Chapter 11

Summary, Conclusions and Policy Implications

The informal sector encompasses the entire spectrum of unorganized economic activities across all the commodity and service sectors. In the country, about 90 per cent of workforce is employed in the informal sector. The overwhelming component of the informal sector operates in the urban setting. The urban informal sector, often called the urban subsistence sector/unorganized sector/un-enumerated sector, is defined to include all those economic activities which are not officially regulated and which operate outside the regulatory framework of the state and its institutions. The emergence, evolution and expansion of the urban informal sector have been the result of the mutually enforcing processes of urbanization, migration, and uneven development in the country. The urban biasedness in the policy has contributed a lot in the growing of this sector. The lack of development in the rural hinterlands of urban conglomerations has been providing the necessary wherewithal for the movements of the workforce to the other areas in search of employment and livelihood. The laxity in the observance of the labour laws, less organized labour, weak civil society and pro-capital mind set of the administration are some of the large factors which led to the growth of child labour in the informal sector.

The phenomenon of child labour in numerous contexts has been examined in the economic-literature and other social sciences literature. The existing academic as well as policy studies provide interesting insights about it. The scanning of the literature pointed out the growing sensitivity of research in this direction. The questions of how, when and why have been addressed in some detail. The studies also brought out the regional and local specificities of the problem. The economic justifications cited for child labour are either invalid or at best weak. India is having the largest number of malnourished children, by passing even Sub-Saharan Africa. Despite the ban on employing children as domestic labour the problem persists. No less significant than gender bias, in the Indian context, are the child welfare implication of the social-divide between the backward and the advanced
communities, to economic-divide between poor and non-poor households and demographic-divide between female headed and male headed households. There is, in addition, the divide between working and non-working children.

In much of the theoretical literature on rural to urban migration in developing countries, the informal sector is viewed as being essentially stagnant and unproductive. In sharp contrast, empirical literature increasingly see the informal sector as dynamic, efficient and full of hidden but creative entrepreneurial possibilities. The informal sector is formed by the coping up behavior of individuals and households in an economic environment where earning opportunities are scarce. The informal sector is also the product of rational behavior of entrepreneurs that desire to escape state regulations. The coping or survival strategies encompass casual jobs, temporary jobs, less paid jobs, multiple job holding, subsistence-related activities, etc. The unofficial earning strategies include unofficial business activities, tax evasion, avoidance of labor regulation, institutional regulations, non-registration of the company, and underground activities, i.e. crime, corruption, etc. The informal sector provides jobs and reduces unemployment and underemployment, but, in general, the jobs are low-paid and without job security and entail unhealthy working conditions.

Current debates on globalization and its impact have often raised only a cacophonic noise on the issue of child labour. Designating all children out of school as working children is an ill-advised development which projects an exaggerated picture of problem making it even more difficult to disentangle and resolve. Social labeling is an initiative introduced in the 1990s to discourage child labour in the carpet industry. The providing of secure employment opportunities for women was seen as a means of reducing child labour in the industry. But in the absence of appropriate legal provisions and social security measures this has not happened. There is need to recognize the joint determination of child labour, child schooling and child poverty. In other words, it is accepted that the primary activity of the child is that of a student and not a worker.

There exist considerable variation in the age, sector and sex-wise distribution of child labour. The poverty and illiteracy have a sharp bearing on child labour. The
decision of migration depends upon the conditions at origin, family situation and also at destination. The migrants usually take economic factors and particularly expected earnings into consideration. Child labour in Tamil Nadu is a large- and a largely neglected problem. It affects many sections of the population badly and some sections very badly notably rural, SC, ST and female population. The phenomenon of child labour has thriven in an environment in which people’s entitlements to certain very basic aspects of well-being have been poorly secured. In recent years, the old migratory regime has been crumbing allowing for an opportunity to seek alternatives.

The social security system in India, such as it is, is unavailable to the vast and growing unorganized sector. Even when it is, workers cannot access its benefits because they are generally unlettered, and with comparatively poorer social capabilities. Public action can play a crucial role in ensuring the expansion and monitoring of social security. The Indian constitution prohibits the prevalence of child labour in all its forms and manifestations. The Article 21-A recognizes the children’s educational rights. It states that the State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of 6 to 14 years in such manner as the State, by law, may determine. The Article 24 prohibits the employment of children in factories, etc. It states that no child below the age fourteen years shall be employed in work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment. The Article 39 states that the State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength. There have been various legislative provisions for prohibiting and regulating the employment of children. The Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act, 1986 defines a person as child who has not obtained fourteen years of age. The Act prohibits the employment of children in thirteen occupation and fifty seven processes.

The study is entirely based on the primary data generated through a well structured and pre-tested schedule collected by the researcher pertaining to the various aspects of migrant child workers. The locale of study is the city of
Chandigarh, called City Beautiful, with an area of 114 square kilometer. In terms of administrative set-up, Chandigarh is a Union Territory and the joint capital of Punjab and Haryana. The literacy rate of the city was 86.43 per cent in overall with male literacy of 90.54 per cent and female literacy of 81.38 per cent during 2011. The city of Chandigarh emerged as preferred residential and commercial centre of national and even international repute particularly among the non-resident overseas community of the country as place of real sector investment. The city witnessed massive growth of population as its population increased from 9 lakh persons during the Census 2001 to 10.54 lakh during 2011. With this, the density of population rose from 7,900 persons per square kilometer during 2001 to 9,246 during 2011. It is important to note that the city was originally planned for the population of just 3.5 lakh persons. The city is adjacent to the city of Mohali (Punjab) and Panchkula (Haryana). The city is a big urban centre and a hub of administrative and commercial offices. The city has emerged as an important educational centre. The city, being the most beautiful and planned one, has emerged as the important shopping and tourist centre with strong hospitality and hotel industry. Consequently, the city contains large sized informal sector.

The size of slum dwellers in the city is considerable with the emergence of large number of labour and slum colonies within the vicinity of the city and its suburban areas. As per Census of 2001, the size of the slum population in the city was equal to 1, 07,125 persons, who constituted 11.89 per cent of the then total population of the city. About 23,841 families were living in the officially recognized eighteen slum colonies of the city during 2006. The size of these colonies varies considerably with smallest colony being the Ambedkar colony with 65 families and the largest one the Labour colony with 6970 families. The proportion of children in the age group (0-6 years) was highest (20.9 per cent) in slums of city as compared to the rest of India. The proportion of Scheduled Castes population in the slums was 39.1 per cent as per census-2001.

The present study deals with the various social, economic, educational and work related aspects of the child labourers working in the urban informal sector. The analysis is based on the primary data collected from 300 migrant child workers. The
data have been collected over the period from May, 2010 to November, 2010. The attempt was made to get information both from the child and also from the family members or persons acting as guardian of the child workers in one or the other form. In large majority of cases the residential and other staying arrangements of the working children have been personally visited in order to have a feel of the real situation. The working places of the contacted children have too been visited to the extent possible in order to have a look at actual working conditions. The migrant children and the persons associated with them were contacted by taking the help of the labour providers, socially responsible persons and other persons working for the welfare of the children in the colonies which supply labour of various forms to the economic activities being performed in urban areas. The migrant child workers were identified by actually visiting the various work places.

A child was considered as migrant child worker who at the time of survey was found to be working in the city and did not belong to the city by birth and came to the city for livelihood and was aged between six to fourteen years. The lists of migrant and labour families available with the labour and social welfare departments and also with the migrant welfare societies were also studied to be surer about the information. The information about the crucial aspects of the work has been sought by keeping in view the age group of the respondents. The recall period has deliberately been kept on the shorter side. Three recall periods have been decided, viz. day basis, week basis, and month basis; referred as reference day, reference week and reference month. The reference period of one day refers to the day immediately proceeding the day on which the data has been collected from the respondent. Similarly, the reference period of week refer to the immediately proceeding week from the day on which the data have been collected from the respondent. Similarly, the reference period of one month refer to the immediately proceeding month from the day on which the data have been collected from the respondent. The selection of the reference period of shorter duration is more crucial in the rural sector particularly the agriculture sector where the nature of work is seasonal. But, in case of high growth urban areas the seasonality factor is not that
significant as the nature and pace of economic activity remained quite stable throughout the year.

11.1 Main Findings

The study in nutshell shows that the problem of child labour is extremely serious in the country as it has experienced much deepening and widening. The number of children who have been working in the various types of economic activities has been estimated to be very large and in some states there number is quite significant. During the various censuses the number of child workers was as follows: 1971 (1.08 crore); 1981 (1.36 crore); 1991 (1.13 crore); and 2001 (1.27 crore). More over, the highest number of working children was found in Uttar Pradesh, viz. 1,927,997, followed by Andhra Pradesh (1,363,339) and lowest in the Lakshadweep, i.e. 27 only. The city of Chandigarh too witnessed the increase in the number of child workers from 1086 during 1971, to 1986 during 1981, to 1870 during 1991, and to 3779 during 2001. Further, out of the total number of working children enumerated in the census data 53.18 per cent were found in just five states as follows: Uttar Pradesh (15.22 per cent), followed by Andhra Pradesh (10.76 per cent), Rajasthan (9.97 per cent), Bihar (8.82 per cent), and Madhya Pradesh (8.41 per cent). Actually, these states constitute the huge number of below poverty population in the country. There exists considerable variation in India in the age, sector and sex-wise distribution of child labour. The children have been employed in the large number in the bidi making units, carpet weaving, construction, domestic sector etc. The process of implementation of the anti child labour laws has not been reported to be very satisfactory as the number of inspections too experienced a decline during the reported period. The number of faults as a ratio to the number of expectations has also declined and more over there has been the problem of slow adjudication of cases which is clear from the data pertaining to the convictions to the number of cases registered.

The size of the informal labor market varies from the estimated 4-6 per cent of the income in the high-income countries to over 50 per cent in the low-income countries. The literature pointed towards the greater need of studies related to the
various dimensions of the child labour at the micro level and that too with proper child tracking and analysis of the various measures on the impact of child labour as there are reports of shifting of the children from one type of occupations to other types of occupations over the space and time. The various studies related to the carpet making, bidi making, and even that of the household sector clearly brings out this process of shifting of occupations. Even the top most private companies do not hesitate to use the children in some of the processes. The system of social labeling has not generated the desired results. The discouragement of international trade of some items results in the immediate fall of the income of the families involved who in the situation of absence of state support becomes more vulnerable. More over, it is extremely difficult to implement the social labeling schemes as the companies resort to unfair trade practices. It must be recognized that the households which supplies the child labour are the poorest of the poor and vulnerable to income and health shocks. The children who indulge in child labour comes from the poorest strata and thereby already lack the basic nutrition and possess low level of immunity and when they work in the hazardous situations there chances of getting more diseases increases too much.

The child labour as an activity has been performed by the children at the cost of the basic schooling. It generates a vicious cycle in which the children who labour in the age of schooling got trapped in the poverty cycle as they lack basic skills for enhanced earnings. The informal sector demonstrated much endurance and proved to be a dynamic, efficient and full of hidden but creative entrepreneurial possibilities. The informal sector is formed by the coping up behavior of individuals and households in an economic environment where earning opportunities are scarce. The informal sector provides jobs and reduces unemployment and underemployment, but, in general, the jobs are low-paid and without job security and entail unhealthy working conditions.

The social security system in India, such as it is, is unavailable to the vast and growing unorganized sector. Even when it is, workers cannot access its benefits because they are generally unlettered, and with comparatively poorer social capabilities. Public action can play a crucial role in ensuring the expansion and
monitoring of social security. The studies suggest that is need to follow three mechanisms to provide social security in the informal sector, within which category falls the largest proportion of working women. These are the insurance, social security funds and state-supported child care system. In the end, is becomes quite clear that without active state intervention of a well crafted variety it would be very difficult to tackle the problem of child labour in the country as the ground reality provides very strong base for the emergence, perpetuation and even increase of the child labour in the country. Thus, the child labour mitigation depends upon plethora of factors which range from compulsory schooling, better enforcement of anti child labour measures, more interventions related to anti poverty programmes, generation of better quality adult employment, more serious interventions related to child rehabilitation programmes, etc.

The analysis of the 300 sampled migrant child workers shows that the place of birth exercises substantial control over the attainment of various things in life. A child born in a region endowed with better infrastructure and facilities has been supposed to progress more in life as compared to the disadvantageous regions. From the data, it is clear that the place of birth of substantially large majority of migrant child workers falls in the rural areas. As many as 79 per cent respondents were born in the villages of their respective states. The proportion of the migrant child workers born in the cities was just 21 per cent. It means the bulk of the supply of migrant child workers in the city of Chandigarh owes its existence to the rural areas of the country.

The children from large many states have been joining the work force in the city. The number of child labour supplying states turned out to be eleven. It implies that the city of Chandigarh, being prosperous and growing, has been acting as some sort of the nodal centre for the movement of labour in numerous forms not only for the neighboring but also from other states situated at a considerable distance. The state of Uttar Pradesh constitutes the single largest category by having as much as 57 per cent share in the total number of the cases of migrant child workers studied. It was followed by Bihar (12 per cent); Haryana (9 per cent); Rajasthan (7 per cent); Jharkhand (6 per cent); HP (4 per cent); and Gujarat, Orissa, J & K, Punjab, MP (1
per cent each). It means the bulk of the supply comes from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The collective share of these two states was around 69 per cent.

The age wise distribution of migrant child workers shows that the largest of them fall in the age bracket of 12-14 years. The share of this age group was 48 per cent. The next age group with large share was that of between 9-11 years. Its share was 32 per cent. The share of 6-8 years old was 20 per cent. It means the children between 12 and 14 years of the age group was more prone to fall in the child labour supply. Further, out of the total studied migrant child workers, 71 per cent were males. The mail child workers were joining more of economic activities outside the household as compared to their female counterparts. The number of the female migrant child workers was found to be 29 per cent.

The religion-wise distribution of the migrant child workers shows that the majority of them belong to the Hindu religion. The number of migrant child workers in this category was 67.33 per cent. The next largest category was that of the Muslims, i.e. 24.33 per cent. The share of the rest of the religions was very negligible. The share of migrant child workers belonging to Sikh religion was just one per cent. And, that of Christian it was two per cent. The proportion of migrant child workers belonging to other religions was found to be 5.33 per cent. This category consists of Buddhists and Parsi.

The distribution of migrant child workers according to the social category provides very interesting details. The share of the migrant child workers who belongs to the General Category of the population was 20 per cent of the total studied cases. The largest majority belongs to the Backward Classes, i.e. 38 per cent. The next largest group was that of the Other Backward Classes (OBC) which constitutes 22 per cent share followed by the Scheduled Castes (13 per cent). The STs as a group forms 5 per cent.

The number of persons in the families of majority (62 per cent) of migrant child workers range between four and six. The number varied between one and three in case of 29 per cent of the migrant child workers. But in case of 9 per cent, the number of family members was seven and above. It means the family sizes of the migrant child workers are considerably on the higher side.
The perusal of the data shows that in as many as 54 per cent of the families of the migrant child workers the number of migrant children per family was found to be one. The number of migrant child workers was more than one per family in case of 24 per cent migrant child workers. However, all children were found to be working in case of 22 per cent of families. It implies that large number of families from where come the migrant child workers depends exclusively on the child income in order to sustain the livelihood.

The analysis further shows that the majority of the migrant child workers stayed at the place which does not belong to their families or they can not claim them to be their own in any worth while sense of the term. For example, 44 per cent stayed at the rented accommodation and 29 per cent in some form of the tent houses. Those who stayed at the place of work their number is four per cent. And, those who share house with the relative their proportion were 5 per cent. And, those who share house with the friend their proportion were 2 per cent. Just 16 per cent have some sort of own or family accommodation.

The migrant child workers have been found to be working in the city for a considerable period of time. It is important to note that as many as 29.67 per cent has joined the workforce during the last one year. And, those who were found to be working between five years and six years there share was 10.67 per cent. The number of the rest of the categories was as follows: between four years and five years (15 per cent); between three years and four years (7 per cent); between two years and three years (25 per cent); between one year and two years (12.67 per cent). It implies the some sort of deepening of the problem of migrant child workers and prevalence of child labour continuity. There has been the continuity of the work oriented supply of children in the city as 29.67 per cent of the surveyed children joined the labour force in the city during the last year.

The data on the educational attainments of the migrant child workers shows an extremely dismal situation. It is clear that the migrant child workers are essentially a group of illiterates and less educated persons. Out of the total surveyed, as many as 61 per cent were totally illiterate. The number of primary pass outs was 28 per
cent. The number of those educated above primary but less than middle was 11 per cent.

The migrant child workers essentially belonged to the houses with negligible or very low level of education. So far the education of fathers of migrant child workers is concerned, 85 per cent were completely illiterate. The primary pass outs comprise 8 per cent in total. The middle pass-out was 3 in number. The persons with the matric degree were 4 per cent. The situation of the mothers was still worse as 97 per cent of them were completely illiterate.

It has been found that there are 24 types of occupations or tasks in which the migrant child children are involved. The tasks are: ironing, street vender, ice cream selling, rehris at particular location, domestic help, baby sitting, vegetable selling, work in cloth factory, factory worker, waste material lifting, casual labour, waiter at Dhabas and hotels, stitching of clothes, pan and bidi selling, balloon selling, begging at street lights, work in vegetable market, shoe shining, mehndi applying, performing magic and tricks, selling bangles, car mirror cleaning at traffic points, helper with rehris, and cleaning utensils at tea shops.

The highest number of children works at various shops, i.e. 31.00 per cent; followed by households, i.e. 14.00 per cent; and factory, i.e. 7.00 per cent. But, on the other side, as many as 48 per cent work at the places other than the above three, viz. household, factories and shops. It means the large category of migrant child workers make their living by performing various economic activities by moving in the open streets, traffic points, road side corners, other busy places and corners, etc.

The number of the other persons working where the migrant child worker has been found to work for livelihood shows that in 52 per cent of cases only the respondent child worker has been found to be working. Actually, it comes from the nature of work in the urban informal sector where so much flexibility in work developed in large number of tasks, like selling particular type of things at particular places and locations. Besides the migrant child worker, the other adult workers have also been found to be working in many cases numbering 48.00 per cent. The
number of adult workers in addition to the migrant child worker was as follow: one adult worker (6.30 per cent), two Adult Worker (15.60 per cent), four Adult Workers (8.60 per cent), five Adult Workers (2.70 per cent), and ten Adult Workers (14.70 per cent).

Three types of mode of payment prevail, namely time rate basis, piece rate basis, and some sort of the combination of both the methods. It is clear that majority of the migrant child workers (i.e. 67 per cent) get paid according to the time rate criterion. And, 30 per cent get paid according to piece rate basis. But, three per cent according to both the criterion, namely time basis and piece rate basis.

The mode of work arrangement is very important particularly at strange and far flung places. The supply of child labour takes place through the family network. It is clear that in case of 123 respondents (41 per cent), the work has been arranged by the parents. The work for the migrant child workers in other cases has been arranged as under: friends (33 per cent), relatives (20 per cent) and others (6.00 per cent). In fact, all the forms and methods of work arrangement move in close connectivity to each other and are highly inter connected.

It has been found that more than majority of the migrant child workers work on daily basis (i.e. 52 per cent). Besides, 39 per cent are there in the labour market on monthly basis. And, 9 per cent were there in the labour market under six monthly contractual arrangements. The contractual arrangements too vary in nature depending upon the nature of the activity under taken. No migrant child worker has been found to be working on annual contract as it may be considered too long a period by both the employers and workers.

The overwhelming respondents (92 per cent) had not faced any unemployment before joining the present work. It seems that the children move to the work place as and when work is being negotiated by some persons on their behalf and opportunity is being conveyed to them and preferably to their families. It means that most of the migrated children are getting some sort of work in the informal manner. Only eight per cent of the migrant child workers faced unemployment before the present work.
Among the 24 respondents who faced unemployment, 83.33 per cent remained unemployed up to one month while the remaining 16.67 per cent remained unemployed between one and two months. The unemployment situation has also been assessed by taking into account the unemployment actually faced by the respondent in the reference month, i.e. one month before when the person is contacted by the invigilator. It is clear that during the reference month 95 per cent of the migrant child workers did not face any unemployment. Only 5 per cent faced the problem of being remaining unemployed for some time.

It is clear that 76.30 per cent migrant child workers did not receive any sort of training related to their work. But, 23.70 per cent had received some sort of training. Actually, this type of reality has much to do with the age group of the respondents as they were quite younger and could not join any formal training institution as there are minimum qualifications and other rules. Further, 66 per cent of the respondents do not possess any specific skill. But, 34 per cent possess some sort of specific skill which is related with their work and is helpful in their livelihood earning.

Among the 102 migrant child workers, who got some specific skill, more than half (i.e. 50.98 per cent) got specialty in cloth ironing. And, twelve respondents have skill of tailoring work (i.e. 11.76 per cent). But, another set of 38 migrant child workers (i.e. 37.26 per cent) has developed the other sort of skills related with their work. Actually, these are the elementary skills which do not involve any complicated processes involving different stages of work connectivity. It has been found that most of the respondents got the skill of work from number of sources as follows: parents (31.37 per cent), relatives (28.43 per cent), friends (12.75 per cent), experts (10.78 per cent) and co-workers (16.67 per cent). Interestingly, the parents come up as the largest source of skill providers in case of migrant child workers.

It has been found that among the migrant child workers who reported about their skill base, most of them (i.e. 81.37 per cent) were under the process of acquiring some sort of work related skill at the time of survey. But, 18.63 per cent got skill up to three months. However, the skills of the migrant child workers had not been certified by any agency or institution. It is quite surprising that among the
migrant child workers numbering nineteen who had reported the completion of three
months training had been devoid of any sort of certification.

It is important to note that as many as 34 per cent of migrant child workers had not worked overtime during the reference day. However, 66 per cent accepted that they had worked overtime during the reference day. It indicates that the labour market in the city in the case of child workers had not observed the norm pertaining to the standard working hours. Among those who worked over time, 50.51 per cent had worked overtime between one hour and two hours. But, it is significant to note that 49.49 per cent had worked over time between two hours and three hours during the reference day.

Generally, it has been found that in unorganized sector no extra wages are being paid for overwork. This also comes from the present study as 68.18 per cent of migrant child workers who had worked overtime had not got any extra wages. Just a small number (31.82 per cent) got extra payment for the extra work. During the reference day, out of the 63 respondents who had received extra amount, 74.60 per cent got between Rs. 15 and Rs. 30. The rest 25.40 per cent got between Rs. 31 and Rs. 41. It indicates that the labour market in the city has not become fully competitive and operates with large number of imperfections and distortions.

The earning situation shows that 29 per cent of the migrant child workers earned between Rs. 50 and Rs. 75 during the reference day. It was followed by the 18.67 per cent who had earned between Rs. 76 and Rs. 101. The earning of rest of the migrant child workers was between Rs. 102 and Rs. 127 (15 per cent); between Rs. 128 and Rs.153 (13.33 per cent); between Rs. 154 and Rs. 179 (11.33 per cent); between Rs. 180 and Rs. 205 (7.67 per cent); between Rs. 206 and 231 (3.33 per cent); and between Rs. 232 and Rs. 257 (1.61 per cent). It is clear that 62.67 per cent had earned between Rs. 50 and Rs. 127 during the reference day. The mean level of earning worked out to be Rs. 115.54 during the reference day. But, those who earned between Rs. 50 and Rs. 75 their number was also found to be very large, i.e. 87 migrant child workers (29 per cent).

The earning situation on the basis of reference week shows that 28.33 per cent of migrant child workers earned between Rs. 300 and Rs. 450 during the
reference week. It was followed by 29.33 per cent who had earned between Rs. 451 and Rs. 601. The earning of rest of the migrant child workers was between Rs. 602 and Rs. 752 (18.33 per cent); between Rs. 753 and Rs. 903 (12.33 per cent); between Rs. 904 and Rs. 1054 (8.33 per cent); between Rs. 1055 and Rs. 1205 (4.67 per cent); between Rs. 1206 and 1356 (3.33 per cent); between Rs. 1357 and Rs. 1507 (2.33 per cent); and between Rs. 1508 and Rs. 1658 (1.00 per cent). The mean level of earning worked out to be Rs. 95.85 during the reference day. But, those who earned between Rs. 300 and Rs. 450 their number was also found to be very large, i.e. 85 migrant child workers (28.33 per cent).

The level of earning on the basis of reference month establishes that 26.67 per cent had earned between Rs. 1400 and Rs. 1700. It was followed by 21.67 per cent who had earned between Rs. 1701 and Rs. 2001. The earning of rest of the migrant child workers was between Rs. 2002 and Rs. 2302 (15.00 per cent); between Rs. 2303 and Rs. 2603 (10.67 per cent); between Rs. 2604 and Rs. 2904 (6.33 per cent); between Rs. 2905 and Rs. 3205 (5.67 per cent); between Rs. 3206 and 3506 (4.67 per cent); between Rs. 3507 and Rs. 3807 (3.67 per cent); between Rs. 3808 and Rs. 4108 (1.00 per cent); between Rs. 4109 and Rs. 4409 (1.67 per cent); and Rs. 4410 and Rs. 4710 (1.33 per cent). The mean level of earning worked out to be Rs. 2274.41 during the reference month. It implies that the migrant child worker earned equivalent to Rs. 75.81 per day.

The migrant child workers were found to work primarily on four basis, i.e. piece rate basis, commission basis, wages/salary basis, and on self employment basis in the form of some sort of own business. The substantial majority (51.60 percent) negotiate their work and hence payment on the time basis either monthly or daily basis. The next largest category (15.67 per cent) consists of working on piece rate basis. Out of the remaining, 23 migrant child workers (7.60 per cent) get their wages in form of commission and 6.70 per cent had their owning business. But, 18.30 per cent did not follow any of the specific patterns and had flexible working system.

The control and ultimate use of earning is very important. The overwhelming majority of the child migrant workers numbering 220 (73.33 per cent) have reported that they themselves receive their wages. In case of 45 migrant child workers (15
per cent) the wages were received by their parents. But, in case of 35 migrant child workers, the wages were received by the respective brothers on their behalf.

A majority of the respondents (97.30 per cent) had not changed their work during the reference week. But, 2.70 per cent had reported the change of work. And 15 migrant child workers (5.00 per cent) had changed their employer in the same work. And, 95 per cent continued with the same employer in the same work. During reference month basis, 17 migrant child workers (5.67 per cent) had changed their work. And, 283 (94.33 per cent) continued with the same work. But 25 migrant child workers (8.33 per cent) had changed their employer in the same work. And, 275 (91.67 per cent) continued with the same work and employer.

The migrant child workers have been found to stick to the same work continuously. A majority of the respondents numbering 66 (22 per cent) reported that due to the financial compulsions they continuously follow the same work. And, 75 respondents (25 per cent) reported that they continuously follow the same work because they found the existing work interesting along with good income. But, 18 (6 per cent) respondents expressed that they could not find better option. But, interestingly, 27 (9 per cent) respondents reported that the present work yield good income even after study. Good food, clothes and shelter attracted the 12 respondents to the same work. But, 27 (9 per cent) respondents held that they are continuing with the same work because it is easy and did not involve any top authority. And, 15 respondents (5 per cent) sighted the family business as the reason for their continuation with the same work.

The majority of migrant child workers (55 per cent) had stated that they do not experience any major problem with their present work. But, 13 per cent stated about the tough weather conditions for street hawkers. Another 7 per cent found the present work to be very tiring and hard. Another 6 per cent stated that they had to face excess hot or cold conditions because the location of the shop which is generally on roadside. Another 4 per cent reported that the work they do involve risk and is not good for health. The other problems mentioned include the hard competition, contact with bad persons some times; rush through the traffic signals, bargaining, home sickness, etc.
The majority of the children (21.67 per cent) get two times or three times a day tea from the side of employer. Another 10 per cent get breakfast, another 8 per cent food; and another 8.33 per cent get the food, breakfast and tea. But, eight respondents work with the parents. Further, 20.30 per cent stated that they get some extra benefits from their employers in the form of clothes and other articles. And, 239 respondents (79.70 per cent) do not get any such benefits.

Just 99 respondents (33 per cent) live within the radius of one kilometer from their place of work. Another 63 respondents has to travel between one and three kilometer distance. Another 20 has to travel within four and five kilometer. But, a large number of respondents, i.e. 39.30 per cent have to travel more than five kilometer to reach their place of work. A majority of the child migrant workers (199 in number) come to working places by foot only. And 101 respondents (33.70 per cent) come by cycle.

So far the first place of migration of migrant child workers is concerned it emerged that 84.67 per cent have migrated to the cities. There were only 46 children (15.33 per cent) who have migrated to the other villages. In fact, theses children had migrated from one village to another as part of the larger process of child migration which most of the time occur as seasonal migration and some times as permanent shift to other villages. Thus, it is important to note that the child workers predominantly (about 85 per cent) migrated to the cities as part of their first step toward migration.

It is important to note that the first place of work of as many as 96 per cent happened to be the city. It means the first work experience of the migrant child workers has occurred in the urban labour market. The rest four per cent have started their first work for earning in the villages. Of the 300 child respondents surveyed, as many as 282 (94 per cent) were found to be residing in their native villages before their absorption into the labour force of the city as child workers. Merely 6 per cent of the migrant child workers were residing in the towns.

The persons who assisted the migration of the child worker fall into four categories, viz. parents only, other family members, relatives, and friends. In as many as 221 cases it is the parents who facilitated the migration, followed by
relatives (43), other family members (20) and friends (16). Thus, in 73.70 per cent of the cases, the parents facilitated the children to migrate. The relatives, other family members and friends of the migrated child labour constituted very less part with their respective percentages being 14.30 per cent, 6.70 per cent and 5.30 per cent. Therefore, in general, it can be concluded that it is the parents of the migrated child worker who primarily facilitated them to migrate from their native places to the city in the expectation of good work and better life.

Out of the 300 surveyed respondents, as high as 274 (91.30 per cent) have migrated with their parents and six with their relatives. It is surprising that there were 20 migrant child workers who have migrated from their native lands all alone. So far the reasons for the migration were concerned; the highest number of respondents numbering 99 (33 per cent) migrated in the hope of better life. The better economic life they understood in terms of availability of better availabilities of things which are necessary in life as more and regular work, more earnings, more food, clothes, shelter, etc. Another 81 respondents (27 per cent) migrated with the consideration of earning of more money. Another 70 respondents (23.30 per cent) migrated as part of the migration of the whole family over the period of time. Another 18 respondents (6 per cent) migrated in order to better settle in life in terms of more and better availabilities of various material things. Another 28 respondents (9.30 per cent) migrated with the migration of their fathers. Another four respondents (1.34) migrated because of availability of better work at the destination places.

Interestingly, 278 migrant child workers have responded positively that their economic condition has improved after their migration. The rest of the 22 migrant child workers (7.30 per cent) stated that there is no change in their economic status after migration. In fact, the children who responded that there has been no change in their status after migration has joined the work force in the city about a year before survey and are feeling inconvenient in modern city life. Thus, most of the child migrant workers (i.e. 92.70 per cent) have noticed improvements in their economic status after migration. More over, those (278 in number) who reported that their status improved after migration, as many as 150 respondents (54 per cent) feel
better off in terms of good living. And, 46.04 per cent feel better off in terms of improvement of their financial condition.

Of the total migrant child workers, 159 have reported that the occupation of their families was wage labour. Thus, majority (53 per cent) of the children who have migrated to the city have a family background with wage labour as their main occupation. The next category numbering 90 respondents (30 per cent) belonged to the families having agriculture land. And, 51 respondents (17 per cent) belonged to the families who had some sort of self employment. It is important to note that the good number of households which had supplied the child labour is those which possess agriculture land are agriculturists.

The families of the 210 migrant child workers (70 per cent) did not possess any agricultural land. It is only in case of 90 respondents (30 per cent) that they owned some agricultural land. It implies that the one third of the supply of child labour as per the sample has come from those household which possess agriculture land. This is some thing very disturbing and crucial as the families with agriculture land too are placed in an economic setting which compels the households to indulge in the supply of child labour. A close perusal of the data shows that the families of as many as 80 respondents (88.89 per cent) even now possess the agriculture land. But, the families of 10 respondents (11.11 per cent) have lost the agriculture land during some stage of migration.

The highest proportion of respondents (71.30 per cent) has reported that they have agricultural land up to five acres. It was followed by the land size between 5.1 and eight acre where the proportion of the respondents was 19(23.70 per cent). As is expected, there were only four respondents (5 per cent) who possess between 8.1 and10 acres of agricultural land. It is worth mentionable that these sizes of agriculture holdings are quite good when viewed in the context of averages size of holdings in the country.

The data show that out of 300 sampled migrant child workers, 224 (74.70 per cent) has no mobile phone with them. On the other side, as many as 76 (25.30 per cent) migrant child workers were found to possess the mobile phone. The data shows that as many as 161 (53.70 per cent) migrant child workers have not
possessed the bi-cycle as the means of transport. On the other hand, 139 (46.30 per cent) migrant child worker possessed the bi-cycle for the purpose of commuting to the work place. Thus, larger share of the migrant child worker were unable to afford bi-cycle as their mean of transport. The non-possession of bi-cycle seriously disturbs the ones access to alternative mode of employment available at various locations. Further, 189 (63 per cent) migrant child workers did not possessed the radio as the mean of recreation. Just 111 (37 per cent) migrant child workers were keeping refresh themselves through Radio.

The informal sector is badly dependent on the unorganized sector for its daily requirements of credit. The debt profile of the migrant child workers shows that the larger number of respondents consisting 290 (96.70 per cent) was not having any amount of debt at the time of survey. However, just 10 respondents (3.30 per cent) reported some amount of debt pending against them.

The outstanding amount of dues shows the level of dues pending against the ten respondents. Out of these ten respondents, the amount pending against the six respondents (60 per cent) was between Rs. 2000 to Rs. 3000. The amount pending against the rest four was up to Rs.1000. Thus, the amount of debt varied between Rs. 1000 and Rs. 3000 in overall borrowing scenario of the migrant child labour in the city.

Among the two major sources of borrowing (relative and known person) which come out from the survey, it is clear that 60 per cent of the migrant child workers had borrowed from the known persons and 40 per cent child workers from the relatives. Thus, the chief source of borrowing was known persons. As far as the interest paid by the migrant child workers on their borrowing it was found that the key proportion (60 per cent) of the migrant child worker were found to be paying up to ten per cent interest on their borrowing. However, the remaining proportion (40 per cent) was not paying any interest against their borrowing.

The land mortgage and security/collateral are the two major basis of borrowing of money by the migrant child workers. It was observed that land mortgage was the chief base of borrowing of money. Data shows that 60 per cent of the bases of borrowing of money were the land mortgage and 40 per cent borrowing
were based on other forms of the security/collateral. It is to be noted that the migrant child workers of higher age bracket indulge in some borrowing and not the very younger lot. Moreover, it is also to be noted that even the higher age bracket migrant child workers has raised the money with the active involvement and consent of their parents. They had borrowed the money from their native places, and not from their current places of work, by mortgaging some proportion of the land to the lenders there.

The reasons for borrowing of money by the migrant child workers shows that the overwhelming proportion of the respondents (60 per cent) borrowed it for celebrations and rest numbering four (40 per cent) for the start or promotion of some sort of the self-business. As far as the end utilization of the money borrowed by the migrant child workers is concerned, the key amount (60 per cent) of borrowed money was utilized by the family of the migrant child worker and small proportion (40 per cent) was utilized by themselves, i.e. migrant child worker. In fact, the money has been borrowed essentially for the utilization of the families. It is also clear that the migrant child workers have stated that the borrowing by them has in no way affected their choice of the work.

The remittances send back by the migrant child workers to their native places has been assessed during the reference period of one year. The data show that out of 300 sampled respondents, as many as 189 (63 per cent) migrant child workers had reported that they had not send any money back during the last one year. However, 111 (37 per cent) respondents had sent some money back to their families during the reference year.

Out of the 111 respondents who send money back to their families, as many as 80 (72.07 per cent) had send between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 per month. Those who send more than Rs. 1000 back to their families their number was equal to 31 (27.93 per cent). This amount is quite important keeping in view the level of poverty prevail in the states which mainly supply labour to the city. This proportion must constitute the good proportion of the income of the remittances receiving families. That is why the areas receiving and depending upon the flows of remittances have often been called the remittance economies.
Regarding the mode of sending money by migrant child workers to their families, two (through post office and through relatives) main modes of sending money have been located. The figures show that 63.06 per cent migrant child workers were sending money by post offices and 36.94 per cent were sending money through their relatives. The good majority of migrant child workers numbering 243 (81.00 per cent) kept their saving with their parents, followed by relatives (8 per cent), self (6.33 per cent), and employers (4.67 per cent). So, the migrant child workers deposit their savings with the parents as one could expect from such a younger age group.

The migration in general and particularly when it is distress-driven results in the loss of family house if it happens to be there with the persons who migrate from one place to the other. Out of three hundred sampled respondents, just 48 (16 per cent) had reported the availability of some sort of their own houses in the city. The rest 252 respondents (84 per cent) had the house at their native places but no house or own sort of accommodation of any form in the city.

As high 84 per cent of the migrant child workers do not possess any of their own houses in the city. Out of this proportion of 84 per cent, 40 per cent were found to be living at the other places in the following order: work place (4 per cent), relatives (5 per cent), friends (2 per cent), and tent house/jhuggis (29 per cent). It means 44 per cent had to avail the rented accommodation in some form. The accommodation or for that matter the housing unit occupied by the migrant child workers had been found to be shared by the large number of persons.

Further, the sleeping room was found to be shared by large number of persons. In as high as in 270 cases (90 per cent), the sleeping room was shared by all the family members. In just 18 cases (6 per cent), the sleeping room was shared by one person. The sleeping room was shared by two persons in 2.70 per cent cases. And, the sleeping room was shared by three persons in case of 1.30 per cent of total cases. The sharing of such type of accommodation further decreases the scope for healthy living. It is interesting to note that the sleeping room was shared with the real brother in case of 223 respondents (74.30 per cent). It is shared with
cousin in just 1.30 per cent of cases. But, in 24.30 per cent of cases the sleeping room was shared with the persons who had no relation to the migrant child workers.

The analysis of the data shows that 132 (44 per cent) respondents were found to be paying rent for availing the accommodation. But, on the other side, 168 respondents (56 per cent) did not pay any rent. But, again it is to be noted that those who do not pay rent actually among them large majority of them stay at the places such as workplace, friend, tent houses, etc.

The main problem with regard to the enquiry pertaining to the rent in this case comes from the situation in which the migrant child worker lives in a household which pays the rent for availing of the accommodation. Actually, they were found to be contributing in variable proportions depending upon the number of persons living in the household and other informal type of understandings among the residents of that very household. Therefore, the migrant child workers numbering 132 paid the rent in the following order: Rs. 140 (8.33 per cent); Rs. 375 (27.27 per cent); Rs. 650 (52.27 per cent); and Rs. 750 (12.13 per cent).

The information about the nature of residence of migrant child workers indicates that as many as 67 migrant child workers (22.30 per cent) were found to be living in the Jhuggis (tent houses). And, 35 migrant child workers (11.70 per cent) live in two room sets. But, 150 (50 per cent) migrant child workers occupy one room set. Just 16 per cent (48 in number) has some sort of full house. It means 84 per cent of the migrant child workers do not live in a house which could be described as full house containing all of the inbuilt facilities. But, those who live in the tent house type of accommodation there number is also very large. The type of residence data shows that 173 (57.60 per cent) migrant child workers have Pucca type houses. The others' houses were as follows: Katcha house (6.70 per cent); semi-Pucca house (13.30 per cent); tent house (22.30 per cent).

The facilities attached and available with the units which were shared by the migrant child workers were as: electricity connection (72.30 per cent), fan (69.70 per cent), toilets (72 per cent), bath room (64.30 per cent), bed for sleeping (40 per cent), drainage (76.30 per cent), and sewerage (82 per cent). A good number of migrant
child workers lack the bed for sleeping as the inadequate space does not allow much space for putting this in a congested space.

The large number of persons 78 in number (26 per cent) complained about the small size of the accommodation in which they live. And, eight per cent complains about the frequent change of accommodation. The lack of facilities was reported as a major problem by 45 respondents, i.e. 15 per cent. The dirty surrounding was reported as a big problem associated with accommodation by 35 respondents, 11.67 per cent. The over congested houses were too reported as a major problem by 25 respondents, i.e. 8.33 per cent. But, 31 per cent of respondents had not pointed out any major problem related to accommodation.

The migrant child workers when posed the question related to the preparation of food come out with five types of sources related the preparation of food: mothers, themselves, sisters, sister in laws, and Dhabas. The cooking arrangement reveals that it is the mothers who prepare the food in case of 65.67 per cent of respondents. Importantly, 8.33 per cent of migrant child workers were found to be preparing food themselves. And, 11.33 per cent were found to be dependent on the Dhabas for their daily intake of food.

The data related to the medium of cooking points out the use of four sources namely, gas, cow dung, wood and kerosene. Importantly, 34 respondents were dependent on the Dhabas for their food. The remaining 266 used some sort of burning materials and fuels in the preparation of their food. Out of this number of 266, the large number of households 157 (62.78 per cent) were dependent on the kerosene for burning their stoves. Wood occupied the second largest source of cooking as it was found to be used in case of 21.43 per cent respondents. The cow dung was used in case of 21.43 per cent. The gas was used by 9.02 per cent of the houses of the migrant child workers.

During the reference week, as many as 18 migrant child workers (6 per cent) had reported one or the other type of health problem. And, 282 (i.e. 94 per cent) had reported that they had not suffered any health problem during the specified period of seven days. Out of the eighteen cases of health problem reported, 12 migrant child workers (66.66 per cent) suffered from fever. And out of the rest six cases, three
(16.66 per cent) had experienced some sort of muscle cramp and equal number of three (16.67 per cent) had minor ailments related to breathing problem, cough and cold and other seasonal problems.

The perusal of data shows that as many as ten migrant child workers (i.e. 55.56 per cent) experienced health problem between two and three days during the reference week. As many five respondent migrant child workers (27.78 per cent) had experienced health problem for a single day. And, in case of three migrant child workers (16.67 per cent) the duration of health problem was above the four days.

The persons who took care of the migrant child workers during sickness came out to be the family members in eight of the cases (44.40 per cent), relatives in seven cases (38.80 per cent) and friends in three cases (16.70 per cent). Further, 12 migrant child workers (66.70 per cent) were taken to the local doctors for medical treatment, but six migrant child workers (33.30 per cent) were not lucky enough to get some medical treatment, they had to wait to get well at their own. In the reference week, 13 migrant child workers (72.22 per cent) had to spend between Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 in just two to three days. Even five migrant child workers (27.78 per cent) had to spend between Rs. 400 and Rs. 500 on their medical treatment which was found to be on quite higher side keeping in view the earning level. Further, 14 migrant child workers (77.78 per cent) had managed the money for their treatment from their own side. But four migrant child workers (22.22 per cent) had to borrow for their medical treatment.

The data shows that 267 migrant child workers (89 per cent) had not experienced any health problem at all in the reference month. But, 33 migrant child workers (11 per cent) had experienced one or the other health problem. Out of 33 migrant child workers who experienced health problem during the reference month as many as 24 (72.73 per cent) suffered from fever. On the other side among the rest nine, two migrant child workers (6.06 per cent) had suffered from cholera. But, four migrant child workers (12.12 per cent) had experienced the problem of back ache. But, three migrant child workers (9.09 per cent) had experienced minor ailments like fatigue, feeling energy-less and week. Further, 25 migrant child workers (75.76 per cent) remained sick for one week.
During reference month, 13 migrant child workers (56.52 per cent) had spent between Rs 200 and Rs 300 on treatment. In the case of rest it was as follows: between Rs.301 and Rs. 400 in case of three (13.04 per cent); between Rs. 401 and Rs. 500 in case of five migrant child workers (21.70 per cent); and above Rs. 500 in case of two migrant child workers (8.70 per cent). Money borrowed for treatment during reference month by migrant child workers was found only in case of nine respondents (39.13 per cent). And 14 migrant child workers (60.87 per cent) did not have to borrow for their treatment at all.

The relationship between migration and education of the child workers shows peculiar type of results. Out of 300 surveyed respondents, as many as 183 (61 per cent) never studied before or after migration. Out of the rest of 117 respondents (39 per cent), the process of migration operates in three forms: continuation of study after migration, stoppage of study after migration, and that of start of the study after migration. The break up of these 117 respondents makes things very clear. The share of these three categories comes as follows: continuation of study after migration (12 respondents), stoppage of study after migration (54 respondents), and that of start of the study after migration (51 respondents).

At the time of survey, 63 respondents were found to be connected with the education in one or the other form. Out of these 63 respondents, a very small number of 12 respondents continued their study after the migration also. Thus, for this small group of 12 respondents, the migration happens to be a neutral factor so far the education is concerned. And interestingly, 51 respondents started the study only after the migration; i.e. migration in a way provided them an opportunity of education and in a way an improvement in well being. But, on the other side, a large number of migrant child workers (54 in number) stopped their study after the migration. This group of 54 which stopped the study is very significant as it constitutes the 18 per cent share of the total surveyed respondents (i.e. 300). This loss of study because of migration happens to be a big loss of wellbeing. However, the huge number of 183 of total illiterates in the both the scenarios of pre and post-migration is a big concern. Thus, the few things which emerge clearly from the education of the migrant child workers are: (a) 61 per cent of migrant child workers
were completely illiterate; (b) 18 per cent stopped study after migration: (c) just four per cent continued with study: (d) 17 per cent started study after migration. This also states that among the children who fall in the age group of elementary stage of education 79 per cent (who never studied and who stopped study) were out of the schools. Another factor which comes up from the analysis is that before the migration the total number of students in the schools was 66 (54 students stopped study after migration and 12 continued with study after migration) and after the migration the number of students in the schools had declined to 63 (51 started study after migration and 12 continued it from before migration) resulting in net decline in the number of three students.

It becomes important to know the educational level of those who were found to be having some education. Of 300 sampled respondents, the actual number of migrant child workers who were found to be studying after the migration was 63 (21 per cent of the total surveyed). It is clear that out of these 63 respondents, 27 respondents (42.80 per cent) were at the various stages of the primary stage of education. The others were studying in the following levels of education: sixth standards, eleven respondents (17.50 per cent), seventh standards, sixteen respondents (25.40 per cent); eighth standards, nine respondents (14.30 per cent). Thus, it can also be stated that out of the three hundred respondents just nine respondents (3 per cent) had reached the eight standard of education.

Of the 66 migrant child workers, who were found to be studying before migration as many as 57 (86.36 per cent) got their education from the government schools. The rest numbering nine (13.64 per cent) got it from the private schools. In the post migration situation of 63 respondents found to be studying, as many as 51 respondents (80.95 per cent) were enrolled in government schools and the rest numbering 12 (19.05 per cent) in private schools.

Of the 63 migrant child workers who were found to be studying after migration as many as 51 paid fees and funds between Rs. 50 and Rs 75 per month. The rest paid between Rs. 100 and Rs. 200 per month. Further, 20 students (31.75 per cent) reported that they never got any special facility from their educational institutions. And, 43 respondents (68.25 per cent) reported that they get free books and uniforms
from their educational institutions. Thus, free books and uniforms were found to be the only benefits say incentives which the students get from the schools.

Out of the 300 respondents, as many as 80 migrant child workers (26.67 per cent) were found to be using some sort of intoxicant. This figure of say 27 per cent is very high keeping in view the age group of the users. Out of these 80 respondents, the largest number of 44 (55 per cent) indulge in smoking. The next largest category (40 per cent) chews tobacco. And, 5 per cent take beer. It means the tobacco in its various forms were the predominant form of intoxicant used by the migrant child workers. The frequency of use of intoxicants by the migrant child workers conveys a disturbing story of destroyed childhood. Out of 80 intoxicant users, as high as 44 respondents (55 per cent), who indulge in smoking, reported that there is in fact no limit on their use of intoxicants in a day. And, the tobacco chewers (32 in number) reported that they use it three times in a day. The beer takers (4 in number) reported its use on alternate day. The tobacco chewers were in the age group between eight and ten years. Those who take beer were in the high age bracket of 12-14 years. But, the smokers of tobacco fall in all age group between six and fourteen. Thus, among the intoxicant users the use of tobacco was found to be prevalent among the migrant child workers as it was used by 95 of the persons either in the form of smoking or chewing.

Out of 80 intoxicant users, as high as 44 respondents (55 per cent), who indulge in smoking, reported that they spend between Rs. 10 and Rs. 20 per day on smoking. And, the tobacco chewers (32 in number) reported that they spend about Rs. 10 per day. The beer takers (4 in number) reported that they spend up to Rs. 80 on alternate days. This much spending on intoxicants is very high keeping in view the earning scenario of the migrant child workers.

The migrant child workers were found to be working for varying number of hours. Out of 300 surveyed respondents, as many as 129 migrant child workers (43 per cent) reported that they worked for less than eight hours per day. Those who work less than eight hours there distribution is as follows: between one and four hours (8.60 per cent); between four and five hours (10.70 per cent); between five and six hours (8 per cent); between six and seven hours (6 per cent); between
seven and eight hours (9.70 per cent). The number of working hours for the rest was as follows: between eight and nine hours (18 per cent); between nine and ten hours (22 per cent); and more than eleven hours (17 per cent). It is to be noted that precisely 57 per cent of the migrant child workers have been found to work for more than eight hours per day.

Ones emotional attachment with the native places and people of extended families remains very strong and the emotional relations continue. From this angle ones frequency of visits to the native places becomes very important. Amazingly, as high as 224 migrant child workers (74.70 per cent) had not made any visit to their place of birth after the migration because of number of constraints related to work and money. On the other side, 60 migrant child workers (20 per cent) reported that they visit their place of birth after every year. Just 16 migrant child workers (5.30 per cent) reported that they can visit their place of birth as and when they like. Out of the 300 sampled respondents, three migrant child workers (1 per cent) had reported that they suffered from some sort of injury during the work. The rest had not experienced any of problems of serious nature while performing their work. The three who suffered injury include crushing of hand, electric shock, and fall of machine during work. But, they have not been found to be compensated in any worthwhile manner neither by the state nor by the employers or any other body.

Just 2.67 per cent of migrant child workers had been approached by the government agencies for some type of help. It is quite surprising that in a city which is quite modern and organized with hub of administration the child labour prevails and no government agency has approached the rest of child workers (97.33 per cent). It is further important to note that the eight children who reported to be approached by the government for help has not in any way benefitted but the agencies has collected some of the particulars about the respondents and so far has net availed of any financial or other benefits. The availability of government benefits based on schemes in various forms shows that as many as 177 migrant child workers (59 per cent) had not availed any of the benefits extended from the side of government. The name of 72 respondents (24 per cent) was there in the family ration cards. And, 51 respondents (17 per cent) held that there name did figure in the
Yellow Cards of their families. This is very serious commentary on the state of affairs in which 59 per cent of the families of the surveyed respondents did not possess the ration cards and yellow cards.

11.2 Policy Implications

The study based on the sample survey of 300 migrant child workers in the city of Chandigarh has in fact highlighted the extremely crucial dimensions of the existence of child labour in numerous forms. There prevails strong evidence about the deepening and widening of the problem of child labour. The migrant child workers had joined large number of occupations in the household, manufacturing and service sectors in multiple forms and on numerous bases involving self employment, time basis and piece rate basis. Moreover, the flow of migration in itself is distress driven in nature and operates through the deep rooted networks involving parents, relatives and friends who use all their energies for absorption of the children in the labour force in the city with the sole objective to supplement family income in order to meet the two ends. On the other side there exists huge demand for child workers in the household sector as with rising incomes it is now in a better position to hire the servants. Moreover, the increasingly joining of the workforce by the adult members of the middle and above households has also increased the demand for domestic help. The business sector is interested to use the services of children in order to cut down the costs in order to generate more surpluses. The laxity of the state administration in dealing with the child labour does not in way discourage the child labour use in the hired and self employed sector. The existence of these types of forces and tendencies in the economy produce child labour in greater proportions. Therefore, the phenomenon of child labour is inherently complex and as with all other economic activities it too has demand and supply components thereby necessitates action on both fronts. Action need to be taken on all the factors which directly, indirectly and remotely promote and sustain the child labour including the economic and social institutions and practices. Keeping this
hard reality as the backdrop the following lines of intervention may be contemplated in order to curtail and finally eliminate the child labour:

a). As child labour and schooling are counterparts of each other the effective implementation of the universal, free and compulsory elementary schooling is the most potent intervention to discourage the children form joining the workforce. It is often the case that the child will be either in the school or in the workforce. There are a very few children who are neither in the schools nor in the workforce and remain idle. The overwhelming majority of children in the survey who joined the workforce in the city were illiterates. For this to succeed the public schooling system need to be strengthened so as to convince the parents of such children that their wards are getting something worthwhile in the schools. The schooling must be free in the truest and comprehensive sense of the term along with other incentives such as mid day meals, uniforms, stationery and other things. The system must be customized as per the requirements and constraints of the first generation learners.

b). There is a dire need to made anti child labour laws more stringent for the users of child labour; may it be the household sector or commercial sector. The effective implementation of child labour eradication rules and regulations can go in a long way to discourage such practices.

c). The children working in the open on self employment basis or on commission basis or may be begging at the traffic points, open streets and other busy centers must be identified and put to schooling by taking suitable measures. The policy of zero tolerance towards child labour be adopted and implemented.

d). A particular level officer of civil bureaucracy be decided for the implementation of anti child labour laws. Such officers must be held accountable in whose jurisdiction the child labour was found to be prevailing.

e). A more vigorous social advertising by involving the educational and health institutions can also generate the needed sensitization about the ill effects of the practice of child labour. The people must be convinced about the unethical practice child labour.

f). The non-governmental organizations be involved and encouraged to take up the task of removing the child labour by giving strategic and financial support by the
state. The country now has reached a very higher level of development by the sustained high growth of about two decades and can spare enough resources for the eradication of such practices which do not go well with the modern century.

g). A rescue and rehabilitation mission be started in case of those children who because of child labour has remained illiterate and fallen prey to intoxicants. The non-government sector can prove very useful in this task. Such children must be provided with basic education and skills by adopting suitable steps to get them red of their habits of drugs.

h). The child labour supplying regions, locations and pockets be identified in the country and such locations be made the focus of development planning with more attention to the problem of widespread poverty.

i). There is a need to pay more attention to the socio-economic development of scheduled castes, backward classes and scheduled tribes as they were found to be main suppliers of child labour.