level. To eke out an existence for themselves, they are compelled to seek seasonal and temporary labour service elsewhere, even the children.

For example take the case of Rupa's father, while the mother takes care of the children and home, the father comes to Rayachoty when there is no agricultural works at home and works as either a construction labourer carrying bricks or cement or as a cook at an orphanage. Obviously, this alone does not provide enough food and schooling for family. Admittedly, education is a strong value for Rupa's parents, especially the mother even through both of them are illiterates themselves. As a consequence, the parents have sent their two eldest daughters to work as domestic servants, so that they may get some schooling which they can't afford to give themselves. Kamala's case is more or less similar coming from a step father's house who is heavily in debt and unable to feed the family most of the year, she had to first work as a carpet weaver at age eight and when her health failed. She worked as a labourer for a family.

Giri's case is the most extreme. Never owning any fixed assets like land or house, his parents lived practically on the toil of their day to day wages, there never was any saving to fall back on. Once they got ill and unable to work, the food also began to dry up. Not only did Giri's parents receive any medicine but they got insufficient food during their illness which hastened their premature death. Once they died, the children were one by one picked up by people looking for child labourers.

For two meals a day (which is often the left over from the master's eating) two or three pairs of clothes (which can often be the hand-me-downs of the master's children) and occasionally a monthly salary of Rs.60 or less, the children are made to labour long hours. Of course this doesn't apply to Rupa and Giri, the former gets schooling and latter gets some pocket money instead of regular wage. In return, the children usually put in at least 8-10 hours of labour from 5-6 in the morning till late at night, seven days a week. Considering that the minimum starting salary for government peons has been set at Rs.1,100 for 7 hours a day 6 -days a week work. What the children get or the masters make out of the arrangement does seem unjust.
In this case acute poverty creates conditions where the bargaining position of the children or their parents is practically non-existent.

As for the parents of the children, they are resigned to their children working out of necessity. As far as immediate household needs go, it's one less mouth to feed and if it is a better deal the child would bring in some cash, however small, and education in the case of people like Rupa it is a bare survival strategy for the poor. "At least the children get to eat and go to school" says Rupa's mother sadly where inquired how she felt all out both her daughter workings far from home.

But there is more to it than the stark economics of child labour. A host of socio-cultural issues are involved. From his/her early formative age, the child labourer is strictly trained to be deferential and subservient to the master's family. The socialization is achieved through various ways, the servant has to address his masters with the honorific term 'Idiot'. He/she must never sit on the bed sofa/chair or rugs of his masters.

The attitude of superiority and inferiority are also reinforced by other processes For example, the working children almost invariably eat last when all the family has eaten. The children were also conditioned to be impersonal in the master's house, they are discouraged from showing any love, affection or sentiment. When Kamala's mother visits her daughter, Kamala looks awkwardly at her mother and doesn't know what to do - almost filled with guilt while the masters are present. But one day I spied her sitting on her mother's lap alone in the kitchen. While the mother combed and tended her hair, Kamala was whining and hugging her mother, being a real child. But when she saw me watching she stood up with a guilty expression. In extreme cases, the working child may be depersonalized, viewed more as a functional work unit than a person. A few masters even frankly admitted that a servant in the home enhances the social standing, rather like a status symbol giving the image of wealth. Among middle class families who can keep young children, especially girls are preferred for a number of obvious reasons. First, the young child can be physically controlled more thoroughly there is no fear of insubordination to threaten the master's power. Secondly, small child servants occupy less space to sleep. Need less amount of clothing and eat much less. Of course, they need to be paid very little as well. And when they can be had "for the price of two star beers" one girl servant said they definitely are within the affordability range for many.
The condition of being a child labourer in most cases not only mentally subjugates and expropriates the childhood of the kids, but it also effectively precludes other better opportunities and growth for the future. Because a servant develops no marketable skills, he/she will probably remain a servant for life thus perpetuating the cycles of poverty. As attested by the case studies, a network of servitude and client relationships evolves. Not only does a person remain a servant all his/her life, but will probably also induct their near relatives into the domestic servant network like Rupa's and Kamala's grandmother. In many cases, it is also likely for servants from the same family or area to work for the same master or his kin group for generations. Therefore, the problem of poverty seems to be not only intergenerational but also intergenerational for lack of viable opportunity at social mobility.

It is indeed few fortunate child labourers who can find time, encouragement and the will to get education or acquire skills after their long work hours. Since the pay is paltry, there is no question either of saving enough and starting. One's own businesses or farm. Even if the child, like Kamala, quits one master he/she will probably continue with similar menial works; restaurant dish washer, porter, construction worker or carpet weaver. For those without the minimum education or other skills it is hard to break out from the cycle of hard labour and poverty. This constriction of opportunities naturally breeds fatalistic outlooks. Even at such an imaginative age, Rupa and Giri have begun expressing such outlooks as "I don't know what will happen", "it's in God hands" or Kamala saying with a bit of sarcasm "while will pass scrubbing dishes" about her future.

**REFLECTION**

Though limited in scope, these case studies show several important lessons about developments in the study area today, particularly with respect to children foremost, increasing the overall life chances of children as well as many other vulnerable sectors. Egalitarian relationships that secure and protect the interests of all-instead of only those most powerful-will lead to a more equitable distribution of limited resources and this in turn, will lessen the pervasive poverty that forces children into labour, prostitution etc., or at the very least, into "literacy, disease and the like. Anything short of such social economic transformation will only gave the appearance of development instead of attacking the roots of the problem.
CONCLUSION

The case studies stated show that child labour is a combination of a number of factors; poverty, illiteracy and ignorance of parents, large size family, migration, indebtedness, lack of political will and social attitudes and employer's preference for hiring children. All the cases studied show that economic compulsion mainly forces children to enter into labour market. The study also reveals that lack of parental motivation and high opportunity cost of schooling also contributes to the aggravation of child labour. Data support the argument that the level of economic development, the level of social expenditure by the state, family culture and the phase of demographic transition determine the magnitude of child labour. Almost all the cases studied contribute significantly to their family income. Thus, the non-availability of adequate employment opportunities followed by persistence of low wages motivated the parents to send the children for work. The employers prefer to substitute child worker for adult ones as the former can be easily handled are less demanding and do not protest to perform odd jobs. Further non-availability of adult workers for certain jobs in the hotels motivates the employers to employ cheaply available child workers. This reflects that child labour cannot be abolished as long as there is wide-spread poverty, especially in the rural areas. Hence eradication of poverty by implementing various programmes and development of consciousness among people about the social evil need to be emphasized.

In conclusion, the problem of child labour is a socio-economic problem and not a matter that can be settled by mere legislation, better enactment of laws and by imposition of heavy penalties. Therefore, imposing a complete taboo on child labour without the attendant economic incentives would not be effective and would be counterproductive. It is therefore, essential to tackle this issue simultaneously from all related angles so that as a whole the impact is visible and useful.