CHAPTER - 1

The Problem and the Approach

1.1 Introduction

It is truly horrific to note our society’s apathy towards a vast section of the child population. They toil to sustain themselves and their families—and they do so unnoticed and unacknowledged. They are the invisible children of India. The figures speak for themselves. According to the Population Census of 1991, 94.94 million children in India were not attending school and they were not considered to be in the labour force. These children were neither in school nor in the labour force and so were called the ‘nowhere children’ (Chaudhri, 1996). Very little information is available on their activities so it is difficult to accept that such a vast number of children are ‘idle’ in India. It is plausible that, school attendance being a regular activity, the ‘school-less-ness’ of children is identified easily and hence is ‘visible’. But children probably engage in a number of other activities that are essential for the survival of the families but are difficult to enumerate, and so their work remains unnoticed. Indeed for this reason, that these children are called ‘invisible’ child workers, a term employed by Jayaraj and Subramanian (2002), in this thesis. Since very little is known about the activities of these children, identifying their activities has been set out as the major objective of the thesis.

A large number of children also participate in the labour market. These children are recognised as child labourers. Child labour is a social evil. It deprives children of childhood and does irreversible damage to their capabilities. It is considered as being both the cause and the consequence of poverty. It is a constant source of inequality across countries, between regions and among social groups in human capital development (Sahoo, 1995; Varghese, 1998; Jaiswal, 2000). For these reasons, it is imperative that it should be eradicated from every country.

It appears that almost all the countries in the world at one time or another have faced the problem of child labour. According to the Census of England and Wales in 1861, 36.9 per cent of boys and 20.5 per cent of the girls in the age group 10-14 were

1 There were 10.8 million child workers (both main and marginal workers) according to 1991 Census.
workers (Cunningham, 1996). Fyfe reports that in Italy and Spain too the incidence was high as each had more than 1.5 million child workers in the 1970s (Fyfe, 1989). A high incidence of child labour was reported in the United States of America by McQuade (1938). According to him 18.4 per cent of the children in the USA in 1910 were workers. However, the developed nations seem to have successfully eradicated this phenomenon by adopting various measures such as universal compulsory primary education and enacting laws that ban employment of children (Olga, 1994). Consequently, today the problem largely confronts only the developing countries. The distribution of child labour across nations, provided in Ashagrie (1993), suggests that the incidence of child labour is almost entirely confined to nations in the two continents of Africa and Asia\(^2\). Indeed 93 per cent of child workers in the world in 1990 (Ashagrie, 1993) are found in countries located in these two continents. The study by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1996 also establishes that the incidence of child labour to a large extent is concentrated in countries in Asia and Africa. This study shows that while only 0.1 per cent of the children (10-14 years) of Europe are found to be workers, the figures for Asia and Africa are placed respectively at 15.19 and 27.87 per cent in 1990. Most of the countries in these two continents are poor in terms of both economic development and human capital development.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that some of the countries of these two continents seem to have achieved economic development through investment in human capital. The observation made in the report on *Human Development in South Asia 1998* is relevant here. The report states, "It was through human development strategies that a major breakthrough was made by Japan in the 1940s and 1950s; by the East Asia industrializing tigers (the Republic of Korea, former Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, Malaysia and Thailand) in the 1960s and 1970s; and by China in the 1980s and 1990s (Haq, 1998)." It may be added here that the sharpest decline in the number of child labourers (from 39.73 million in 1980 to 22.45 million in 1990) has occurred in the East Asian region. On the other hand, South Asia is considered to be the worst performer in human development. The report on *Human Development in South Asia 1997* says that it

\(^2\) The international data on child labour compiled by Ashagrie (1993) shows that there were 78.5 million child labourers in 1990 and out of that 56.78 million (72.33%) in Asia and 16.76 million (21.35%) in Africa.
has emerged as the poorest, the most illiterate, the most malnourished, and the least gender-sensitive region in the world (Haq, 1997). In fact, this is the only region in the world which has the dubious distinction of having increased the use of child labour from 20.19 million in 1980 to 27.64 million in 1990 (estimates by Ashagrie, 1993). In this context, a study of child labour in India, a country that is located in South Asia, might throw considerable light on the reasons why child labour appears to flourish in this region.

India accounted for 16.86 per cent of the world's children in 1991 (International Data Base: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991). Its contribution to global child labour was in the order of 19.36 per cent in 1990 (Ashagrie, 1993). The percentage of children in the age group 10-14, identified as workers in India, at 16.68 is higher than the corresponding world average which was placed at 14.65 and 15.19 per cent respectively in 1990 (ILO, 1996). Not only is the magnitude of child labour high in India, it varies a great deal across states. According to the 1991 Census, the variation is from 0.58 per cent (of the total children) in Kerala to 10 per cent in Andhra Pradesh. An analysis of the causes for the observed variability in the proportion of children (identified as being workers) across states may help to understand why child labour persists in South Asia in general, and in particular in India. Having justified a study of child labour in India, in what follows an attempt is made to review (1) the historical background of this problem both in India and elsewhere in the world; (2) the efforts made to end child labour in India; and (3) the studies (on child labour) done in the past. Such an attempt is expected to help in identifying issues that need to be researched.

### 1.2 Historical Background

Fyfe (1989), who traces the historical background of the phenomenon of child employment, indicates that children have been contributing to the family economy throughout human history. According to him, the work of children, which had been a gradual initiation into adulthood in the earlier stages of economic development, became exploitative in nature later. He notes that the first widespread and impersonal exploitation of child workers was associated with the beginning of Industrialization in Britain between 1780 and 1850. At the end of the eighteenth century, it is said that children were conveniently supplied as labour for the new industrial textile mills. With
the spread of colonialism child exploitation seems to have taken root in many countries. It needs to be noted here that, while working in factories was the pattern of child labour in the industrialized western countries, in the developing countries the majority of children continued to contribute to the family economy by participating in agriculture-based activities, as agriculture still remained the predominant sector of employment and source of livelihood (Bequele and Boyden, 1988).

In India, according to Singh and Verma (1987), for centuries the participation of children in work was part of their daily living. Various occupations were pursued on caste lines within the framework of the joint family system. They were given apprenticeship training in family-based occupations related to agriculture or agriculture-based crafts and trades to prepare them to gradually take up various adult roles. Unlike the industrialised countries where child labour was considered a necessary evil (exploitation), in India it was considered a virtue (socialization). For example Mendelievich (1979) has maintained that, “In earlier times children used to work in their family circle. Little by little, through almost unconscious observation, association and imitation, they learnt the role that they would be called upon to play as adults. During this process of socialization, of which his ‘on-the-job’ training formed a part, the child grew to physical and intellectual maturity without ill-treatment and virtually without being exploited, and was simultaneously prepared for adult life.” This view, which glorifies the participation of children in work, may be due to the unquestioned acceptance of parents’ control over their children and the notion that parents are the benevolent protectors of the children’s interests. In this connection, the observation made by Fyfe (1989, p 71) on the attitude of the representatives from developing countries attains a great deal of relevance. He observes, “The representatives of Bangladesh, Ivory Coast, Colombia, Egypt, Algeria and Syria, among others, regarded child work within the family as a duty and an expression of family solidarity.” He points out that, “We should be skeptical of such ingrained assumptions. Many children make a deliberate choice in favour of ‘exploitation outside the home’ and control of their own earnings, often in the face of parental opposition, rather than endure the ‘eternal apprenticeship’ of long hours without remuneration under the control of parents.” Apart from the fact that many children probably prefer ‘exploitation outside the home’, it needs to be recognized that the acceptance of the seemingly popular perception might lead to a denial of formal education to many children, which might in turn lead to a denial of the
advantages of education in relation both to their earnings *capabilities* and to their *functioning* throughout their life-span. However, as will be shown later in the thesis, such notions dominate both the identification of child workers and policy measures adopted to eradicate this social evil.

Sahoo (1995) is of the opinion that child labour, to a large extent, emerged as a survival strategy of poor households in India after the coming of the British. According to him the British annexation brought a profound change in the economic structure. The introduction of the capitalist concept of the land revenue system, the extraction of raw materials for the industries of England and the rapid commercialisation of Indian agriculture led to an increasing disorganization of the Indian economy—especially with respect to agriculture and handicrafts. As a consequence, there was a progressive pauperisation, indebtedness and bondage of large masses of the rural poor. As a survival strategy, the children of the poor and the lower classes entered the labour market. The post-colonial period did not qualitatively alter the situation. Even after five decades of independence, India remains one of the poorest countries of the world, both in terms of GNP and Human Capital Development. There has been an increase in the concentration of wealth on the one hand and a corresponding pauperisation and unemployment on the other. These factors were considered to have increased the intensity of use of child labour in India (Sahoo, 1995).

While it may be true that poverty and the increase in the concentration of wealth might have contributed to the increase in the number of child workers, the impact of caste-based inequalities and gender discrimination on child labour needs to be reckoned with in the Indian context (this issue, while it is mentioned here, will be addressed in detail later). It may also be noted here that, unlike in the developed countries where child labour was largely a phenomenon of the industrial sector, in India it appears to be concentrated in the rural areas, in general, and in particular in the agricultural sector. But because of the pre-conceived notion that child labour in rural areas occurs within the context of familial supervision and that it is a way of socialisation, rural child labour, to a large extent, has not attracted the attention of either policy makers or researchers. On the contrary, child labour in specific industries such as carpet weaving, match and fireworks, glass-ware, and beedi making have received a great deal of attention (Sumi Krishna, 1996). While it is undeniable that child workers in these industries suffer untold miseries
and a threat to life – and thus there is a need for greater attention being paid to the eradication of child labour in these industries – it is difficult to accept the notion that child labour in rural areas is a way of socialization or that it is free from an employer-employee relationship. Indeed, Jayaraj and Subramanian (2002) have shown that in Tamil Nadu – a state in the Indian union – more than 70 per cent of children are employed in agriculture work for a wage. It is worth examining whether this pattern observed for Tamil Nadu holds true for each state in the Indian union. Thus, there is a need for a disaggregated analysis of the data on child labour – disaggregated by occupation as well as caste, gender, and sector of origin – for India.

1.3 Efforts to End Child Labour

Almost simultaneously with the emergence of child labour during the industrial revolution, the concept of childhood and children’s need for protection was put forth by thinkers, moralists and educators. The campaign against child labour began and the restoration of childhood was demanded (Fyfe, 1989). Efforts were made, both at national and international levels, to abolish child labour.

1.3.1 International Efforts

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations (UN) are the two international agencies, which make consistent efforts to legislate on the rights of children and to make them mandatory in the member countries to protect their rights. The ILO’s interventions are in the form of Conventions and Recommendations and Programmes. From the ‘Minimum Age (Industry) Convention’ (No.5) in 1919 to the International Convention (No.182) on the ‘Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour’ in June 1999, Many Conventions have been held and recommendations made in respect of child labour. They were mainly aimed at (1) fixation of minimum age of employment and maximum hours of work, (2) making medical examination compulsory, and (3) prohibition of night work for children.

Apart from the ILO, the United Nations (UN) was actively involved, since its inception, in children’s welfare. Starting from the Geneva declaration on the ‘Rights of the Child’ in 1924, several declarations were made till the comprehensive ‘Convention

on the Rights of the Child' (CRC) in 1989. CRC is the first universal code of children's rights in history. The convention contains 54 details a different type of right (refer to Gomango, brought under four broad categories: (i) Survival rights, Protection rights, and (iv) Participation rights.

i. Survival rights cover existence, which include medical services.

ii. Development rights include those things that children require in order to reach their fullest potential. Examples are the right to education, play and leisure, cultural activities, access to information and freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

iii. Protection rights require that children be safeguarded against all forms of abuse, neglect and exploitation. They cover issues such as special care for refugee children, torture, abuse in the criminal justice system, involvement in armed conflict, child labour, drug abuse, and sexual exploitation.

iv. Participation rights allow children to take an active role in their communities and nations. These encompass the freedom to express opinions, to have a say in matters affecting their own lives, to join associations and to assemble peacefully. It is envisaged that if these rights of children are ensured, then child labour will automatically end.

In September 1996, one hundred and eighty-seven countries including India ratified the Convention. This gave additional impetus for international bodies like the UN and the ILO to uphold the rights of children. In this process it can be said that the survival and protection rights of children were addressed more seriously than their development rights. Consequently, child labour in particular industries/occupations, where exploitation was more visible, has attracted the attention of policy makers. Most of the international programmes, which followed CRC, were directed towards reducing child labour in specific industries. If it can be considered as prioritization due to an inadequacy of funds, it is understandable but if it was done due to a lack of sufficient knowledge and understanding of children’s work or in other words due to the
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Protection rights, and (iv) Participation rights.

i. Survival rights cover a child’s right to life and the needs that are most basic to
existence, which include an adequate living standard, shelter, nutrition and access to
medical services.

ii. Development rights include those things that children require in order to reach
their fullest potential. Examples are the right to education, play and leisure, cultural
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knowledge and understanding of children’s work or in other words due to the
of work, the level of wages and so on) through the inclusion of a social clause, which would either deny nations (that do not fulfil minimal labour standards) the membership of WTO, or enable other nations to place a trade embargo on any nation that violates the standards. The minimal labour standard envisaged through the social clause regarding children is that they should not work, just as adults should not overwork and get underpaid. While all member countries have not accepted this move, and hence the social clause has not been ratified, countries like the US have unilaterally introduced into the (US) Congress in 1992 the 'Harkin Bill' by which imports of products made by children were to be banned (Basu, 1998). Following the threat of implementation of this clause, ‘consumer labelling’ (a label that shows that the product has not utilised child labour) has been voluntarily adopted for goods like ‘hand-knotted carpets’ by countries like India, Nepal and Pakistan. It is doubtful whether such a threat by the US would serve the best interests of the affected, namely, the child labourers. As Basu (1998) puts it, “in certain circumstances, the alternative to work may be to suffer acute hunger or starvation”. For this reason, banning the import of articles that embody child labour may result in punishing the victim (of poverty). Doubts are also raised about the motivation for the inclusion of the ‘social clause’. The question often asked is: “Is the ‘social clause’ intended to protect children in the developing countries or is it intended to protect the developed countries from any disadvantage that they may face in international trade as a result of the employment of cheap labour by developing countries?” For these reasons, the efforts by international agencies to end child labour appear to be partial on the one hand, and on the other, the motive of at least some of their actions is suspect.

1.3.2 National Efforts

National efforts to end child labour could be broadly divided into two categories: (i) the legislative effort to prohibit and regulate child labour, and (ii) the implementation of child labour eradication programmes. The regulation of children’s work in India began in the last decades of the 19th century, which has resulted in the enactment of various legislative Acts. These Acts largely aim at prescribing the minimum age of employment

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4 The main child labour labelling programs for hand-knotted carpets are: (a) RUGMARK®; (b) Kaleen. Rugmark is a private, voluntary certification programme established in September 1994 and Kaleen was established in June 1995 by the Carpet Export Promotion Council (CEPC), a quasi-governmental body which oversees the mandatory registration of all Indian carpet exporters and issues export licences (By the Sweat & Toil of Children, 1997, p 24, 35).
and hours of work for children. Some of them are: The Indian Factories Act, 1881 and its amendment Acts 1891, 1911, 1934 and 1948, which fixed the age limit as 7, 9, 12, 14 and 17 years respectively. The Mines Act, 1901 and its amendment Acts 1923, 1935, 1952 and 1983 fixed the age limit for working in mines at 12, 13, 15, 16 and 18 years respectively. The Children (Pledging of Labour) Act, 1933 (amended in 1951) prohibited the pledging of children. In 1975 the entire system of bonded labour was legally abolished. The Employment of Children Act 1938 and its amendment Acts of 1949, 1951 and 1978 prohibited children from working at night and in certain industries such as the railways. In 1950, the Indian Constitution made specific provisions to protect children from exploitation (Art.15, 24, 39e, 39f, 41, 45, 46). After 1950 there were more legislations and amendments to the existing legislations to protect children from exploitation. Among them, the most comprehensive is the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986. The objectives of this Act are two-fold (i) to ban children from working in certain scheduled occupations and processes and, (ii) to regulate children's work in permitted employment. There were only five occupations and 11 processes mentioned in the Act of 1986 for the prohibition and regulation of child labour in the country. A few more occupations and production processes were brought under the Act in 1989, 1999 and 2001. While the continued effort of the government is reflected in such attempts, they also show that such efforts are guided by popular perceptions on the issue.

A large number of activities, which are not connected with factory work, are left untouched by these legislations. Besides, the fact that the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 intended only to regulate (not to ban) child labour in non-hazardous types of work shows its acceptance of child labour in such sectors. This is because such activities are not considered to be either exploitative or hazardous, but instead are considered to be related to the process of training and socialization for the

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6 In 1989 a notification was made by which manufacturing processes using toxic metals and substances, such as lead, mercury, manganese, chromium, cadmium, benzene, pesticides and asbestos, were prohibited from employing children (Notification NO.404 E dated the 5th June, 1989). In January 1999, the Central Government increased the list of occupations and processes banning employment of children below 14 years to 13 and 51 respectively. Very recently another six activities and processes including rag picking and scavenging were banned for children (The Hindu, May 24, 2001).
benefit of children (Olga, 1994). It needs to be pointed out that in the popular understanding, ‘exploitation’ occurs only when work is paid and carried out under the employer–employee relationship. Such a relationship is perceived to be a phenomenon in only those industries that are located in urban areas. Consequently, children working in rural areas, especially in agriculture, were not considered as being exploited because such work is assumed to occur under the supervision of their parents. This view, as noted earlier, is found to prevail among policy makers in developing countries too (see, in this connection Fyfe, 1989). For this reason, legislative efforts by the policy makers to eradicate child labour in India appear to be partial.

Article 45 of the Constitution of India states, "The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years." Now, after fifty years, a bill (the 93rd Constitution Amendment Bill) has been passed in Parliament, which elevates elementary education to the status of a justiciable fundamental right. While the law makes it compulsory, its implementation is doubtful since (i) the objectives are not clear and (ii) the approach is not holistic (Rajalakshmi, 2001). Manisha Priyam, Sadhana Saxena and Krishna Kumar (2002) have this to say on the subject, “In a milieu of increasing deprivation, the absence of clarity on the question of legal liability and quality renders meaningless the constitutional amendment on free and compulsory elementary education.” In this connection it may be noted that despite having laws that ban employment of child labour in specific industries, the problem appears to be growing rather than diminishing. The imposition of a penalty on parents who supply child labour may amount to punishing the victim. Hence, an effort has to be made to understand the specific conditions under which child labour flourishes so that the root cause of child labour and not the symptom (incidence of child labour) is tackled.

Following the Child Labour Act of 1986, the Government adopted the National Policy on Child Labour (NCLP) in August 1987. This provided a three-tier action plan. They are (i) legislative action, which includes (a) enforcement of Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 by the Central and State governments, (b) constitution of a Child Labour Technical Advisory Committee to advise the Central government on the addition of occupations and processes to the schedule contained in the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 and (c) authorisation to the State
governments to frame rules to protect the interests of child workers; (ii) ‘Action on development programmes meant to benefit child labour’, which cover the areas of education, health, nutrition, integrated child development and employment and income generation for the country’s poor; (iii) ‘Project-based action plan’, which envisage a large number of area-specific programmes to eliminate child labour at the micro level. The most prominent among the programmes are as follows:

In 1991, under IPEC, the Indian programme was started with an agreement by Germany to give DM 50 million for a five-year period (1992-95). The IPEC covers nearly 55,000 children under 89 projects. The list of NGOs (47 in number) and their respective IPEC projects show that they are primarily concerned with child labour in industries (refer Appendix 1 of Mishra, 2000).

In 1992, The Child Labour Action and Support Programme (CLASP) initiated ‘special schools’ for child labourers with the help of NGOs. Special schools have been set up to provide basic needs like non-formal education, vocational training, supplementary nutrition, health care etc. to the children withdrawn from employment. In states such as Tamil Nadu, special schools were set up in rural areas recently and these are largely confined to areas known to have a large number of child workers in identified industries such as beedi-making or fireworks. The aim of special schools is to provide some basic education in a non-formal setting. A flexible timetable for learning is envisaged, but the result is that hardly two hours of teaching is done in most of the schools, since the parents send their children only to receive the Rs.100 as compensation for relieving them from work. Therefore the aim appears to be not the elimination of child labour but providing some literacy. But this does not address the issue of a lost childhood: children taking on the role of adults. While the functional role of education appears to be emphasised in such programmes, the role of education as a means to improving one’s earning capacity or standard of living does not appear to be given much importance. If the latter is the motive then special schools may not best serve their interest.

In 1994, the programme called Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) was started. To implement this programme the National Authority for Elimination of Child Labour (NAECL) was set up with a fund of Rs. 28,500 million to eliminate child
labour (the figure for which stood at 2 million children working in hazardous industries) within a period of five years, specifically by the year 2000. In 1995, 12 National Child Labour Projects (NCLPs) were started in eight States. All the 12 projects have been located in urban areas with exclusive concentration on child labour in industries. The different State Governments also carry out a variety of programmes like the Child Labour Abolition Support Scheme (CLASS), which is operative in Vellore district of Tamil Nadu with the objective of eliminating child labour in the beedi industry. Begun in 1995, CLASS now operates in 49 villages, covering nearly 2500 children and their families (Unicef, 1997 p 62).

1.3.3 Efforts by NGOs

NGOs play a major role in the abolition of child labour in India. Some are involved in campaigning against child labour; some are engaged in rehabilitating bonded child labourers; a majority of them are concerned with rehabilitating children working in industries; some concentrate on specific categories of children’s work. But there are not many NGOs taking up the abolition of rural child labour especially those who are in agriculture. The list of NGOs and their programmes for the specific child labour groups are given in Appendix 1.

On the whole the brief review of both the national and the international efforts presented here shows that the emphasis of such efforts is largely on protecting children from exploitation and the threat to life. The right to development has not been given adequate importance. Consequently, both forms of child labour, paid and unpaid, in the rural areas remain largely neglected. In this regard, it may be pointed out that even knowledge in regard to the magnitude of the problem appears to be partial. Indeed the estimates of child workers in India vary a great deal across sources; the variation within a decade being from a low of 13.64 million (Census, 1981) to a high of 44 million in 1985 by ORG8 (Khatu, 1983). There are other agencies quoting even higher estimates9. This issue of variations in estimates is noted here but will be pursued in detail later in this

7 For the list of projects refer Annual Report 1994-95, Ministry of Labour, Govt. of India cited in Krishna 1996 p 111.
8 ORG is Operations Research Group, an organization involved with market and social research, commissioned by the Ministry of Labour in 1980-81.
9 For example the ILO estimates there to be between 60 and 115 million children at work in India (Human Rights Watch-1996).
thesis. While it is important to divert sufficient resources to abolish child labour in hazardous industries in the country, it is equally important to find resources to deal with child labour in the rural areas. There can never be the argument of inadequate resources when it comes to the abolition of child labour in the country. The present level of neglect of rural child labourers reflects a certain profound lack of knowledge and sensitivity to the dimensions of the problem. UNICEF's caution against excessive attention being given to child labour in export industries is one such example. To quote, "If we allow the notion that the most exploited child workers are all in the industrial export sector to take hold, we would do a grave disservice to that great majority of children who labour in virtual invisibility" (UNICEF, 1997, p 21). This could be a costly neglect to the country because such neglect might result in exacerbating (i) rural-urban, (ii) male-female, and (iii) caste differentials that might exist in human capital development in the country. Therefore, there is a need to understand the various dimensions of the issue, which might be achieved by a disaggregated analysis of the data on child labour in India.

1.4 Studies on Child Labour

In the previous section, an attempt was made to understand the historical context in which child labour had emerged, and how that has influenced the perceptions and actions of policy makers and other agencies that are involved in the eradication of child labour in India. The indication is that the understanding of those concerned is partial. In this section, an attempt is made to review the studies on child labour so that issues for further research can be identified. As Basu (1998) says, the literature on child labour is both abundant and anarchic. It needs to be mentioned here that the aim of the review is not to provide a detailed account of all the studies that have been conducted in the past, but to highlight the main strands of reasoning that dominate in the literature. In this context, it should be mentioned that the studies appear, on the one hand to have been influenced, to a large extent, by the historical context in which child labour had emerged in the developed nations, and on the other, to reflect the emphasis given by policy makers to eradicate this phenomenon in the hazardous industries/occupations. Consequently, a large number of studies have attempted to look into the conditions of employment and work in specific industries. They provide vivid and revealing accounts of the exploitation of child labourers in different industries located in specific cities or towns. For example in-depth studies have been conducted on the problems of working
children in the brassware, carpet, lock and pottery industries located in the towns of Moradabad, Varanasi, Mirzapur, Bhadohi, Aligarh and Khurja respectively in the state of Uttar Pradesh; slate and beedi industries in Markapur town and in Nizamabad District respectively in Andhra Pradesh; match and hosiery industries in Sivakasi-Sattur and Tiruppur respectively in Tamil Nadu; gem polishing industry in Jaipur in Rajasthan; carpet weaving industries of Jammu and Kashmir; slate pencil industry of Mandsaur District of Madhya Pradesh, and coir industry in Trivandrum in Kerala (for the list of studies refer to Appendix 2).

These studies generally portray the temporary and repetitive nature of their work, the long hours, low wages, absence of rest hours, absence of medical and recreational facilities etc. Such accounts are useful in understanding the extent and nature of exploitation and the hazards of working in those industries/occupations and have contributed to national and international efforts to end child labour in hazardous industries. To create a similar awakening among the policy makers, similar studies in rural child labour are required.

Apart from the studies that concentrate on the issue of child labour in specific industries, a number of studies have attempted to identify the causes for the employment of children or supply of child labour. These studies could be broadly grouped – based on the relative importance accorded to different sets of factors influencing the labour market participation of children – into three categories as those that emphasize: (i) income poverty; (ii) deprivation in the sphere of education; and (iii) social and cultural factors. It may be added here that while the above grouping is not rigid, this classification is adopted for the sake of convenient presentation.

1.4.1 Income Poverty

According to Marx, the supply of child labour emerges as a result of a deprivation of household income. In a capitalistic system, the primary source of income of the labour households is wage employment. Wage income consists of two components: the income of adults and that of children. The responsibility of earning a livelihood primarily being that of adults, children will enter the labour market if and only if the wage income of the adults falls short of the income required for the survival of the
household. Capitalists, in order to gain access to a cheap source of labour, namely child labour, depress the wages of adults below the level that is needed to earn sufficient income for the survival of the family, so that labour households resort to a supply of child labour. This is made possible in the capitalistic method of production, which is based on an unequal ownership of productive resources. This in turn determines the bargaining power of the capitalist, that which is based on the exploitative capital–labour relationship (Marx, 1977).

Marshall (1920) also emphasizes the relationship between household income and the supply of child labour. However, to Marshall, the supply of child labour arises as a result of households not having enough income to invest in the education of children. He helps us to understand the inter-generational dynamics (the perpetuation across generations) of the supply of child labour. In this scheme, being deprived of an education is seen as both the cause (for the present generation) and the consequence (for the next generation) of child labour. In his scheme, as a consequence of non-investment in the education of children by poor households, the present generation of children of such households become child labourers, whose potential gets less developed. In the process, the children lose their capacity and opportunity for human capital development, which affects their earnings capabilities as adults, and probably forces them to settle in low paid occupations. Since their earnings are low, they too do not invest in the education of their children, which paves the way for the subsequent generation of children to enter the labour market leading to the perpetuation of the vicious cycle of low earnings (poverty) and child labour. This could be considered as the 'poverty–child labour trap'. To break this trap, he advocates investment in education as a means. Views somewhat similar to that of Marshall are found in John Stuart Mill (1970), Grootaert and Kanbur (1995) and Weiner (1991).

The emergence of child labour as a survival strategy and the consequent relationship between adult wage and the supply of child labour has been exemplified in an elegant and detailed formal model provided by Basu and Van (1998). Their macro model could be summarised, without loss of generality, as follows. It is assumed that for each household there exists a minimum wage or critical wage $W_i$, such that the household will send its children out to work if and only if the adult wage prevailing in the market is less than $W_i$. The market wage for adults received by a household is
assumed to be $W^*$. If $W^*$ is less than $W$, the household would resort to the employment of children. On the other hand if the $W_i$ is greater than or equal to $W^*$ the household will not supply child labour. This model brings out the importance of ensuring a minimum wage for adults that is sufficient to ensure the survival of the households, without recourse to child labour. In the process government intervention is justified to enhance the income of households by implementing minimum wages, public works programme and unemployment security schemes to eradicate child labour.

Attempts have been made to verify empirically the importance of household income in general, and adult wage income in particular, to determine the supply of child labour. The importance of wage rate has been analysed by Rosenzweig (1981). He has studied the relationships between wage rates (of both adult males and females) and the participation of male and female children in the labour market. For the purpose, he has employed data collected from the third round of a three-year national survey of 4000 rural Indian households run by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) in 1969-71. His analysis shows that when adult female wage increases, work participation of children decreases—the rate of decline is more pronounced for female than for male children. On the other hand, when adult male wage increases, the impact is more pronounced on the work participation of male children. A study by Basu (1993) of some slums outside New Delhi shows a similar type of causation between adult wages and child labour. When the wage for female labourers rise, this often prompts the mother to take up work outside home, which in turn means that she takes the daughter out of school in order to have her do the house work. It is arguable that if the mother’s wage rises sufficiently, the daughter would be put back into school with household help now being hired from outside. This suggests an inverted U relation between adult female wage and child labour, especially the labour of the female child. The empirical study of Ranjan Ray (1999) used the data from Peru’s Living Standards Measurements Survey, 1994 and Pakistan’s Integrated Household Survey, 1991, to find the relationship between adult wage and child labour. He found that in Peru it was a positive relation but in Pakistan it was negative. We also get a differential response of child labour to changes in the mother’s and the father’s wages. On the whole the analysis supports the hypothesis that an increase in adult wage rate causes a decline in the supply of child labour.
While wage is probably the primary source of income for labour households, the household income does not depend on wage rate alone. The number of days an adult household member is employed and income from other sources like land, however meagre it might be, also determine the total income of the household. For this reason, one should relate the total household income, and not just wage rate, with the labour market participation of children. Since data on household income are difficult to obtain, researchers have resorted to proxies. Land, to be precise the extent of land owned, has been employed as a proxy for income. In Java, White observed a negative relation between the size of land holding and the economic contribution of children. He shows that the more closely the household approaches landlessness, the more is the work performed by both adults and children (Nag 1972). A similar trend was found by Shortlidge (1976) in UP, Dinesh (1988), in three selected villages of Dakshina Kannada district of Karnataka (also see Kanbargi and Kulkarni, 1991; Bashir, 1994). On the contrary Vlassoff (1979) did not find the same relationship for a village in Maharashtra. Similarly Cain (1977) found in villages of Bangladesh, boys from the landless households worked less than boys from landed households. Apparently the relationship between the extent of land owned and labour market participation of children is not linear. The employment of children increases up to a point and then declines. This observed relationship suggests that land being a major source of livelihood; those households that own a tiny piece of land try to reap the maximum benefit (output) from the land by employing all the resources, particularly labour, at their command. Once the quantum of land owned is sufficient to produce income that is high enough to allow an investment on the education of children, one observes that the expected relationship between extent of land owned and employment of children begins to operate. This in turn suggests that a certain minimum income or earning is necessary for the households to keep children away from the labour market.

The studies cited above try to explore the relationship between income and supply of child labour on the assumption that the latter emerges as a survival strategy of poor households. However, the attempts, dictated by the availability of data, to explore the relationship between household income and supply of child labour appear to be a little unsatisfactory because the proxies used for household income are partial. If one has to test the hypothesis that the supply of child labour is a survival strategy of the poor households then one needs to regress labour market participation of children against
household income. However, at the macro level the problem is reduced to one of exploring the relationship between the incidence of poverty (deprivation in the sphere of income) and the incidence of child labour. Chandrasekhar (1997) has sought to analyse the relationship between income poverty and the incidence of child labour in the rural areas across states in India. For this purpose he has employed data on the estimates of rural poverty and the incidence of child labour from the NSS for the year 1987-88 for 17 major states in the Indian union. Employing the data, he has regressed the incidence of poverty (headcount ratio) against the incidence of child labour. The $R^2$ value of the estimated equation turned out to be just 0.03, which suggests that variation in the incidence of poverty explains just 3 per cent of the total variability in the incidence of rural child labour across states. In fact many of the empirical studies suggest that the relationship between work participation of children and income poverty is weak (Weiner 1991; Mehrotra 1995; Mahendra, 2001). On the basis of quantitative cross-country empirical study, Ahmed (1999) examines the determinants of the incidence of child labour with the help of pair-wise regressions. The result shows that poverty is the least powerful of the seven determinants empirically tested for their influence on the incidence of child labour. At the same time he also shows that countries with an unequal income distribution and a high dependence on agriculture have high rates of child labour. On the other hand, considering only the rural areas, Chatterjee and Nandi have shown through regression exercises that the male child participation rate has been found to be significantly correlated with poverty (0.56) but this is not the case with the female child labour participation rate (Chatterjee and Nandi, 2001).

In this connection, the results reported by Jayaraj and Subramanian (2002) acquire a great deal of relevance. They have constructed an index of generalized deprivation (the scheme of which is outlined in the next chapter) for the rural areas and related it with the incidence of child labour across districts – the district is an administrative unit just below the level of a state in India – in the state of Tamil Nadu. Based on the analysis, they observed that child labour flourishes in a generalized environment of backwardness. Their generalised deprivation index accounts for deprivation in the sphere of such basic amenities as access to adult literacy; learning facility beyond elementary schooling; transport, such as a bus or a train, passing through the village; most basic health facilities, such as a PHC, within the village; adequate shelter, in the form of a family dwelling unit with at least two rooms; and potable water...
within the household’s premises. Their study is limited to the State of Tamil Nadu for the year 1981. There is a need for more empirical studies to generalize the influence of income poverty and generalised poverty on child labour.

Researchers have studied the relationship between demographic variables such as family size and fertility that have a bearing on poverty. Mamdani’s thesis argues that it is ‘rational’ for the poor to have a large family as ‘every child is an economic asset’ (Mamdani, 1972). However, Mueller’s (1976) study shows that children have a negative economic value in traditionally agricultural societies. Dyson, too, does not agree with the economic rationale for high fertility but he concludes saying that child labour result from fertility rather than the reverse (Dyson, 1991). An exploratory study on the linkage between family size and child labour in Baroda in 1996 showed that child labour was the direct result of a large family (CORT, 1996).

1.4.2 Deprivation in Access to Education

Educational deprivation takes place not only due to the non-investment in education by individual households but also due to the poor quality of education provided in the schools. The quality of education depends on (i) the physical infrastructure: building, classrooms, teaching aids, water and toilet facilities, etc, (ii) the size of the teaching staff in relation to the number of students (student-teacher ratio), competence and motivation of the teaching staff, (iii) the relevance of the curriculum, and (iv) the organizational and managerial set up. Bhatt (1998) gives overwhelming evidence to prove that only a small proportion of schools in India meet these basic requirements of quality education. The report on Human Development in South Asia (1997) and India Human Development Report (1999) also indicate the appallingly poor condition of education in India. Sen deprecates the performance of India in the sphere of education. To quote Sen and Dreze, “There is one field in which India clearly has done worse than even the average of the poorest countries in the world, and that is elementary education.” (Sen and Dreze, 1995, p 2). The quality of education not only affects school enrolment but also the retention of those who have entered the education system.

Kanbargi and Bordia point out that one of the most serious problems in many countries is the very high dropout rate and the very poor quality of education. They say, “Teachers are poorly trained, poorly prepared and over-worked; many schools do not
have an adequate infrastructure; the curriculum is out of touch with local needs and aspirations; and schooling is completely at variance with the resources and skills requirements of the labour market. This results in a phenomenal rate of school dropouts, presents major problems for school-leavers and undermines parents’ expectations concerning the benefits of schooling” (Bordia, 1986). The poor quality of education becomes an added reason for parents to send their children to work rather than to school. This is also confirmed by the experience of the ILO’s (1994) International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), which has shown that, even among the most impoverished families, parents are quite willing to send their children to school provided the schools function adequately (ILO, 1994).

A large number of empirical studies show that the quality of education offered in schools in India is of a poor quality. Prominent among them are: Govinda and Varghese (1993) in their study of 59 schools in Madhya Pradesh; Dreze and Gazdar’s (1996) study in rural UP; Banerji’s (1995) study of a low income area in Delhi; Jabbi and Rajyalakshmi’s (1997) study of Dumka district in Bihar; Mehrotra’s (1995) study of Allahabad and Pithoragarh in UP and Sinha and Sinha’s (1995) study in rural Andhra Pradesh. The poor quality of education seems to be the reason for the very high dropout rates and high incidence of child labour in India. The poor quality of education also gets reflected in the unemployment of educated youths. Since education, on completion, does not guarantee employment, child labour prospers in India.

Studies offer ample evidence to suggest that the school dropout rate is high in India. They also indicate that the dropouts enter the labour market. For example, the study by Mehrotra (1995) shows that the most children who dropped out of primary school did so in the early grades (see also Seethuraman and Devi, 1985). Official enrolment data also depict the same pattern of high dropout rates in the lower grades. Empirical studies conducted in different industries in Tamil Nadu too show that the school dropouts enter the labour market. Among the child labourers in Dindugal Tanneries 40% were illiterates and 60% were dropouts at the primary level (Balakrishnan, 1988). Similarly, of the child labourers in small hotels and tea stalls in Coimbatore city, while only 20% of them had never attended school, 63% of them had dropped out of primary school (Damodaran, 1987). In the match industry of Sivakasi too, where a large number of girl children are employed, such a pattern was observed to exist
(65.9% were girls but only 11.3% were in school) by Sekar (1993). This fact was also borne out by a study of child labourers in and around Gandhipuram, a small town in Coimbatore. While 16% of the child workers have never been to school, 53% have dropped out at the primary level (Jaganmohan, 1982).

The above discussion suggests that a large number of child labourers are dropouts from schools. The dropouts rate in early grades is attributed to the unhealthy atmosphere and painful learning experience prevailing in schools (see also the PROBE study, 1997). The best way to eliminate child labour in underdeveloped countries like India is probably to take up the responsibility of providing infrastructural facilities to create a positive climate for universal access, the retention, participation and achievement of minimum levels of learning (Mishra, 1997).

### 1.4.3 Social and Cultural factors

Apart from poverty and generalised deprivation, particularly deprivation of access to education, social and cultural factors play a crucial role in determining the extent of labour market participation of children. More precisely, the value system, that assigns the roles to be played by a person depending on the gender, caste and age of the person, seems to play an important role in the creation of child labour. Preconceived notions on gender role and caste hierarchy that affect the attitude towards learning appear to have a considerable bearing on the extent and perpetuation of child labour. In this connection, the observation made by Bequele and Boyden (1998) assumes importance. They say, “The way in which child labour is embedded in the fabric of society presents a serious obstacle to its abolition and even to the introduction of protective measures” (Bequele and Boyden, 1988).

Gender and caste are the two most important social constructs that affect learning and hence the supply of child labours. In India, historically, learning outside the home has remained more or less confined to the privileged members of upper castes, while children of the producing classes have learned the skills, from their parents, necessary to carry on their respective hereditary occupations (Sahoo, 1995). Formal education has had little relevance for their survival and development. Today, the fact that nearly two-thirds of the ‘dalit’ (scheduled caste) people remain illiterate (1991 Census) indicates a continuity in this tradition (Nambissan, 1996). Secondary data based studies show that
the illiteracy of parents is one of the most important determinants of child labour (Sahoo, 1995; Jawa, 2000; Singh, 1990). An estimated 90 per cent of the non-enrolled children belong to the three lowest agrarian classes, namely agricultural labourers, poor and middle class peasants whose parents themselves are illiterate (Acharya, 1982). Thus, the restrictive tradition (restrictions imposed by the caste system) of learning seems to affect the education of the children of the lower castes – the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

Apart from caste, the ingrained notions about gender role prevalent in society and the consequent prejudice that arises towards the education of females affects access to education (Karlekar, 1994). Chanana (1990) also notes that so far as girls and women are concerned “access is culturally defined and the relevance of formal education is determined by societal normative structures and expectations of what is feminine”. Societal attitude not only affects access of females to education, but also determines their participation in the labour market. This notion is supported by a micro level study by Jawa (2000). Jawa’s study of female child labour in Agra, a town in India, indicates that the illiteracy of the parents, a lack of security and traditions are the reasons for female child labour. This study also finds that the demand for female child labour arises as female children work for low wages; they are more efficient, obedient and disciplined. The growth of female child labour is enabled by payment of wages according to piece-rate, sub-contracting of work and the prevalence of putting-out system. These employment systems, which allow work to be carried out within the household premises and which does not require girl children to step out of their homes for employment, often affect female children more than male children. There is a potential here for an examination of and study of the prevalence of various employment systems and their impact on child labour, particularly on female child labour.

The relationship between caste and child work participation has also been explored recently in the Indian context. Rayappa and Grover (1980) have provided data from twelve villages of Tamil Nadu, a state in the Indian union, which show that labour market participation among children (5-14) belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is much higher than that among children belonging to non-Scheduled Castes groups. Various studies of child labour have indicated that the majority of child labourers are from the lower strata of society and they consist of backward castes (Lal,
Studies also have generally found that the work participation rates of female children are high among those sections of the people who rank low in the caste hierarchy (Myrdal, 1968; Arles, 1971; Radhadevi, 1979). Child work participation is high in those families where the women labour force participation is high, for children are retained at home to perform household and other allied activities to free women to participate in the work force (Myrdal, 1968). It is not just the rate of work participation, but also the number of hours of work performed by SC and ST children which is higher compared with that of children who belonged to other castes (Dinesh, 1988).

Apart from the fact that the perceptions and attitude of the members of a particular caste towards the nature of work and learning affect participation in education and hence the supply of child labour, but these perceptions themselves are directly imposed on lower castes by those members of higher castes who set the norms in society. Owners of bonded labourers assert that low-caste children should work rather than go to school. The view is that, “Once they are allowed to come up to an equal level, nobody will go to the fields. Fields will be left uncultivated everywhere. We have to keep them under our strong thumb in order to get work done” (Neera, 1995, p 228-229). Thus, the institutions of caste and patriarchy play an important role in determining the supply of child labour. It may be added here that while a number of micro level studies have been conducted to study the influence of caste and gender on child labour, very little effort seems to have been made to provide a systematic account of the influence caste has on the extent of labour market participation of children at the macro level. Further, social beliefs and notions about the role of children and women not only affect access to education and the supply of child labour but also affect the identification of workers by the official data generating agencies (an issue discussed later in Chapter 2).

At this point, a brief summary of the discussion presented so far appears to be in order. In this chapter, having justified a study of child labour in India, the historical background, the efforts to end child labour (both national and international efforts), and the studies conducted in the past on this issue have been reviewed. The review shows how the historical context in which child labour had emerged in the developed countries has influenced, to a large extent, popular perceptions of the problem, the efforts to end this phenomenon and the motivation and scope of studies on the subject. The popular perceptions are (i) child labour is a phenomenon mostly prevalent in certain industries
situated in specific locations/towns and (ii) child labour in the rural areas is less problematic because it occurs largely under the supervision of parents. Very little systematic effort appears to have been made to remove these perceptions by analysing the magnitude of the phenomenon and its dispersal across space, social groups, occupations and sector of origin for male and female children at the macro level. This study attempts to fill the gap.

The review of past studies, which is in the nature of a bird's eye view, suggests that child labour is seen as a survival strategy by poor households. Hence, the supply of child labour is seen to be determined, to a large extent, by income poverty at the micro level. However, at the macro level such a relationship is found weak and not significant. But at the same time there seems to be a positive relationship between generalized deprivation and the incidence of child labour. A further exploration of the relationship between generalized deprivation and the incidence of child labour, particularly the relationship between access to education and the incidence of child labour is worthwhile. Such an exploration, it is believed, will help to suggest more effective policy measures to eradicate this social evil.

The discussion on the efforts to end child labour in India suggests that such efforts have prioritised children's right to protection over the right to development to such an extent that the latter right has been in danger of serious neglect. If the right to development is given importance, then the customarily employed definition of work needs to be expanded. Enumeration based on the 'narrow' definition of work will provide only a partial count of child workers. And hence, policies designed to eradicate child labour that depend on the count yielded by the official estimate of child labourers will not address the issue comprehensively. Policies implemented on such partial understanding may also lead to a widening of the disparity in the level of human capital development observed across states and caste groups; between rural and urban areas; and between males and females. For these reasons the definition of a worker needs to be made 'liberal', so that the true magnitude of the problem is understood.

According to the 'restrictive' nature of the definition of work employed by the official data generating agencies, a large number of children are probably enumerated as
‘neither in school nor in workforce’. There is hardly any information available that would throw light on the nature of their activities, which could enable the numbers of child workers in the country to be more precisely estimated. Since the information on the activities of these children is not available, in this thesis children classified as ‘non-workers not attending school’ are treated as ‘invisible’ workers; and they are included in the ‘liberal’ count of child workers. It is of central importance to study their activities in detail.

Thus, the specific objectives of this thesis resolve themselves into a study of a set of issues that appear to be crucial to a comprehensive study of the phenomenon of child labour. These are elaborated in the following statements of this study’s interest and scope.

1.5 Objectives

(i) To critically examine the definitions, concepts and methods of data collection employed by the data generating agencies and to modify them suitably to arrive at a realistic estimate of the magnitude of child labour;

(ii) To analyse the variability in (a) the magnitude of child labour and (b) the trend in it across states with a view to identifying the factors that contribute to the observed spatial and temporal variation;

(iii) To identify the extent of relative disadvantage experienced by female and scheduled caste children classified by nature of residence (rural – urban);

(iv) To verify the popular perceptions that (a) child labour is largely an urban phenomenon confined to the manufacturing industries; (b) child labour in the rural areas occurs under the supervision of parents and that the employer-employee relationship is largely absent;

(v) To analyse the relative importance of generalized deprivation and income poverty in explaining the incidence of child labour, and,

(vi) To examine the activities of ‘invisible’ child workers in rural areas.

1 They were 49.7 million in 1951, 64.9 million in 1961 and 94.94 million in 1991.
1.6 Scheme of the Thesis

The rest of this thesis is divided into eight chapters. In chapter 2 the methodology of enquiry is outlined. As a prelude, a critical assessment of the concepts and definitions employed by the official data generating agencies to enumerate workers in general and child labourers in particular is also presented. This assessment includes examining: (i) the variation in the definitions employed by the two sources: the NSS and the Population Census; (ii) changes in the reference period (i.e. the number of days a person must have worked to be classified as a worker) over time; (iii) differences in the methods of data collection; (iv) the problems of comparability of data over time and between the two sources. Suitable modifications to the concepts and definitions of work employed by these data generating agencies, the methodology adopted for conducting the primary survey, and the definitions of various indices employed in the analyses are also outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 3 is devoted to an analysis of the magnitude, and variability in the magnitude of child labour both across space and over time. Magnitude is estimated employing both the ‘restrictive’ and ‘liberal’ definitions of work. A case study of West Bengal and Tamil Nadu, the worst and the best performers assessed in terms of their achievement in reducing child labour, is also attempted in this chapter to identify the causes of the perpetuation of the phenomenon of child labour.

An examination of the incidence of child labour classified by place of residence, gender and caste is made in Chapter 4, to understand how the social and cultural factors act to reinforce the extent of deprivation experienced by children. An attempt is also made to quantify the extent of relative disadvantage experienced by children classified by sector of residence, gender and caste.

Chapter 5 is devoted to an analysis of the occupational distribution of child workers. This exercise is intended to help verify some of the popular perceptions regarding child labour. More specifically, it appraises that the validity of the notions that (i) child labour is a phenomenon, in general, of manufacturing industries, particularly located in specific towns and (ii) child labour in rural areas occurs largely under the supervision of parents where the employer-employee relationship is absent. In the
process, an attempt is also made to assess the impact of legislative efforts to end child labour.

An attempt is made in chapter 6 to assess the relative importance of income poverty and generalised deprivation to determine the supply of child labour. Attention is also given to understanding the relationship between access to education and the incidence of child labour. This exercise is expected to throw considerable light on the appropriate macro policies to be pursued to end the phenomenon of child labour.

In chapter 7 the area of study, selected to study the activities of 'invisible' child workers, is introduced. The level of the socio-economic development of the selected villages is compared with that of the district and the state in which the villages are located. For this purpose, as far as possible, data relating to agriculture, infrastructure, human development, and the incidence of child labour compiled at various levels are presented and compared.

Chapter 8 is devoted to explicating the activities of 'invisible' child workers. Comparisons of the activities of 'invisible' children with those of their parents and other members of the households are made. This exercise is intended to bring out the impact of the ingrained value system, based on which children are judged as non-workers.

A summary of the thesis, the findings and their relevance to policy, the limitations of the study, and areas for further research are provided in the Final Chapter.
Appendix 1

NGOs and Their Respective Child Labour Eradication Programmes

a) Campaign against Child Labour: The campaign against child labour is done by the NGOs called ‘Campaign against Child Labour’ (CACL); Human Rights Advocacy and Research Foundation (HRF), Chennai; Save Childhood Movement, All India Federation of Teachers Organisation (AIFTO); South Asian Coalition against Child Servitude (SACCS) and Task Force Against Domestic Child Labour (refer notes on National Conference on Child Labour – Role of Teachers Organisations).

b) Rehabilitation of Bonded Child Labour: Bandhua Mukti Morcha is engaged in identifying and releasing bonded child labour especially in carpet industries in UP (1994-95). South Asian Coalition against Child Servitude (SACCS) have concentrated on freeing child labourers bonded in the carpet and firecracker industries of UP and Haryana. The Sarvadeshik Arya Yuvak Parishad is working towards elimination of child labour, in particular of bonded child labour in agriculture in Alwar (Rajasthan) and Rewari (Haryana).

c) Rehabilitation of Children Working in Factories: M.Venkataramaiya Foundation (MVF), Hyderabad (AP) is engaged in rehabilitating children working in biscuit factories; Centre of Concern for Child Labour (CCCL) covers the carpet belts (Bihar, UP and MP), Lock Industry in Aligarh district of UP, Glass Industry in Ferozabad of UP; Arunodaya Centre for Street and Working Children is taking care of child workers in metal factories, Madras (TN); The Centre of Concern for Child Labour (CCCL) is providing support to children working in the lock-making industry; Gharib Nawaz Mahila Awam Balkalyan Samithi, Ajmer (Rajasthan) is combating child labor in the beedi industry in Ajmer (Rajasthan); Hanjau Sevak Sangh and Saghan Kshetra Vikas Samiti are improving the condition of children working in the carpet industry in Varanasi-Mizapur-Bhadoi-Garwa area of UP; St.Francis Public School Society is rehabilitating children working in the gem industry of Jaipur (Rajasthan); People Education for Action and Community Emancipation Trust (PEACE) deals with
health and education for working children in beedi manufacturing in Tirunelveli, (TN); Indian Council for Child Welfare (ICCW) is combating child labour in the match industry; Bihar Kher Parishad is improving the conditions of children working in the carpet industry of Daltonganj (Bihar); The Subhasree Industrial Women’s Association is working among the brass industries of Jamnagar (Gujarat).

d) **Rehabilitation of Rag-pickers and Street Children:** Karnataka Council for Child Welfare is interested in improving the conditions of children working as rag-pickers in Bangalore (Karnataka); The Madurai Non-formal Education Centre (MNEC) is engaged in the rehabilitation of rag-pickers in Madurai (TN); Ahmedabad Women’s Action Group is trying to combat child labour amongst the coal pickers of the railway goods yard in Ahmedabad (Gujarat). The list of NGOs who received Grants under the Ministry of Welfare Scheme (1995-97) are given in Annexure VII in Rashmi Agrawal, 1999. Accordingly the states and the number of NGOs in each of the States are given as follows: In Andhra Pradesh (6), Assam (1), Gujarat (5), Karnataka (6), Manipur (1), Orissa (1), Rajasthan (1), Kerala (1), Madhya Pradesh (4), Maharashtra (6), Tamil Nadu (6), Uttar Pradesh (3), West Bengal (21) and Delhi (6). The above NGOs are involved in looking after the child workers in urban centres, mostly in big cities.

e) **Education of Slum Children:** There are a few other NGOs engage in educating the slum child workers. For example FOCUS (The Forum of Communities United in Service, Alarippu; The Institute of Psychological and Educational Research (IPER), Snehankeet in Pune, (Maharashtra); Katha, Ankuran, and Jan Jagriti Educational Society in New Delhi; The Calcutta Social Project and CINI-Asha in Calcutta (WB); Amrit Child Labour Trust in Ahmedabad (Gujarat); Indore School of Social Work in Indore (MP); National Institute of Community Health in Bhubaneswar (Orissa).

f) **Rehabilitation of Rural and Tribal Child workers:** The Chamtagara Adivasi Mahila Samiti (CAMS) is engaged in the rehabilitation of working children in the tribal area of Bankura District (WB); The Society for Education and Environment Development Services (SEEDS) is engaged in combating child labour in the
agricultural sector of Keesara Mandal, Rangareddy district (AP); Social Action for Integrated Development Services in combating child labour in the agricultural sector in Dhaulathabad (AP); Institute for Plantation Agricultural and Rural Workers (IPARW) for combating child labour in the tea plantations of north-east India. The Bosco Institute of Social Work, Tirupattur (TN) engaged in combating child labour in Tirupattur (TN).
## Appendix 2

### List of Studies on Industrial Child Labour

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>State</th>
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<td>Naidu, Ratna, P.Swarnalatha, M.Krishna and D.Parthasarthy</td>
<td>Child Labour in Slate Mines and Factories and Markapur</td>
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<td>Burra, Neera</td>
<td>Report on Child Labour in the Lock Industry of Aligarh, UP</td>
<td>Lock</td>
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<td>1987</td>
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<td>Kumar, Bimal and Gita Biswas</td>
<td>A Study of Problems of Working Children in Lock-making industry, Aligarh, UP</td>
<td>Lock</td>
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<td>1992</td>
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