CHILD LABOUR – WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO GIRL CHILD WORKER

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for the Award of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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CERTIFICATE

I certify that this thesis entitled "Child Labour-with Particular Reference to Girl Child Worker" is an original research work done by Ms. S. Rupa Reddy for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Economics, University of Hyderabad, under my guidance and supervision.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis entitled "Child Labour-with Particular Reference to Girl Child Worker" is an original research work done by me for submission to the University of Hyderabad for the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Economics. I also declare that this thesis or any part of it has not been submitted to any other university.

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1.0 Introduction

The children of a nation are its most valuable asset and the nation's future is very much dependent on their proper development. Therefore an investment in children is indeed an investment in a nation's future. A healthy and educated child of the present is an active and intelligent citizen of the future[1].

It is for this reason that the socio-economic development of a nation is best judged and justified only when its children enjoy constitutional rights equally and develop their full potential to grow into responsible adults of tomorrow. If they are neglected today, tomorrow would be full of miseries. It was rightly stated that children are the world's vulnerable resources and without them there would be no tomorrow and therefore we must give top most priority to these resources [2].

Gabrial Mistral, the Nobel Laureate from Chile emphasized the urgency in this regard when he said that we might be guilty of many errors and many faults, but our worst crime is abandoning the children, neglecting the fountain of life. Many things we need can wait, but the child cannot. Right now is the time his bones and sense are being developed. He cannot wait for tomorrow. His name is Today[3].

The anguish and anxiety expressed in the above statements were reflected in the Indian Child Labour Act of 1960 which stated in its preamble that children are the most vulnerable group in any population. Because of their vulnerability and

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[1]. R.N.Tagore (Nobel Laureate), quoted from R.Kumar (1988), Child Development in India, Health, Welfare and Management, Ashish publishing House, New Delhi, 1998 p.21.

[2]. George Eliot, quoted from Pramila Pandit Barooah (1998), Children in Quotes, Publications Divisions, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, p.103.

[3] Gabrial Mistral (Nobel Laureate-chile), quoted from Mehta and Jaswal, Child Labour and the Law, Deep and Deep publications, New Delhi 1996 p.1-2.

dependence, they can be exploited, ill treated and directed into undesirable channels by anti-social elements in the community. The duty of the State is, therefore, to provide proper care and protection to children at all times as it is on their physical and mental well being that the future of the nation depends. In the context of increased industrialization, the State needs to be more alert and vigilant in this regard.

It is with children that social justice must begin. Unless a tender plant is properly protected and nourished, it can not grow into a strong and useful tree. Therefore, the first priority in the scale of social justice should be given to the welfare of children[4]. Today, there are no two opinions that the children are the hope of their parents and future of the nation and thus be given adequate opportunities and facilities for development. The growth of the child into a mature and happy person with a fully developed personality depends upon the support and attention he/she receives from the society. The protective arm of the law has therefore to be long and strong enough if distributive justice to the future adults is to be ensured[5].

This chapter, which reviewed the present state of research on child labour consists of four sections. The first section (1.1) starts with the definition of the concept of child labour, discusses the problem of child labour as a global phenomenon and examines the legal provisions binding on the nations. The second section (1.2) analyses the magnitude and working conditions of child labour in India. The third section (1.3) deals with a comparative analysis of the status of girl child in South Asian Region. The fourth section (1.4) presents the objectives and methodology of the study.

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[4] Subba Rao, "Social Justice and Law", p.110, quoted from Mehta and Jaswal (1996), Child Labour and the Law, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi, p.1.

[5] Sudesh Kumar Sharma, "Child and Constitution. An Appraisal in Distributive Justice perspective", Supreme Court Journal, May 1989, Vol.2 , Part I, PP 9-10, quoted from Mehta and Jaswal (1996), op. cit. p.3.

1.1 Child Labour – Concept and Definition

A generally valid definition of child labour is presently not available either in the national or international context. Any definition turns upon the precise meaning we attach to two components of the term "Child Labour" i.e., "Child" in terms of his chronological age and "Labour" in terms of its nature, quantum and income generation capacity. Child labour, however, can broadly be defined as that segment of the child population which participates in work, either paid or unpaid[6].

The term child labour is at times used as a synonym for employed child or working child. But all work is not bad for children, because some light work, properly structured and phased is not child labour. This implies that the work that does not detract children from other essential activities such as leisure, play and education is not child labour. Child labour, therefore, is the work, which involves some degree of exploitation i.e., physical, mental, economic and social and therefore damaging to the healthy growth of children. Further the legislative definition of child labour varies in different acts. The Operation Research Group based in Baroda defined child labour as a working child who was enumerated during the survey falling within 5 to 15 years and who is engaged in remunerative work. The Concerned for Working Children (CWC), a Bangalore based group defined child labour as a person who has not completed his 15th year of age and is working with or without wages on a part-time or full-time basis[7].

In their study of working children in Bombay, Singh and his associates have considered that child labour is a working child who is between 6 and 15 years of age, is not attending school during the day, is working under an employer or is learning some trade as an apprentice. In the study entitled "Working Children in Urban Delhi" conducted by the Indian Council of Child Welfare, every child below 14 years, who

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[6] Mehta and Jaswal (1996), op.cit., p.9

[7] S.N.Tripathy (ed) (1996), Child Labour in India, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi, p.43.

contributed to the family income including those marginally working, was treated as a worker[8].

The term child labour suggests, more commonly than not, something, which is hateful and exploitative. Thus, Homer Falks, the Chairman of the United States National Child Labour Committee defined child labour as any work by children that interferes with their full physical development, their opportunities for a desirable level of education of their needed recreation[9]. Child labour in a restricted sense means the employment of children in gainful occupations, which are dangerous to their health and deny them the opportunities of development. The term includes wage labour as well as self-employed children working independently and also in family enterprises. Child labour can, therefore, be defined here as any work undertaken by children below 14 years of age which is injurious to their health and harmful to their proper development[10].

It follows from the above definitions that two major indicators i.e. age and exploitation, have been used to define child labour. In the context of exploitation UNICEF has given a comprehensive formulation in its attempt at defining child labour (Fyfe 1989)[11].

i. Starting full time work at too early an age.

ii. Working too long within or outside of the family so that unable to attend school.

iii. Too much responsibility at too early an age as in the domestic situation where children under ten may have to look after young siblings for a whole day thereby preventing school attendance.

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[8] Mehta and Jaswal (1996), op.cit., p.13.

[9] Stein and Davis (1940), Labour problems in America, pp.112-113, quoted from Mehta and Jaswal (1996), op.cit., p.13.

[10] Mehta and Jaswal (1996), op.cit., p.14.

[11] Mahaveer Jain (1994), Child in India. National Labour Institute, Noida, U.P, p.12.

iv. Work on the street in unhealthy and dangerous conditions.

v. Work that does not facilitate the psychological and social development of the child as in dull and repetitive tasks associated with industries like handicrafts.

vi. Inadequate remuneration for working outside the family, as in the case of the child workers in carpet weaving who are paid US $ 3.00 for 60 hours of work.

1.1.1 Child Labour – A Perspective

Child labour is not a new phenomenon confined to our age. But its perception as a social problem the world over is a new-phenomenon of our times. Child labour has been in prevalence in almost all periods of human history, though varied in its nature, form and dimension, depending on the existing socio-economic structure of society. In the olden days, child labour was a part of social organization in which all members pooled their labour to produce for collective subsistence and survival. This was so in rural farming where the work of child formed part of the labour necessary for the reproduction of the system[12]. As in other third world countries, in India, before the rise of capitalism, children were primarily assigned the status of helpers and learners in family occupations under the supervision of the adult members of the family[13]. In this system, their work place was an extension of the home and work relationship was informal. The tasks and technology that work involved were simple and non-hazardous which the child could learn smoothly, almost unconsciously, over the years through association and imitation[14].

This practice underwent a drastic change with the rise of capitalism in the context of industrialization during the 18th century. The growth of market economy or capitalism (capitalist relations of production) was the result of several interrelated phenomena like an increase in industrial production, the shift to cash crop farming and commercialization of agriculture, which led to growth of landless population, migration and urbanization and wide spread unemployment in different

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[12] Mehta & Jaswal (1996), op.cit., p.21.

[13] S.N.Tripathy (ed) (1996), Child Labour in India, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi, p.31.

[14] Encyclopaedia of Social Work in India (1987), vol.1, p.789.

forms[15]. The new economic forces unleashed by capitalism destroyed the family based economy supported by family occupational culture and as a consequence, a large number of agricultural labourers were rendered jobless due to mechanization of agriculture. Farmers were alienated from their home-based workplace. Lack of alternative employment for adults forced children to enter the labour market[16].

In this situation, industrialization developed in an uneven fashion and gave a new turn to the history of mankind and brought a change in the overall socio-economic order, particularly in the structure of labour demand and labour utilization. It led to the growth of labour market segmentation by which the labour force is separated into sub-markets with different employment conditions and wages. This helped in increasing exploitation, breaking the class unity and weakening the bargaining power, allowing strong groups to increase their standards creating labour aristocracy due to excessive labour supply[17].

Thus, it was due to economic reasons that the problem of child labour has become a worldwide phenomenon. On a large scale, industrialization led to the employment of children in factories, workshops and other places of unregulated occupations. Rural poor migrating to urban centres in search of livelihood was a continuous process and the child was forced to work as an individual labourer either under an employer or independently. The work environment where he worked endangered his physical health and led to his over-all exploitation. The hours of working started from morning to night and the child's ability to grow and develop into a mentally and physically sound adult was seriously affected. Children were left free to accept certain occupations even at a very young age[18].

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[15] S.K.Tripathy (1989), Child Labour in India, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi, p.14.

[16] Mehta & Jaswal (1996), op. cit., p.28.

[17] S.K.Tripathy (1989), op.cit., p.16.

[18] Mehta & Jaswal (1996), op. cit., p.28.

In spite of the fact that the internationally recommended age for work is 15 years (ILO convention No.138) and the number of child workers below the age of 10 was far from negligible, as the data available on child labour reveals that child labour force consisted of children in 10-14 years age group. The ILO estimates that more than 73 million children in that age group alone were economically active in 1995, representing 13.2% of all 10-14 years old children around the world[19]. Thus no region of the world today is without child labour. Country-wise estimates show varying rates of economic activity among children of 10 to 14 years of age as revealed in Table 1.1. From this table it can be noted that the extent of child labour ranges from 2.9% in Iraq to 55.1% in Bhutan for Asian countries. It was 0.2% in Romania and Hungary, 1.8% in Portugal for European countries. In Africa, it varied across the nations from 5.6% in Morocco to 54.5% in Kenya, and in Latin American countries it varied from 0.9% in Venez uela to 16.1% in Brazil.

.Table 1.1

Economically Active Children (10-14 Age Group) Across the World – 1995

AFRICA		ASIA		EUROPE		LATIN MERICA	
Egypt	11.2	Banglades	13.1	Albania	1.1	Argentina	4.5
Ethiopia	42.3	Bhutan	55.1	Hungary	0.2	Bolivia	14.4
Kenya	54.5	China	11.6	Italy	0.4	Brazil	16.1
Morocco	5.6	India	14.3	Portugal	1.8	Colombia	6.6
Nigeria	25.7	Indonesia	9.6	Romania	0.2	Mexico	6.7
Uganda	45.3	Iran	4.7	-	-	Nicaragua	14.1
Zambia	16.3	Iraq	2.9	-	-	Peru	2.5
Zimbawe	29.4	Pakistan	17.7	-	-	Uruguay	2.1
-	-	Philippines	8.1	-	-	Venezuela	0.9
-	-	Turkey	24.0	-	-	-	-
-	-	Thailand	16.2	-	-	-	-

Source: International Labour Organization (ILO). World of Work No.16.June/July,1996, p.13

[19] International Labour Office (ILO), World of Work, No.16, June/July, 1996, p.12.

Expressing awareness of the problem, the United Nations, has declared the year 1979 as the International Year of Child. Ever since this declaration, the issue of child labour has been receiving public attention. A number of studies were undertaken, workshops and seminars organized and coverage has been given to them in media since 1979[20]. Prior to the UNO declaration, following the Industrial Revolution in the Western Europe, there were piecemeal legal efforts to alleviate the pitiable conditions of child labour. Some efforts were also made in some nations during the post-colonial period. But a comprehensive and systematic cognition of the issue at the academic level seems to have ushered in or atleast, stimulated by the United Nations declaration[21].

1.1.2 Forms of Child Labour

A UNICEF study[22], focussing exclusively on the various dimensions of child labour, classified its form into seven main types, none of which are unique to any one region of the world. They are, i. Domestic Services, ii. Forced and Bonded Labour, iii. Commercial Exploitation, iv. Industrial and Plantation Work, v. Street Work, vi. Work for the Family and vii. Girl Child's Work. The UNICEF study, with worldwide empirical data, discussed these forms of child labour in detail. However, for understanding the problem in a nutshell, a brief account on these forms of child labour is given below.

i. Domestic Service: Child domestic workers are the world's most forgotten children. Although domestic service need not be hazardous, their terms and conditions are entirely at the whims of the employers. The children of domestic services are shut

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[20] Ramesh Kanbargi (ed) (1991), Child Labour in the Indian Subcontinent, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.18.

[21] V.C.Sahoo (1995), Child Labour in Agrarian Society, Rewat Publication, New Delhi, p.9.

[22] United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).1997, The State of the World's Children, Focus on Child Labour, Oxford University Press, New York, pp..32-54.

away from the eyes of the world, unprotected from abuse. This isolation makes it difficult to collect reliable statistical data of the number of children involved.

As per the UNICEF study, a survey of middle-income households in Colombo (Sri Lanka) showed that one in three households had a child under 14 years of age as a domestic worker. Likewise a study of a lower-middle class residential area in Nairobi (Kenya) found that 12% of households employed children below 14 years as domestic servants in 1991. A survey of domestic workers in Uruguay found that 34% had begun working before they were 14. A similar survey in India, revealed that 17% of domestic workers were under 15 years old and reported that, girls aged 12 to 15 were the preferred choice of 90% of employing households. Children are often preferred to adults precisely because they can be dominated easily and, of course, paid less.

Table 1.2

Child Domestic Workers in Selected Countries (1990's)

COUNTRY OR CITY	THOUSANDS
Philippines	766
Jakarta, Indonesia	700
Dhaka, Bangladesh	300
Haiti	250
Lima, Peru	150
Sri Lanka	100

Source:- UNICEF, International Child Labour Centre, 1999,
taken from Human Development Report – 2000 p.41.

As can be noted from Table 1.2 while Philippines recorded the highest number of domestic child workers at seven lakhs sixty six thousand (7,66,000), the lowest domestic workers were recorded in Sri Lanka at one lakh (1,00,000).

ii. Forced and Bonded Labour: The UNICEF study stated that many of the forms of child labour practiced around the world are forced in the sense that children are taught to accept the conditions of their lives and not to challenge them. But the

situation of some children goes far beyond the acceptance of poor conditions, as they find themselves in effective slavery. In South Asia, this has taken on a quasi-institutional form known as 'bonded' child labour. Under this system children are pledged by their parents to factory owners in exchange for small loans.

In India, as per the study, this type of transaction is widespread in agriculture as well as in industries such as cigarette rolling, carpet-making, match stick-making, slate and silk industries. The most notorious of these is the carpet industry of Mirzapur-Bhadohs-Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh. According to a recent survey, thousands of children in carpet industry are pledged by their parents for paltry sum of money. Most of them are kept in captivity, made to work for 20 hours a day and crouch on their toes from dawn to dusk everyday, which severely stunts their growth during formative years. The worst exploited children belong to the marginalised segments of society. As in other countries, these ethnic minorities and disadvantaged groups are seen as having come to believe that they deserve no rights. Besides India, this kind of virtual child slavery is found in Nepal, Pakistan, Brazil, Myanmar and African countries.

iii. Commercial Exploitation: The UNICEF study revealed that the underground nature of the multi-billion dollar illegal industry in the commercial exploitation of children makes it difficult to gather reliable data. But according to the estimates of NGO's in the field each year at least 1 million children world wide are forced into this form of hazardous labour, which almost verges on slavery. Scandals about child prostitution in developing countries are reported in the international media, but this is called 'sex tourism' in which holiday-makers from the rich countries travel to locations such as Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Thailand and other places in search of such children. This evil also exists in industrialised countries. In the US alone, at least 100,000 children are believed to be involved in this form of exploitation.

The physical and psychological damage inflicted by this exploitation makes it one of the most dangerous forms of child labour and exploitation. The problem is out in the open now, after decades of a cross-cultural conspiracy of silence. The World

Congress against commercial sexual exploitation of children, held in Sweden in August 1996, put the issue on the world's agenda for the first time. An agenda for action was agreed upon by the participants and they resolved to advise governments in developing programmes to mitigate this problem of sexual exploitation of children.

iv. **Industrial and Plantation Work:** All over the world, children work under hazardous conditions. The manifold industries ranging from leather making in the Naples region of Italy to the pre-industrial brick making of Colombia and Peru, employed and exploited child labourers under the tender age of eight years.

The UNICEF Study further denoted that, the exploitation of children in plantation agriculture all over the world is manifested in different ways. In Brazil's sugar plantation, children cut cane with machines, putting them at constant risk of mutilation of body limbs. The child works account for a third of the work force and are involved in over 40% of work related accidents. Further, these children are exposed to snake bites and insect stings on tobacco plantation and carry loads far beyond their capacities. In Colombia, young children working on flower export farms are exposed to pesticides banned in industrialised countries.

In Africa, children work on the plantations that grow export crops on which the continent's economy relies. In Zimbabwe and Tanzania, children work 60 hours a week picking cotton or coffee for about a mere one dollar. An ILO study on child labour in Zimbabwe found that the most significant exploiters of child labour seemed to be the large scale commercial farmers using children in their fields for decades, especially during plantation and harvesting season. In Indonesia, children, most of them, being girls, work on tobacco plantations for $0.60 a day well below the legal minimum wage. In Nepal, Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka, children work on tea estates for wages so low that they often need to work for longer hours. Children in the sugarcane and rubber plantations of Thailand are at constant risk of injury from dangerous equipment.

v. Street Work: In addition to child domestic workers, some children work in the most visible places possible, on the street, in developing world cities and towns. They are every where, hawking in markets and darting in and out of traffic jams, plying their trade at bus and rail stations.

As per the UNICEF study, the street is a cruel and hazardous work place, often jeopardizing children's lives. They can be murdered by organized crime, by other young people or even by the police. For instance, in 1993, world reacted in horror when Rio de Janeiro police officers massacred six street children. A report from the State Juvenile Court stated that, on average, three street children are killed every day in Rio, many by police at the request of merchants who consider the begging, thieving and glue-sniffing resorted by the street children as a major nuisance.

In Brazil, Colombia and Gauthemala, street children, some as young as five years old, are killed in nightlong operations, which are justified as cleansing the society of its sore wounds. Most of these death squads include a liberal number of policemen[23].

Since the early 1990, Albania, Europe's poorest nation has witnessed the explosion of child labour on streets. Begging, crossing to Italy and Greece to sell paper, hand kerchiefs, to wash cars or perform other menial task, thousands of abandoned and unguided children are eking out a livelihood any way they can. In cities, an increasing number of children sell cigarettes, cassettes and other gadgets on the street. In northern parts of the country, the fears of vendetta deter children from attending school[24].

Street child labour, unheard of prior to the transition to a market economy, is now a growing problem in the Russian Federation. In Kyrgyzstan, and in Central Asia, the number of children working on the streets, selling food items and other

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[23] Gauthaman Bhaskaran (1999), "Paths of Hope". The Hindu (Sunday Magazine), 22-8-1999.

[24] ILO Magazine (1999), World of Work, No.30, July, p.23.

products have increased over the last three years. On the streets they shine shoes, wash and guard cars, carry luggage, hawk flowers and trinkets, collect recyclables to earn money[25].

vi. Work for the Family: Of all the work children do, the most common is domestic work within the families. Most families around the world expect their children to help in the households- preparing food, fetching water or groceries, herding animals, caring for younger siblings and working on the fields. Children learn from a reasonable level of participation in household chores, subsistence food growing and income generating activities. However, work for the family may demand too much of children, requiring them to labour long hours, and keep them away from school and take too great a toll on their developing bodies.

The UNICEF study denoted that evidence to the rigours of work in the rural home comes from a group of Nepalese children now working in a Kathmandu carpet factory. They had come to the factory because life at home was so difficult; climbing up steep slopes to get fodder, risking leaches, having to labour endlessly to feed the family. To avoid these lives they had ended up in carpet making, an industry notorious for its exploitation. In rural Africa, children begin helping with domestic chores well before school age. Similar patterns of early labour are reported in a survey of some Latin American countries.

vii. Girl Child's Work: In every country, girls and women routinely bear the burden of labour and endure the treatment that reflects their unequal status. Working girls are often invisible, treated as if they did not exist at all. According to ILO, 56% of the 10-14 year children working in the developing world are boys. If we were able to measure the number of girls working at home to enable family members to take up paid work, the figures would show more female child labour than that of male children. Girls work longer hours on average than boys, carrying a double workload i.e., a job outside the home and domestic duties on their return from work.

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[25] UNICEF (1997), The State of the World's Children, op.cit.pp.32-45.

The UNICEF study suggested that in Gautemala and other Latin American countries, domestic work by girls in their own homes was widespread, besides outside work, as a result many failed to attend school. All over the world, more girls than boys are denied their fundamental right to primary schooling. In some regions including the Middle East, North Africa, South Asia, the gender gap is much wider. The significance of educational equality between sexes is being realized in East Asia, Latin America and Caribbean, but elsewhere little awareness has been reported.

1.1.3 Child Labour-Developed Countries

History reveals that in the early phase of capitalist development in the now developed countries, widespread child labour had made an important contribution to capital formation and industrial growth[26]. Even now, if all forms of work are considered, the percentage of children working in industrialised countries can be surprisingly high. For instance in the United Kingdom, the most reliable estimates available show that between 15-26% of 11 year olds and between 36-66% of 15 year olds are working[27]. In Southern Europe, there are large number of children working for, in particular, in seasonal activities, street traders, small work shops or in a home sitting. In Central and Eastern Europe, the difficulties connected with the transition from a centrally planned to a market economy have resulted in a substantial increase in child labour. In industrialized countries such as UK and the US, the growth of service sector rapidly increased the supply of part-time jobs and search for a more flexible work force have contributed to the expansion of the child labour market[28].

One point to be noted here is that most of the child workers in developed countries, however, attend schools. In the West, the kind of work undertaken by the

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[26] Pravin Visaria and Paul Jacob (1995), Child Labour in India Results of a Methodological Survey, Gujarath Institute of Development Research and ILO.p.1.

[27] UNICEF (1997), op.cit., p.20.

[28] ILO magazine (1996), No.16, op.cit., p.12.

children is based on the 'pocket money' model[29]. Yet, hazardous form of child labour can also be witnessed in some of the western countries. However, the exploited children usually come from ethnic minorities or immigrant groups, as for example, in the case of Gypsy and Albanian communities in Greece.

The dominant cultural group may not wish its own children to do hazardous labour, but it will not be so concerned if young children from racial, ethnic or economic minorities do it. In North Europe, child labourers are mostly African or Turkish in origin, while in the US and Canada they are of Asian or Latin American ethnic groups, in Brazil they tend to be the descendants of slaves or children of indigenous people with no political clout. In Argentina, many child works are Bolivian and Paraguayan. In Thailand's fishing industry, many child workers are from Myanmar[30].

The social evil of child labour in industrialised countries has however been reduced to a minimum because of their realisation about future citizens and due to the economic and legal progress. Now the principle of prohibiting child labour is introduced in the constitutions of many countries such as Brazil, El Salvador, Honduras and India. The minimum age for admission to the employment varies from country to country because the circumstances of each country are different[31].

1.1.4 Child Labour - International Labour Organisation (ILO)

Since its foundation in 1919, the ILO has been much concerned with the gradual elimination of child labour and the promotion of well being of children in the fields within its competence. At its first session, i.e., the International Child Labour Conference of 1919, a convention was adopted to fix the minimum age for admission

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[29] UNICEF (1997), op.cit., p.20.

[30] UNICEF (1997), op.cit., p.31.

[31] J.C.Kulshreshtha (1978), Child Labour in India, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi. 1978, p.122.

of children into industrial employment[32]. From this first convention, which brought to light the fact that children were working in terms of wage employment in formal sector manufacturing, a world-wide awareness on child labour was created and expanded over the years. It has come to address non-industrial work by children and prohibit any kind of work that threatens the physical and mental growth of children.

The Minimum Age Convention (1919) lays down that children under 14 years of age should not be employed in any industrial undertaking other than the undertaking in which only family members are employed. It was the first international effort to regulate children's participation in the work place and was followed by numerous ILO instruments applicable to other economic sectors[33].

The minimum age limit was revised from time to time in subsequent conventions taking into account the prevailing socio-economic conditions of the member states. The ILO convention of 1937 (No.60) inserted a special article for India fixing the minimum age at which children may be employed or may work in certain occupations. It said "children under the age of 13 years shall not be employed or allowed to work in the transport of passengers or goods or mails by rail or in the handling of goods of docks[34].

Among all the conventions, a very important one widely ratified by the member states is the ILO's minimum age convention 1973 (No.138). It established the fundamental international standard on child labour. The ultimate goal of convention No.138 is the total abolition of child labour. However, it was widely recognised that this would take time. However, a growing international consensus has emerged stressing the need to immediately proceed with the abolition of exploitation of very young children in slave-like and bonded conditions[35]. This convention

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[32] S.K.Tripathy (1989), op.cit., p.38-39

[33] UNICEF (1997), op.cit., p.19.

[34] S.K.Tripathy (1989), Op.cit., p.38.

[35] ILO magazine (1999), World of Work, no.29, Apr/May, 1999.

obligates member states to pursue a national policy to establish that no child can be employed in any economic sector below the age designated for the completion of compulsory schooling and not less than 15 years[36], or under special national circumstances, 14 years[37].

ILO made joint efforts with the Swiss and General Authorities in the organization of a number of public events focusing on the plight of children working under abusive conditions, and stimulating world-wide action to bring child labour to an end. The Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention 1999 (No.182) was introduced in the presence of children from several countries who sang and released balloons as a sign of their solidarity with working children[38].

The convention of No.182 defines the Worst Forms of Child Labour as slavery, debt bondage, prostitution, pornography, forced recruitment of children in armed conflicts, concentration camps, use of children in drug trafficking, and other illicit activities, and all other work harmful or hazardous to the health, safety or morale of girls and boys under 18 years of age.

It is important to differentiate between the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (no.182) and the previous ILO core convention on child labour called the Minimum Age Convention. The latter convention No.138 was adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1973. It aimed at the overall abolition of Child Labour, rather than focussing on its worst forms and stipulated that the minimum age for admission to employment shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling[39]. The recent global mobilization to eliminate child labour has been reflected in the sharply increased ratification rate for the Minimum Age

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[36] UNICEF (1997), op.cit., p.19.

[37] Alec Fyfe (1993), Child Labour – A guide to project design, ILO – Geneva.

[38] ILO magazine (2000), World of Work, September/October, p.22.

[39] ILO magazine (2000), World of Work, December, p.7.

Convention. The number of 175 ILO member states, which ratified the Minimum Age Convention No.138, was impressively increased from 49 in July 1996 to 102 by the end of December 2000. The Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention No.182 had also been ratified by 49 member states by December 2000.

The experience of the ILO has clearly revealed that no single action against child labour is likely to have a lasting impact unless it forms part of an overall national plan. The problem of child labour will not be solved overnight as it is one of the many facets of poverty and underdevelopment. Yet, the ILO's doctrine on child labour is clear that it should be abolished. International labour standards reflect this conviction, but observance of these standards needs to be reinforced and convictions must be ratified by member states. As long as the member states have not ratified both Conventions No.182 and No.138, they must report annually on their promotional efforts in this respect[40].

1.1.5 Child Labour – Constitutional Provisions in India

In India, since Independence, every commission appointed by the Government, the ruling party, all opposition parties and all State governments have advocated for establishing compulsory, universal, primary education for all children upto the age 14 years. This commitment dates back to the turn of the 20th century when Gopala Krishna Gokhale, the then president of the Indian National Congress, unsuccessfully urged the British to establish schools for free and compulsory elementary education. In the 1930's, the provincial governments under the control of Indian National Congress passed legislation authorising local bodies to introduce compulsory education[41].

The Indian Constitution of 1950 declares that the State shall endeavor to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution for

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[40] ILO magazine (2000), World of Work, December, p.13.

[41] Mayrom Weiner (1991), The Child and the State in India, Oxford University Press, Delhi , p.7.

free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age 14 years (Article 45). Legislation restricting the employment of children in Mines and Factories was introduced by the British early in the century. More extensive legislation was passed following the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour in 1932. The Indian Constitution contains a number provisions intended to protect children including a categorical ban that declares that (Article 24) no child below the age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mines or engaged in any hazardous employment[42]. Further, Article 39(e) and (f) stated that the children of tender age are not abused and they are not forced by economic necessity to enter a vocation unsuited to their age or strength and that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy climate and are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment[43].

Apart from the Constitutional provisions, the State have passed a number of acts such as 1) the Minimum Wage Act, 1946, 2) the Factories Act, 1943 3) The Plantation Labour Act, 1951, 4) the Apprentice Act, 1961, 5) the Beedi and Cigar (Conditions of Employment) Act, 1966, 6) the Shop and Establishment Act, and 7) Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, to meet the requirements of child labour from time to time[44].

The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986, was passed making employment of children prohibiting certain specific hazardous occupations including among others, rail and road transport, *Beedi* (cigarette) making, manufacturing of matches, cement, explosives and fire work, building and construction work, which are considered hazardous for the health, safety and development of children[45]. The Act contains provisions to regulate working

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Gita Ramaswamy (1996), The Child and the Law, UNICEF & Andhra Pradesh Judicial Academy, Secunderabad, pp.6-7.

[44] Mahaveer Jain (1994), op.cit., p.6

[45] Ramesh Kanbargi (1991), Child Labour in the Indian Sub-Continent, Sage publications, New Delhi, p.15.

conditions that no child will be allowed to work for more than six hours a day. Once in a week the child will be given a holiday and no child will be allowed to work between 7PM and 8AM, i.e., during night, no overtime will be permitted.
The penalty for violating the Act will range from three months to one year of imprisonment with a fine of Rs.10, 000/- to Rs.20, 000/-[46].

1.2 Child Labour in India

In India, the system of child labour practice was very old. In the past, children were required to do some work either at home or in the fields along with their parents. It was found in Manusmrithi and Arthashastra that the king made education of every child, boy or girl compulsory and Kautilya in Arthashastra prohibited the trade of children, wherein children were purchased and converted into slaves by some people. The problem of child labour was realized as a serious problem in the 19th century when the first factory was started in the mid 19th century[47]. Industrialization on a large scale led to many mal-adjustments and one such mal-adjustment was the employment of children in factories, workshops and in other places of unregulated occupations[48].

The British rulers had not only introduced capitalism in India, but were also responsible for the destruction of the village economy. India was linked up with the ongoing industrial revolution in Europe with all its symptoms and effects. Consequently, the Indian villages, which were indigenously self-sufficient with their cottage handicrafts, witnessed the opening up of small and heavy industries, big business houses and centres. Due to commercialization of agriculture, more and more workers were needed for textile industries, tea, coffee and tobacco processing, finishing of raw material, indigo and jute plantation. The Britishers, who looked down

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[46] Gita Ramaswamy (1996), op.cit., p.14-15.

[47] Harindra Kishore Mishra (2000), "Multi-dimensional Approach to child labour in India", in M.Koteswar Rao (ed), Exploited Children A Comprehensive Blue Print for Child Labour Rehabilitation, Kaniska Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, p.28.

[48] S.K.Patel & R.C.Tallati (2000), "Child Labour in India: A Multi Dimensional Problem", in M.Koteswar Rao (ed), op.cit., p.50.

upon Indians as low paid workers soon found children to be a more sincere and tireless lot than their elders and who could be paid much less than their elders. Taking undue advantage of Indian children's simplicity and penury, they employed them in factories and chemical production centres for long hours (12-13 hours) at a stretch paying meagre wages. Lord Rippon, the then Viceroy of India passed the resolution of 1st factory Act in 1881 which laid down that children between the age of 7 and 12 years should not be made to work for more than 9 hours a day[49]. This explains the grim reality of child labour prevalent during the British rule and an Act had to be passed to express concern. Beginning with this Act, till to date a number of legislative measures were adopted to lessen the volume and intensity of child labour, but to no avail. The trend of employing children in unregulated market structures continued unabated.

Generally, employers view the employment of children as advantageous and cheaper than their adult labour. Besides, children have less developed ego, are not status consciousness and they are less afflicted by feelings of guilt and shame. Moreover, employers prefer child labour because children can not form workers unions. They are more disciplined and adjustable and are therefore preferred for employment.

a. Caste and Traditional Factors

The economic structure of the Indian society is influenced by the caste factor. Thus social, cultural and traditional factors are equally responsible for the plight of children in India. Traditionally, children of the upper caste families begin their lives in schools according to their culture whereas children of the lower castes start their lives on work according to their family culture. The families in the lower strata, though they may not be below the poverty line, send their children to learn skills at different work places. Children are taught a traditional craft at an early stage

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[49] Current Prize Winning Essays. "Child Labour in India" , Competition Success Review, Sudha Publications Private Limited, New Delhi, p.16-17, 1998.

to become proficient in a job, which would then be a source of income to them. It is a recognized fact that in childhood, the human body is more flexible to acquire postures required for a particular job. Carpet weaving, pottery, silk and cotton weaving, wood carving etc. are some of the traditional crafts where children are involved[50].

b. Educational factor

India is a significant exception to the global trend towards the removal of children from the labour force and the establishment of compulsory universal primary school education. Poverty has not prevented governments of other developing countries from expanding mass education and making primary education compulsory. Many countries of Africa with income levels lower than those of India have expanded mass education with impressive increase in literacy. For instance, Botswana, Cameraon, Equatorial Quinea, Mauritious, Rwanda, Zambia and Zimbabwe have achieved literacy rates ranging between 50 and 70 percent. China, which had an illiteracy rate comparable to that of India forty years ago, has now reduced it to half [51].

In many villages in India, school facilities are absent or available only at distant places. Parents are reluctant to send their children to neighbouring villages to attend school. Drop out rate in the schools is higher in such cases. It is observed that out of total number of children in India in the age group of 6-14, fewer than half attends school. The incidence of child labour is closely related to school dropout rate[52].

As a consequence, India has turned out to be the largest producer of non-school going child workers. Most child workers in India are illiterate, while in nineteenth century England and in the United States, child workers were at least able to read and write, since they were generally in school for six years, the period of compulsory

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[50] M.S.Raj and D.J.Chauhan (2001) , "Nature and Issues of Child Labour in India", Yojana vol.45, May, 2001, p.12.

[51] Myrom Weiner (1991), op. cit., p.3.

[52] M.S.Raj and D.J.Chauhan (2001), op.cit., p.12&13.

education. In India, most child workers have never attended school or have dropped out before completing four years of schooling, the minimum period needed to acquire literacy[53].

Thus the education system in India is clearly a contributing factor for the increase in the magnitude of child labour. Many schools in remote places are of poor quality and chances of upward mobility are so bleak that expected return is not equal to the sacrifice made. It is true that many children drop out of school because they have to work, but it is equally true that many become so discouraged by school that they prefer to work. Thus given the low quality and implied costs of educational services available to the poor, many parents, despite being illiterate and having themselves worked as children tend to consider an early entry into the labour market rather than schooling as the best way to equip their children with skills useful for their future as adults[54].

1.2.1 Magnitude of Child Labour

From the above discussion, it becomes clear that the problem of child labour in India is of immense magnitude considering the number of children involved. But the accurate estimates of child labour, either from a quantitative or qualitative point of view are not available. It is because of this reason that the estimates of child labour provided by different sources differ significantly. Yet, the fact remains that child labour constitutes a substantial proportion of India's labor force. Even China, which has the largest child population in the world, does not have such a big number of child workers as in India [55].

According to 1971, 1981 and 1991 Census documents of India, the number of working children accounted for 10.74 million, 13.60 million and 11.29 million

[53] Burra Neera (1995), Born to work, Child Labour in India. Oxford University Press, Delhi.p.xiii.

[54] ILO Magazine (1996), World of Work. June/July, p.13.

[55] B.R.Patil (1988), Working Children in Urban India. D.B.Publishes (P) Ltd., Bangaore.p.3.

respectively (Table 1.3). The ILO estimated child labour at 15.10 million in 1975 and 23.17 million in 1996. NSSO, India estimated the figures at 17.60 million and 13.50 million, respectively during 1987-88 and 1993-94. The Baroda based Operation Research Group estimated the number of working children at 44 million in 1983. The Planing Commission of India put the figure at 17.36 million in 1983. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry (1985) put the magnitude of child labour at 100 million[56].

Table 1.3

Child Labour in India

(Number in millions)

Data Source	Year	Magnitude of child labour
Census of India	1971 1981 1991	10.74 13.60 11.29
ILO	1975 1996	15.10 23.17
NSSO India	1987 – 88 1993 – 94	17.60 13.50
Planning Commission	1983 (GOI)	17.36
ORG. Baroda	1983	44.00

Source: Sekar, Helan R, (1997) Child Labour Legislation in India V.V.Giri National Labour Institute. Noida.p.20. Taken from M.S.Raj and D.J.Chauhan (2001). "Nature and Issues of Child Labour in India" Yojana vol.45, May,2001, p.13.

According to the 1991 Census, there were 11.28 million child labourers in India with highest child population of 1.66 million recorded in Andhra Pradesh. The data in the Table 1.4 reveal that child labour increased in absolute terms as per the 1981 census compared to the corresponding proportion of 1971 census. Conversely, a silver lining is discernible, perhaps for the first time, from the 1991 census tables. Not only has the total child population declined in absolute terms from 13.64 million as per 1981 census to 11.28 million as per 1991 census but also the decline in absolute terms is visible in nearly all the States except in the case of Delhi and West Bengal where there was a rise in the number of child workers. A feature of the 1991 figures

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[56] M.S.Raj and D.J.Chauhan (2001), op.cit., p.13.

Table 1.4

Distribution of Working Children in Selected States of India

Sl. No.	State/Union Territories	1971	1981	1991
1.	Andhra Pradesh	16,27,492 (15.1)	19,51,312 (14.3)	16,61,940 (14.7)
2.	Bihar	10,59,359 (9.9)	11,01,764 (8.1)	9,42,245 (8.3)
3.	Madhya Pradesh	11,12,319 (10.3)	16,98,597 (12.4)	13,52,563 (11.9)
4.	Maharashtra	9,88,357 (9.2)	15,57,756 (11.4)	10,68,418 (9.5)
5.	Rajasthan	5,87,309 (5.5)	8,19,605 (6.0)	7,74,199 (6.9)
6.	Tamil Nadu	7,13,305 (6.6)	9,75,055 (7.1)	5,78,889 (5.1)
7.	Uttar Pradesh	13,26,726 (12.3)	14,34,675 (10.5)	14,10,086 (12.5)
8.	West Bengal	5,11,443 (4.8)	6,05,263 (4.4)	7,11,691 (6.3)
9.	Delhi	17,120 (0.1)	25,717 (0.2)	27,351 (0.2)
All India		**1,07,53,985 (100)**	**1,36,40,870 (100)**	**1,12,85,349 (100)**

Source: Debi.S.Saini. Combating Child Labour in India Labour and Development July,1997-June 1998 V.V.Giri National Labour Institute.pp.144-145.

is that they relate to workers in the age group of 5 to 14 years. The 1971 and 1981 census data showed child workers in the age group of 6 to 14 years. This would mean a still greater decline in the number of child workers in the age group of 6 to 14 years in 1991 census[57].

It may, however, be noted that census estimates are generally considered as underestimates. Despite the controversies relating to reliability of one method over the other, it is noticeable that the incidence of child labour is alarmingly high[58]. There are a large number of child workers who are not covered by census enumerators or sample surveys, who are outside the scope of the term "worker" as defined by census and whose work is disguised and clandestine. Added to this disturbing phenomenon of huge number of clandestine child workers, in recent years, the children from neighboring countries of Nepal and Bangladesh are sneeking into child labour market in cities like Delhi, Kolkata and Mumbai etc. making the problem still more complex[59].

1.2.2 Causes of Child Labour

One can see that child labour is a multi-dimensional problem. Therefore a number of explanations were put forth for growing rates of child labour force. The most important reasons for this increasing magnitude of the problem are economic compulsions of families, lack of employment opportunities for the adult members in the family and preference of the employers to hire children to reduce the labour cost. Therefore, as viewed by the National Commission on Labor (1969), the employment of children is more of an economic problem than any thing else[60]. Besides this, several inter-linked factors like poverty, caste, tradition, size of the family, illiteracy,

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[57] Debi.S. Saini (1998), Combating Child Labour in India, Labour and Development, V.V.Giri National Labour Institute, July, 1997, June, 1998.

[58] Debi. S. Saini(1998), op.cit., p.149.

[59] B.R.Patil (1988), op.cit., p.4.

[60] B.R.Patil (1988), op.cit., p.1.

ignorance, schooling facilities etc. are exerting their influence directly or indirectly on the children to participate in work force. All these causative factors are, of course, inherent to India's socio-economic structure.

In certain occupations, children are expected to learn the skills to enable themselves to be employed when they become adults. In Industries like carpet weaving in UP and J&K, in *Zari* and *Zaradosi* industry in Surat region of Gujarath, children are employed to undergo training as no adult without a training is employed and training is provided only when the person enters the trade as a child.

1.2.3 Working Conditions

The conditions under which the children work in India vary widely across activities, across rural and urban population and across agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. The rural environment under which children work in agriculture and related fields represents more a problem of access to educational opportunities rather than threat to their health and physical development. The rural child workers are not subjected to unhygienic working conditions or the exploitation or strict supervision of employer, except under the conditions of debt bondage[61].

In urban non-agricultural activities, however, the child workers are subjected to various difficult conditions of work. In addition to denial of school, the working conditions in urban informal sector pose a serious threat to physical, mental and social development. Self employed children like the rag pickers are exposed to the exploitation of the middlemen to whom they must sell their collections. These child workers handle dirty, harmful and hazardous items like broken glasses, rusted metals and hospital wastage etc.

In carpet industry the children enter the job at the age of 5 to 7 years and continue to work. This is concentrated in Mizapur-Bhadohi-Varanasi region. The

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[61] B.R.Patil (1988), op.cit., pp 8-9.

rooms in which work is held are ill lighted, the floors are damp or dung-smeared. The lower half of the body has to be in damp pits to keep the height of the roof low, or otherwise children are required to work squatting on the floor in the same posture the whole day. Skin and eye diseases are quite common among these children due to unhygienic working conditions and continuous concentration in making knots as per the requirements of designs. The number of working children in the carpet belt went up as the Government of India set up carpet training centres in the Mirzapur Area[62]. This carpet belt stretching from Mirzapur to Varanasi is known as 'Dollar Land' since it accounts for 90 percent of the total carpet exported from India[63].

Likewise, in the glass bangle industry of Firozabad one quarter of the work force are children under 14 years. The temperature in the furnaces in the glass bangle and glass blowing industry ranges from 700^0c to 1400^0c. Children are engaged to carry iron rods to the tank furnace to draw out molten glass. They run with this molten glass to the adult bangle maker[64]. They have to run rapidly on a floor strewn with glass pieces in order that the molten metal does not become cold before it reaches the adult workers who turn it into bangles[65].

Another glaring case is observed in Sivakasi, a township famous for crackers, fireworks, matchboxes and printing presses in Tamil Nadu. The children work in sheds rolling explosives into crackers and arranging matchsticks in neat rows of collapsible wooden boxes. The working day is ten hours long and seven days a week just for a paltry remuneration. Many child workers have been killed in accidents of explosives in the firework units of Sivakasi[66]. The main risk in the match industry is due to the use of chemicals. Children working in the boiler rooms mixing chemicals

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[62] Burra Neera (1995) op.cit., p.227.

[63] S.N.Tripathy (ed) (1996), op.cit., p.60.

[64] Burra Neera (1995), "Born to work", taken from Narod (ed.), Child Labour Impact Assessment, The Royal Norwegian Embassy, New Delhi.

[65] S.N.Tripathy (ed) (1996), op.cit., p.61.

[66] Ibid.

inhale toxic fumes, suffer high degree of intense heat and run the risk of being badly injured by fire accidents.

Similarly around 50,000 workers are employed in the gem and diamond polishing enterprise located in Surat in Gujarat. In the diamond cutting industry, children handle machines in small ill-ventilated rooms and they are subjected to heavy dust, highly dangerous fume and large noise. Likewise, in the slate industry of Mandsaur, Madhya Pradesh, thousands of children are working. They cut plates of shale into small pieces with electrically operated saws, a process, which emits dense clouds of a fine light dust, which the workers constantly inhale. The result is silicosis or pneumoconiosis, a lung disease, similar to, but much deadlier than tuberculosis[67]. This disease is the cause for fibrous changes in the lungs. Lungs are gradually eaten away, patients suffer respiratory troubles, begin to spit blood and then die a painful death. Children at the age of 12 and even less are forced into this fatal work to support their poor and sick parents[68].

In another instance, in the balloon factories of Dahanu in Maharashtra, children's work includes mixing rubber with chemicals, colouring balloons and testing each balloon with gas. A thick pall of dust and chemicals covers the rooms, which are small, cramped and ill-ventilated. Children work nine hours a day, six days a week and inhalation of dangerous gases in the room can cause pneumonia, cough, breathlessness and even heart diseases. In the powerloom industries, children suffer from byssinosis. This disease is caused by cotton dust and fibre, which get embedded in the lining of the lungs and lead to tuberculosis. There are an estimated number of 15,000 children working in powerloom industry of Bhiwandi in Maharashtra[69].

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[67] Burra Neera (1995), op.cit., p.236.

[68] Narod (ed) (1995), Child Labour Impact Assessment, The Royal Norwegian Embassy New Delhi p.11.

[69] Burra Neera (1995), op.cit., p.235.

An occupation which allows the worker to come into contact with harmful substances like chemicals (e.g., balloon, match and fire-works, lock and brass ware industries), fire (e.g., glass industry), cotton fluff and dust that damage lungs (e.g., powerloom industry) may be considered intrinsically hazardous. Some occupations become hazardous because of working conditions and the working environment where children work in the rooms that are dark and ill ventilated. As a result, their eyesight is damaged in gem-polishing, diamond-cutting, carpet-weaving, *zari* work (gold thread embroidery) etc. The posture in which they sit in for long hours while weaving carpets causes physical deformities and spinal problems. Had the working conditions been ideal, some of the hazards could have been minimized. But the piece-rate system, in which payment depends on the output at abysmally low rates, exerts extraordinary pressure on the children to work for longer hours beyond their physical capacities. In turn, this intensifies the hazards[70]. Table 1.5 furnishes information on the concentration of child workers in some hazardous industries in India.

1.2.4 Girl Child Worker

Of the 42 percent of children in the Indian population nearly half of them are girls. Nearly 40 percent of all girls are in the age group of 0-14 years. Available statistics reveal that more boys are engaged in child labour than girls. But in reality, the number of working girls is often underestimated by statistical surveys as these surveys do not take into account the work performed by girls in home-based industries and also full time house workers who enable their parents to go to work. Girls, on an average tend to work longer hours than boys. This is true for the girls employed as domestic workers in which working hours are extremely long[71]. Some workers also carry double workload, a paid job outside the home, and unpaid work in the form of household chores.

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[70] Burra Neera (1995), op.cit., p.237.

[71] ILO magazine (1996), op.cit., p.13.

Table 1.5

Estimates of Child Labour in Selected Small Scale Industries in India

Sl. No.	Name of the Industry	No.of Children Employed	Area of Concentration
1.	Carpet Weaving	95,000	Mirzapur-Bhadohi-Jaipur
2.	Power Looms	15,000	Bhiwandi-Maharashtra
3.	Match/Fire Works	50,000	Sivakasi-Tamilnadu
4.	Glass, Bangle Industry	50,000	Firozabad-Uttar Pradesh
5.	Slate Industry	1,000	Mandsaur-Madhya Pradesh
6.	Gem Polishing	13,500	Jaipur-Rajasthan
7.	Diamond Cutting	15,000	Suraj-Gujarath
8.	Silk/*Zari* Embroidery	50,100	Varanasi-Uttar Pradesh
9.	Metal and Brass Ware Industry	20,000	Moradabad-Uttar Pradesh
10.	Handlooms and Handicraft Industry	1,16,000	Jammu and Kashmir
11.	*Beedi* Making Industry	50,000	Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh
12.	Wood Carving	10,000	Saharanpur-Uttar Pradesh
13.	Cotton Hosiery	8,000	Tirupur-Tamilnadu
14.	Fish Processing	20,000	Kerala

Source: Burra Neera (1995).op.cit.p.XXII

It is intriguing why most debates on child labour leave the specific problems of the girl child unanswered. One reason could be that while boys can be seen working in workshops and factories, girls, with a few exceptions, work at home and are therefore invisible to the casual observer. This invisibility has serious negative consequences in terms of the girl child's status within the family, which in turn determines her role in the family and society[72]. As a result, her education and health are considered secondary to those of her male counter parts, both in rural and urban areas.

The attitudes of parents to their daughters are not merely a result of not being able to place an economic value on the latter's contribution to the family, but the giving of dowry at the time of marriage makes the girl a positive burden to the parents in comparison with her brothers. One immediate consequence is that education is denied to girls. Therefore, the female working children have a relatively poor educational background compared to that of the boys. This is primarily because girls start working at an early age and poor families do not give much importance to the education of girls. The family loses more if they send a daughter to school than if they send a son.

The gender-based inequalities pervade almost all aspects of the growing girl's social and cultural environment. Family structure and social values influence the girl that she grows up looking upon herself as inferior and subservient, entitled much less to every thing, than a son and is given less education, less health care, less status, less authority and virtually without any choice. The values that operate in the patriarchal family are internalised at an early age, as a naturally indispensable part of life. Thus, the girl child is made to acquire qualities of submissiveness, weakness, self-sacrifice and silent suffering. She learns to be acquiescent-first as daughter, and sister and then

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[72] Burra Neera (1995), op.cit., p.204.

as wife and finally as mother. Deprived of her childhood rights the young girl's prospects for all-round development are severely stunted[73].

Girl workers, according to several empirical studies, are engaged in low-paid unskilled jobs, which do not necessarily lead to skill formation. It is because of sex stereo typicality of roles, perhaps, that women and girls are restricted to low-paying jobs. In certain industries, some processes and activities are considered exclusively to be female jobs. Leela Gulati points out that there is a clear-cut sex differentiation between the work that male and female workers do in the coir industry of Kerala. While both boys and girls are employed in rotating the spinning wheel, cleaning and willowing the fibre, ratt rotating, and in the beating of husks one finds only girls doing the work. In the gem -polishing industry of Jaipur, girls are employed to pierce holes in beads for necklaces. It was traditionally a female job. In the brassware industry of Moradabad polishing goods by the hand was exclusively a female's job[74].

In the match industry of Sivakasi, where approximately 45,000 children were employed, 90 percent were girl children below the age of 14 years. According to Madras Institute of Development Studies (MIDS), boys are exposed to jobs requiring skills while girls are left to piece-rated occupations that require little mental skills. The great preponderance of girls in this industry is due to the fact that the wages are much lower (Rs.3.50 to Rs.4.00 a day) than in any other occupation. MIDS observed that no one other than a child and that too, a girl, will work in the match industry at such low wages. Thus in the match industry, the larger number of girls in the work force can be justified by the fact that wages are so low and work so unskilled and monotonous that even boys are not expected to do the work[75].

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[73] Deepa Grover (1994), " Challenging Gender Disparities in Childhood" in Glimpses of Girlhood in India. UNICEF India Country Office, New Delhi p1.

[74] Burra Neera (1995), op.cit., p.207.

[75] Burra Neera (1995), op.cit., p.207 & 216.

It was reported that due to the introduction of mechanisation in the process of production, the tasks hitherto performed by female workers were taken over by men to perform with machines, thereby relegating the female workers to further unskilled and menial jobs. This is true in the case of gem-polishing and brassware industries. In the gem-polishing industry the job of making holes in beads was essentially a female job in which hundreds of girls were employed. But, due to the increased international demand for gemstones, an ultrasonic machine has been introduced to do the work. Though it is a relatively simple gadget, no where are girls seen doing this work on machines. The wages paid to male workers performing these tasks on machines are many times more, as the output was much larger than what girls were used to produce manually. Similarly, in the brassware industry, most of the work was done by females. Earlier in this industry there were female workers constituting more than 50 percent of the total work force. However, now their participation has fallen to less than 10 percent. The reason for this state of affairs was that with the greater demand for brass ware abroad, there has been an introduction of machinery in many of the processes which were formerly the preserve of female workers. The job of polishing, particularly of goods which were coloured was done exclusively by women and girls at home using chemicals. Now, men do this work in workshops on machines and earn many times more than the women who used to do it at home. Another female preserve was the job of *chilai* (scraping) and most of the girls were engaged in this work. But with the introduction of grinder machine, women and girls have more or less lost working opportunities in this field. Only those jobs that cannot be done on machines are given to women and girls to do at home for a mere pittance. Thus, changing demands and consequent technological changes have deprived women and girls of incomes they used to generate[76].

Thus in almost all industries, this phenomenon is repeated, boys going to work in skill based industries and girls engaged in unskilled low paid wage work but

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[76] Burra Neera (1995), op.cit., pp.208 & 219.

wherever mechanization has been introduced, leading to higher wages, boys have taken over the work which girls were doing earlier.

1.3 The Status of Girl Child in South Asian Region

The convention of the rights of the child resolved to protect the rights of all children, girls and boys and the resolution was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989 and ratified by India in 1992. Further, Convention underscored the exceptional vulnerability of children and emphasized that childhood is entitled to special care and assistance. In 1990,the seven member countries of SAARC* jointly observed 1990 as the Year of the Girl Child, the ten years period between 1991 and 2000 was declared as the SAARC Decade of Girl Child. The Government of India, on the lines of SAARC Decade of Girl Child, developed and disseminated a National Plan of Action for the Girl Child (NPAGC) for 1991-2000, which states unequivocally that there is an urgent need to reduce existing disparities and ensure equality for the development of the girl child and the adolescent girl[77].

In the South Asian Region,the integration of the girl child into the mainstream development process is a continuing cause of concern to activists, administrators and policy planners. The ultimate objective is to have an active, healthy, confident 21st century girl child unfettered by the limiting traditional values. The perspective visualised is a female child with self-perceptions and self-esteem not merely in passive recipient roles but in active productive roles and the image is of an equal, gender-aware, unshackled girl child in control of her destiny and conditions[78].

The SAARC conference on South Asian Children gave an urgent call for improvement of the mother-child life cycle beginning with the girl child. It was

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* South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation
(India, Nepal, Pakistan, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Maldives)

[77] Deepa Grover (1994), op.cit., p.2.

[78] Women Development Division (1987), Report of the National Workshop on the Girl Child, National Institute of Public Co-operation and Child Development, New Delhi, p.7.

opined that neglect and discrimination were extensive and deep-rooted in a complex set of social, cultural and historical factors. The major effort identified to mitigate this complexity was to educating parents and community to accept the equality of boys and girls.

Thus, concern for the girl child has marked the beginning of a new awareness. It was collectively realized that gender division exercises a continued influence on childhood in all socio-economic contexts and subordinates girls' rights and needs to those of boys. In modern times, therefore gender is gradually becoming an integral part of all child development policies, programmes, evaluations and methodology of information gathering. The efforts in the SAARC nations have thereby provided the necessary impetus for countries around the globe to recognise that, there exists a gender hierarchy in childhood at every level and that it needs to be reformulated on the principle of equality of sexes[79].

As a prelude to the declaration of the year of Girl Child in 1990, the South Asian Countries had convened a meeting in New Delhi during September 1988 and presented the country papers on the Girl Child. Basing on these papers, an attempt is made to present a brief account on the status of Girl Child in South Asian Region as follows :

1.3.1 Girl Child – Attitude in the Family

a. India. Gender bias against the girl child is seen in many situations but ironically it takes its origin in the family, irrespective of the class, caste or religion. The family, which is expected to provide love, protection and care, is, for some girls, a place of violence, fear and pain. A number of studies show that the exploitation of the girl child is a direct result of the exploitation of women[80]. Admittedly, many mothers were

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[79] Deepa Grover (1994), pp.2-3.

[80] Neera Burra (1987), "Sight Unseen : Reflections on the Female working Child" in Women Development Division. Report of the National Workshop on the Girl Child. National Institute of Public Co-operation and Child Development, New Delhi, p.50.

themselves neglected, exploited and discriminated in childhood and therefore the today's neglected and exploited girl child will become the exploited mother of tomorrow[81]. Within the family environmental set up in some of the unfortunate and socially disadvantaged households, the arrival of a girl child handicaps the mother, as she is considered unlucky. As she grows up, in turn is handicapped and conditioned by the attitude of her own mother and family, perpetuating the vicious circle of gender discrimination[82].

Thus a life cycle approach throws light on the situation of girls in India from conception and birth, through early childhood into the school going years, adolescence and womanhood. It reveals that a very strong gender bias is entrenched in the cultural heritage of Indian society that idolizes sons, an obsession that cuts across all differences. Ritually and economically sons are considered desirable, essential to light funeral pyres of parents in order to release their souls from bondage of their bodies, to enable them to avoid hell, to ensure continuation of family name and also to provide economic support to parents in old age.

b. Nepal. In Nepal, 90% of population are Hindus. The birth of a girl child, unlike that of a son, is not an occasion for rejoicing. In fact, in all strata of Nepalese society, the birth of a daughter casts a shadow of gloom as she is considered a liability rather than an asset.

The parents mostly prefer to have sons largely due to religious and socio-economic beliefs. Sons are necessary to perform funeral rites of parents for the salvation of the latter's souls. Parents are entitled to take economic support from their sons in their old age. Social norms and values dictate that sons are normally

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[81] Fatima Vasanth (1991), "Prevailing Conditions of Girl Child" in James Arputharaj Williams (ed), Anatomy of Girl Child, Asian Youth Centre, Mylapore, Madras, p.74.

[82] UNICEF. Focus on the Girl Child, National Journalist Workshop jointly organized by UNICEF and National Media Centre, New Delhi, Oct. 1985, p.6.

responsible for the upkeep of their aged parents. Therefore, fertility and population data reveal that Nepal has the second highest index of preference for sons after India[83].

c. Pakistan. The status of a girl in Pakistan is governed by the socio-economic level as well as the number of female children in a family. The parents usually wish for a boy as the first child. However, once born, girls are also loved and cared with affection. But girls as they grow are subjected to gender bias.

The female children are expected to remain at home to tend siblings and help mothers in household chores (average size of household in Pakistan being 6.7). As a result, apparently for girls socialization outside the family is utterly limited. As a result, girl child develops a poor self -image, lack of confidence and security and this situation perpetuates vicious circle of gender-bias from generation to generation[84].

d. Bhutan. In Bhutan, people generally do not discriminate between male and female children. The birth of a daughter is as welcome as that of a son. This could be so, because majorities of the Bhutanese are Buddists. However, in Southern Bhutan where Hinduism is the predominant religion, the people feel that a son is important to carry out the family tradition and religious duties.

However, Bhutan follows a matriarchal system and the girl plays an important role in the family. She is a big support to her parents. After adolescence, she takes part in all household matters on par with the male members of the family. The caring of the aged parents and aged grand parents is also entrusted to the daughter. Even after marriage, her duty towards her parents and family remains extended[85].

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[83] Nepal Country Paper – SAARC Workshop on Girl Child, Sept. 1988, New Delhi.

[84] Pakistan Country Paper – SAARC Workshop on Girl Child, Sept. 1988, New Delhi.

[85] Bhutan Country Paper - SAARC Workshop on Girl Child, Setp. 1988, New Delhi.

1.3.2 Girl Child – Education

a. India. Female literacy is one of the most sensitive indices of social development. The education of a girl is a worthy objective in itself and needs no further justification. Some of the beneficial consequences of education to girls include lower fertility rates, low infant mortality rates, lower population growth rates, higher age of marriage, higher life expectancy and greater participation of women in different sectors of economy[86].

But, the conscious and unconscious neglect of the girl child in education has resulted in an irreparable damage to the nation. The worst sufferers are the women and girls of marginalised groups i.e., the rural and the urban poor, the deprived castes, tribes and other minorities.

The male and female literacy rates were 64.13 and 39.29 respectively in 1991. That is 60.8% of the female population within the age range of 7 years and above was illiterate. In the age group 15-35 years, there were hundred million illiterates of whom 69% were females. For every 100 boys enrolled in school, only 55 girls were enrolled. Of the total enrolled children not attending school, three fourths were girls. Further, of the enrolled girls, only two out of every ten girls were able to complete elementary education[87]. The main cause for the low enrolment and a high dropout rate among girl children is the domestic role forced upon them. Many girls do not go to school, as they have to look after the siblings at home besides shouldering the burden of household chores.

Table 1.6 furnishes data on girls' education in India as per 1992 and 1993 statistics. It can be noted from the table that many girls aged between 6 and 14 years were not attending schools in the selected states of India. The highest rate of girls

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[86] Deepa Grover (1994)., "No Lessons for Life" in Glimpses of Girlhood in India, op.cit., p.4.

[87] Usha Nayar (1987), "Education and the Girl Child in India" in Women Development Division.,op.cit., p.41.

(62%) not attending school was recorded in Bihar followed by Rajastan with 59%. Kerala recorded as low as 5% of girls in the age group of 6-14 not attending school in 1992-93. Kerala has got the unique distinction of attaining total adult literacy among all Indian States. On an average the percentage of girls not attending school in India in the age group of 6-14 was 41.

Table 1.6

Proportion of Girls (6-14 years) Not Attending School in Selected States of India in 1992-93

Sl.No.	State	Percent
1.	Kerala	5
2.	Himachal Pradesh	12
3.	Tamil Nadu	22
4.	Karnatak	36
5.	West Bengal	37
6.	Andhra Pradesh	45
7.	Madhya Pradesh	45
8.	Uttar Pradesh	52
9.	Rajashatan	59
10.	Bihar	62
Total	**India**	**41**

Source : National Family Health Survey 1992-93. Taken from "The Progress of Indian States – 1995" UNICEF p.46.

Likewise, Table 1.7 presents the data on the enrolment ratios of children in primary and secondary schools in India in different years. It can be noted from the table that primary school enrolment ratios had increased considerably over the years as compared to the secondary school enrolment ratios. The ratio of girls enrolled in primary schools in 1975 was 62 and in 1993, it was 93, whereas the ratio of girls enrolled in secondary school in 1975 was only 16, and in 1990, it has increased to 32. Similarly Table 1.8 shows literacy rates in India in different census years. From table it may be noted that female literacy increased from less than 10% in 1951 to around 55% in 2001. That is, about 45% of female population still remained illiterate in India over a period of 50 years.

Table 1.7

Enrolment Ratios in Primary and Secondary Schools in India

Sl. No.	Level of Education	1975	1980	1985	1990	1993	1997
1.	Primary School Enrolment Ratio	79.0	83.0	96.0	98.0	106.0	--
2.	Primary School Enrolment Ratio for Girls.	62.0	67.0	80.0	84.0	93.0	--
3.	Secondary School Enrolment Ratio	26.0	32.0	38.0	44.0	-	--
4.	Secondary School Enrolment Ratio for Girls	16.0	22.0	26.0	32.0	-	--
5.	Net Primary Enrolment Ratio	--	--	--	--	--	83 (M) 71 (F)

Source: 1. World Tables 1995, World Bank, London, p.352.
2. World Development Indicators, 2000, p.14-63

Table1.8

Literacy Rate in India

Year	Male	Female	Total
1951	27.2	8.8	18.3
1961	40.4	15.3	28.3
1971	45.4	21.9	34.4
1981	56.4	29.7	43.5
1991	64.1	39.3	52.2
2001*	75.85	54.16	65.38

Source: Economic Survey 1997-98 Govt.of India p.S-1

* Census of India 2001. Series 1. Provisional Population Tables. Paper 1 of 2001.

b. Nepal. Until the 1950's, education of girls in Nepal was considered neither necessary nor desirable. Over the years, the perceptions about the education of girls have changed for the better. Yet, in most cases, parents' response to the efforts of His Majesty's Government (HMG) to promote girls education has been lukewarm. Since a male child is seen as a source of economic support in old age, parents like to bear

the cost of sending a male child to school rather than a girl. When parents do send their daughters to school, very soon they often withdraw them from school to attend household duties. Available data on school enrolment bear testimony to these facts.

Table 1.9

Enrolment Ratios in Primary and Secondary School Level in Nepal

Sl.No.	Level of Education	1975	1980	1985	1991	1997
1.	Primary School Enrolment Ratio	51.0	88.0	82.0	99.0	--
2.	Primary School Enrolment Ratio for Girls	16.0	52.0	51.0	77.0	--
3.	Secondary School Enrolment Ratio	13.0	22.0	26.0	35.8	--
4.	Secondary School Enrolment Ratio for Girls	4.0	9.0	12.0	22.7	--
5.	Net Primary Enrolment Ratio	--	--	--	--	93 (M) 63 (F)

Source: 1. World Tables 1995, World Bank, London p.492.
2. World Development Indicators, 2000, p.14-63.

As can be seen from Table 1.9, though the ratio of enrolment of girls in schools witnessed a rise over the years from 1975 to 1991, there was a steep fall from primary school level to secondary school level. For instance, in 1991, the school enrolment ratio of girls has fallen down from 77 percent in primary level to 22.7% in secondary school level. The net primary enrolment ratio for boys was 93 as against 63 percent of girls in 1997. These figures reveal that not only enrolment ratio of girls was less, but also they were more likely to be withdrawn from school to attend household duties.

In Nepal, access of the poor people to education is hindered because of their poverty and inability to pay the direct cost of education, to bear the indirect costs of labour for their own work. Further, most of them live in areas where there are no schools. In addition, in these families children's labour time is a significant source of family income. Therefore, labour force participation rates are higher among 10-14 year olds than for the labour force as a whole. These children also share a large proportion of domestic labour, tending livestock, caring for siblings, cooking and

carrying water and fuel, allowing elder family members to engage in essential off-farm employment. If the position of male children is bad, that of the female children is much worse as girls are engaged almost full-time in such pursuits and thus withdrawn from schools once and for all[88].

c. Pakistan. According to 1981 census, the overall rate of literacy in Pakistan was 27%. The male literacy rate was 35% while the female literacy rate was as low as 16%. Table 1.10 revealed that during the period 1975-1990, the enrolment ratio of girls in primary level was slightly increased from 28% to 31% and in secondary level, it increased from 7% to 13%. The decline in enrolment ratio of children as they reached from primary to secondary level of schooling indicated the fact that parents tend to withdraw children with the increase in the level of education.

Table 1.10

Enrolment Ratios in Primary and Secondary School level in Pakistan (1975-1990)

Sl.No.	Level of Education	1975	1980	1985	1990
1.	Primary School Enrolment Ratio	46.0	39.0	45.0	46.0
2.	Primary School Enrolment Ratio for Girls	28.0	27.0	31.0	31.0
3.	Secondary School Enrolment Ratio	15.0	14.0	18.0	21.0
4.	Secondary School Enrolment Ratio for Girls	7.0	8.0	10.0	13.0

Source: World Tables 1995, World Bank, London, p.524.

Parents in Pakistan do not consider education for girls as essential. Availability of schools in the vicinity of every habitation in rural areas is also inadequate. Therefore one of the objectives in the Seventh Five Year plan (1988-93) was to provide primary school facilities to every child within a radius of 1.5KM so that no

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[88] World Bank, Poverty and Income, Nepal, A World Bank country study, Washington 1991, p.80.

child is deprived of basic education due to non-availability of a school at a reachable distance.

d. Bhutan. Until the early 1960's, practically no formal schooling existed in Bhutan except for the teaching of religion and classical *Dzongkha* in religious schools, in monasteries and *Dzongs.*[89] Most Bhutanese practice the State religion, *Mahayana Buddism,* a reformed version of Tibetan *Buddism.* About 25% of all Bhutanese are Hindus. Unfortunately, schools in Bhutan are as widely scattered as its villages and only 21% of the school-aged children attend schools[90].

Fortunately, modernization has brought about certain changes in the education system in Bhutan. After 1961, enrolments in State primary and secondary schools began to rise as a result of increased investment in education. Education was not compulsory but it was free for both sexes. As can be noted from Table 1.11, the ratio

Table 1.11

Enrolment Ratios in Primary and Secondary schools in Bhutan (1976-1988)

Sl.No	Level of Education	1976	1979	1985	1988
1.	Primary School Enrolment Ratio.	9.0	11.0	27.0	25.0
2.	Primary School Enrolment for Ratio Girls	5.0	7.0	19.0	19.0
3.	Secondary School Enrolment Ratio	1.0	1.0	4.0	5.0
4.	Secondary School Enrolment Ratio for Girls	-	1.0	1.0	2.0

Source: World Tables 1995. World Bank. London. p.156.

of enrolment of girls at the primary school level in 1988 was 19 and it came down drastically to 2 at the secondary school level. The higher rate of female dropout was

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[89] World Bank, Bhutan Development in a Himalayan Kingdom, A World Bank Country Study 1984, p.84.

[90] Lands and Peoples, Vol. 2, Grolier incorporated, Danbury, Conn (1993), USA.

mostly due to the service role played by the girls in the family. If a girl fails in school, her parents did not insist on her continuation of education as her service role in the family was far more demanding. Due to manpower shortage in Bhutan, a girl's contribution in the household and farm work was more than welcome. Therefore, the education for girl child was restricted to the minimum level on account of her much desired service role in the household chores.

e. **Sri Lanka.** In Sri Lanka, girls and boys have had equal access to education since introduction of free education from the Kindergarten to the University level, in 1945. Social demands rather than legislation has led to the reduction of gender disparities in education. In Sri Lanka 96.5% of the schools were co-educational and socio-cultural barriers to educational opportunity had been minimal. The girls have been equal beneficiaries along with boys, of social policies and the parental attitude to girls' education was favourable. Table 1.12 confirms the facts that Sri Lanka recorded

Table 1.12

Enrolment Ratios in Primary and Secondary school level in Sri Lanka(1975-1997).

Sl. No.	Level of Education	1975	1980	1985	1990	1997
1.	Primary School Enrolment Ratio	77.0	103.0	103.0	107.0	--
2.	Primary School Enrolment Ratio for girls	74.0	100.0	101.0	105.0	--
3.	Secondary School Enrolment Ratio	48.0	55.0	63.0	74.0	--
4.	Secondary School Enrolment Ratio for girls	49.0	57.0	66.0	77.0	--
5.	Net Primary Enrolment Ratio	--	--	--	--	100 (M) 100 (F)

Source: 1. World Tables 1995, World Bank, London, p.612.
2. World Development Indicators, 2000, p.14-63.

a high enrolment ratio for children that had ever been recorded in any other SAARC country. However, the enrolment ratio for children has showed a declining trend with increase in educational level at any given point of time. Micro-level studies of Sri Lanka revealed that incidence of dropping out is high in pockets of urban slums, remote villages and new settlements. It was found that 19.3% of 6-8 years age group and 9.8% of 9-14 years age group had never been to school. The opportunity cost of education precludes children from poor families from enrolling in the formal school system in Sri Lanka.

f. Bangladesh. Bangladesh has no specific law that requires children to go to school[91]. In the SAARC year of girl child 1990, the country announced free and compulsory education upto Grade 5, with a special focus on girl child[92]. Gender disparities in Bangladesh are very much apparent and girls suffer from less enrolment and high dropout rates from schools. As can be noted from Table 1.13, enrolment ratio

Table 1.13

Enrolment Ratios in Primary and Secondary Schools in Bangladesh

Sl.No.	Level of Education	1975	1980	1985	1990	1997
1.	Primary School Enrolment Ratio	73.0	62.0	60.0	77.0	--
2.	Primary School Enrolment Ratio for Girls	51.0	46.0	50.0	71.0	--
3.	Secondary School Enrolment Ratio	26.0	18.0	18.0	19.0	--
4.	Secondary School Enrolment Ratio for Girls	11.0	9.0	10.0	12.0	--
5.	Net Primary Enrolement Ratio					80 (M) 70 (F)

Source: 1. World Tables 1995, World Bank, London, p.132
2. World Development Indicators, 2000.

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[91] Lands and Peoples, Vol. 2, Grolier incorporated, Danbury, Conn, (1993), USA.

[92] UNICEF "Bangladesh Status Update" in Strategy Meeting, SAARC Year of the Girl Child, Islamabad, 28-30, Jan. 1990, p-11.

for girls in primary school level increased from 51 in 1975 to 71 in 1990. However, during the same period, the enrolment ratio in secondary school level increased only nominally i.e., from 11 to 12. The decline in enrolment ratio of girls from primary to secondary in 1991 reflects their high dropout ratio from schools.

1.3.3 Girl Child – Health and Nutrition

a. **India.** In understanding malnutrition, the emphasis is laid on health care, acquiring knowledge on child caring and safety of the environment. Nutrition and healthy growth are the outcome of three essential factors, namely accessibility to food in the home, both preventive and curative health care, and child caring practices.

Ironically, it was found that the most pernicious and callous attitude regarding girls is discrimination in the field of nutrition and health care also[93]. Male members of the family are given priority where quality and quantity of food are concerned. The girl child is taught to be satisfied with whatever she receives. The situation is the same even when the sole breadwinner of the family is a woman.

It was rightly noted that quite often the root cause of malnutrition among girls is not so much the lack of food as the lack of access to food. Because of undernourishment and the resultant poor physical constitution, girls are more likely to contract infections and be slower to recover in the case of illness. This combined with lack of medical attention, during the vulnerable years of childhood, accounts for the considerably higher morbidity and mortality among girls[94]. Excess female mortality in childhood is a grave indictment of the cultural norms and perceptions that defeat the biological head start with which the female is naturally endowed.

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[93] Indu Capoor (1987), "Nutrition and Health Discrimination Against Girls from 0-20 years of age" in Women Development Division, op.cit., p.70.

[94] Government of India Country Report, "Lesser Fare – Lesser Care" in SAARC Year of the Girl Child, The Girl Child in India, 1990, p.5.

Table 1.14 furnished data on life expectancy at birth in India. Due to increased medical facilities and health care drive taken up as part of modernization, life expectancy at birth registered an increasing trend. It was also found that female life expectancy was higher than male life expectancy since 1991. As per the table 1.15, in 1999 female life expectancy was 64 as against male life expectancy of 62. During the period 1970 and 1992, infant mortality rate per 1000 live births showed a steep fall from 137 to 82, which is a welcome feature in a country like India.

Table 1.14

Gender-Wise Life Expectancy at Birth in India

Year	Male	Female	Total
1951	32.4	31.7	32.2
1961	41.9	40.6	41.3
1971	46.4	44.7	45.6
1981	50.9	50.0	50.4
1991	58.6	59.0	58.7
1993	60.4	61.2	60.8

Source : Economic Survey 1997-98. Govt. of India p.S-5.

b. Nepal. Despite considerable improvement in public health services over the years, Nepal continues to be one of the high infant mortality rate countries in South Asia. The high death rate among children is due to poverty, ignorance, nutritional deficiencies, and inadequate health services.

Around 40% of infant deaths in Nepal occur in the first week of life. More girls than boys die despite the fact that females are the stronger of the species. Among those who survive, it is the females who are nutritionally worse off than males. High female infant mortality rates are the consequence of low socio-economic status of girls in society. As can be noted from Table 1.15, the life expectancy at birth in Nepal was 58 years in 1999, which is the lowest among all SAARC countries. Likewise the Infant mortality rate is 75 for 1000 live births in 1999, the second highest only after Pakistan.

C. Pakistan. Until the beginning of the Sixth Five-Year plan (1982-83), there was scarcity of health services in Pakistan. Newborn children were victims to communicable diseases and malnutrition. Due to emphasis on preventive care by immunization of children against communicable diseases during Sixth Plan (1982-83 to 1987-88), marked improvement in medical care, reduction in infant mortality from 98.5 to 80.0 per thousand was recorded. Nevertheless, against a target of 1.25 million, malnutrition was checked only in 0.3 million cases which among other things may be due to eating habits, vulnerability to disease and inadequate distribution of food in poverty stricken families. The girl children suffered from discrimination in distribution of nutritious diet in families of low socio-economic levels.

d. Sri Lanka. Health indicators such as infant mortality rate, maternity mortality rate and expectation of life at birth reflect the high priority given to the health services in Sri Lanka. Gender discrimination in health care was not so apparent in Sri Lanka as in other SAARC nations. Girls were given equal share in health care services on par with boys. Table 1.15 reveals that life expectancy at birth increased from 66.7 to 72.1 years during 1977 and 1993. Child Mortality had declined over the years from 44 to 17.4 per 1000 live births. Life expectancy of 72.1 years in Sri Lanka was the highest among all other SAARC countries, in 1993.

e. Bangladesh. Health indicators in Bangladesh reflect its poor handling of health sector which among other things may be due to inadequate food supply, inadequacy of health care centres, unsatisfactory sanitation facilities, lack of safe drinking water, unequal accessibility to basic needs, widespread communicable diseases and malnutrition. Bangladesh is one of the poorest countries in the world in terms of malnourished children. Table 1.15 reveals that Bangladesh is the poorest among the SAARC countries in so far as health indicators are concerned. Life expectancy at birth is 56.1 years and infant mortality rate is 105.6 per 1000 live births in 1993.

Table 1.15
Health Indicators in South Asian Countries

Name of the Country	1970	1977	1982	1987	1992	1993	1995	1993	1999
India									
1. Infant mortality rate per 1000 live births	137	129	106	93	82	80	68	70	--
2. Under 5 mortality rate per 1000 live births	--	--	--	--	--	--	95	83	90
3. Child mal-Nutrition (% under weight)	--	71	--	--	63	--	--	--	--
4. life expectancy at birth	--	52.9	55.4	57.8	60.3	60.8	62 (M) 63 (F)	--	62 (M) 64 (F)
Nepal									
1. Infant mortality rate per 1000 live births	166	138	122	110	99	96.4	91	77	75
2. Under 5 mortality rate per 1000 live births	--	--	--	--	--	--	131	107	109
3. Child mal-Nutrition (% under weight)	--	69.6	--	--	50	--	--	--	--
4. life expectancy at birth	43 (M) 42 (F)	45.8	48.3	50.9	53.5	54.1	57 (M) 56 (F)	--	58 (M) 58 (F)
Pakistan									
1. Infant mortality rate per 1000 live births	142	130	120	105	91	87.6	90	91	90
2. Under 5 mortality rate per 1000 live births	--	--	--	--	--	--	127	120	126
3. Child mal Nutrition (% under weight)	--	54.7	--	48.8	--	--	--	--	--
4. life expectancy at birth	50 (M) 49 (F)	53.4	56.2	59.1	61.6	62.1	62 (M) 64 (F)	--	62 (M) 64 (F)
Sri Lanka									
1. Infant mortality rate per 1000 live births	53	44	35	24	18	17.4	16	16	15
2. Under 5 mortality rate per 1000 live births	--	--	--	--	--	--	19	18	19
3. Child mal-Nutrition (% under weight)	--	58.3	47.5	36.6	--	--	--	--	--
4. life expectancy at birth	64 (M) 66 (F)	66.7	69.2	70.7	71.9	72.1	70 (M) 75 (F)	--	71 (M) 76 (F)
Bangladesh									
1. Infant mortality rate per 1000 live births	140	137	128	119	108	105.6	79	73	61
2. Under 5 mortality rate per 1000 live births	--	--	--	--	--	--	115	96	89
3. Child mal-Nutrition (% under weight)	--	84.4	70.1	66.5	--	68.0	--	--	--
4. life expectancy at birth	45 (M) 43 (F)	46.6	49.7	52.8	55.6	56.1	57 (M) 58 (F)	--	58 (M) 65 (F)
Maldives									
1. Infant mortality rate per 1000 live births	127	106	94	82	60	57.5	52	--	--
2. Under 5 mortality rate per 1000 live births	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3. Child mal-Nutrition (% under weight)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4. life expectancy at birth	51 (M) 49 (F)	54	57.1	59.6	62.1	62.6	64 (M) 63 (F)	--	--
Bhutan	Not available								

Source : 1. World Table . 1995. World Bank – London
2. World Development Indicators – 1997 and 2000

1.3.4 Girl Child-Work Force

a. India. Despite the promulgation of the child labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act in 1986, children, and specially girls continue to be involved in arduous and non-remunerative occupations. As already mentioned earlier, work of girls is usually invisible because it is mostly located in the domestic sphere and household tasks making quantification and monetary valuation impossible.

According to the 1991 census, there are 209 million children in India constituting 25.04% of the total population of the country. Nearly 75.9% of child population is in the rural areas and the rest in the urban areas. The share of girls in the child population is 47.9%. Approximately 9.1 million children were notified as main workers (involved in full time economic activities) and 2.2 million as marginal workers (not working as full timers). Further, Table 1.16 shows the percentage of

Table 1.16

Percentage of Indian Children in Work-force in 1991

(Child Workers / Total Workers)

Workers	Boys	Girls	Total
Main workers	2.6	5.3	3.2
Rural	3.0	5.7	3.7
Urban	1.3	3.0	1.5
Marginal workers	19.5	6.6	7.8
Rural	21.5	6.7	8.0
Urban	7.5	4.5	5.3

Source: 1. Census of India 1991 series 1-India, part III B.Series Economic Tables volume-1, part A&B.
2. Census of India – 1981 Series 1 – India. General Economic Tables (B.1 to B.5).

children in the age group of 5-14 years in the work force according to 1991 census. As per this table, 5.3% of girls under 14 years of age were main workers and 6.6% were marginal workers. The corresponding percentages for boys were 2.6 and 19.5 respectively. This indicates that while the larger proportion of girls were involved in

full-time economic activity, a larger proportion of boys were marginal workers. This is partly because boys go to school for at least some hours during the daytime.

Likewise, Table 1.17 presents the details of work participation rates of child workers in the years 1981 and 1991. A comparison of the work participation during the decade shows that between 1981 and 1991, there was an increase in the work participation rate of girls in rural and urban areas, but in the case of boys, it decreased in rural areas, and increased in urban areas. However, as a whole, the work participation of boys decreased from 5.5% to 5.2% between 1981 and 1991, while there was an increase in the work participation rate of girls during the same period, from 3.0% to 3.4%. This trend may be attributed to the different attitudes of parents in sending girls to work and boys to school.

Table 1.17

Work Participation Rates by Child Workers (Main)

(Child Workers / Child population) 1981 – 1991

Region	Boys		Girls	
	1981	1991	1981	1991
Total	5.5	5.2	3.0	3.4
Rural	6.3	6.0	3.5	4.2
Urban	2.5	2.7	0.9	1.0

Source: 1. Census of India 1991 series 1-India, part III B.Series Economic Tables volume-1, part A&B.
2. Census of India – 1981 Series 1 – India. General Economic Tables (B.1 to B.5).

b. Nepal. Nepal has a 'bottom heavy' population structure as more than 40% of its population are under 15 years of age. In 1981, of the total 15 million population, 41.4% (i.e., 6.2 million) were in the 0-14 age group. In the total population, female children accounted for 19.8% and the male children for 21.5%, in 1981. And 94% of Nepal's children live in rural areas. In Nepal, a mere 7% of the total population lives in urban areas.

Children working along with their parents are a common feature of the Nepalese rural landscape. They are seen working from dawn to dusk, particularly during the peak seasons of sowing and harvesting. It is now recognised that girls bear a heavier work burden, as they are more involved in household activities than boys. A majority of the economically active females (90%) are self-employed and about 4% work as unpaid family workers.

Except in the field of education, girl children are not specially targeted in the child-related development programmes. In fact, the latter itself is a recent phenomenon. Until recently, planners assumed that the benefits of development would automatically trickle down to children. In 1985, however, His Majesty's Government (HMG) for the first time, recognised children as a special target group for development and announced a national policy for development of children.

c. Sri Lanka. In Sri Lanka, according to 1981 census, 5.6% of male children and 2.4% of female children between 10 and 14 years of age were economically active. The labour force statistics, of course, exclude a large number of children employed in the urban and rural informal sector. Children in this sector were found working for long hours in fields, in markets, fairs and pavements in petty trade and in domestic services in households where they are often subjected to physical violence. Largely, their involvement in economic activities is a strategy for family survival. There is no legislation to protect them and thus they are deprived of access to education and vocational training and, therefore, to opportunities for upward mobility.

Sri Lanka's official statistics indicate that there are gender differences in relation to the access to employment. Girls stay in schools while boys leave early and have easier access to employment. When girls finally seek employment, they have a narrow range of employable skills as a result of gender imbalances in vocational training. Further, the demarcation of the labour market into masculine and feminine jobs limit the demand for female labour in technical employment. Opportunities for girls, therefore, are restricted to occupations such as labour in plantations and

agriculture, office and shop-related work and impoverished rural industries, which mostly struggle for survival in the open economy.

Thus, the analysis of the status of Girl Child in South Asian Countries revealed that many countries, except Sri Lanka to some extent, have strong preference for male child and invariably practice discrimination against the girl child. Though Bhutan follows a matriarchal family system and girl child takes part actively in the decision-making of the household on par with male children, parents do prefer education for male children and withdraw girls from school to involve them in farm work and household chores. Even in Sri Lanka where health indicators and enrolment ratios in schools, stand testimony of the country's efforts in achieving impressive standards in the lives of its citizens, providing equal opportunities to children in the field of employment opportunities have not been impressive without gender bias.

On the whole, in many of the SAARC countries girls in urban slums, new settlements and remote villages become victims of discrimination in the fields of education, health care and labour market.

1.4 The Present Study

In view of the above discussion, it is observed that across different social strata, the degree may vary, but the neglect of girl child and discrimination go hand in hand. It is a multi-tiered issue, existing at different levels, in rural and urban areas, inside and outside houses, during different stages in the girl child's life in different sets of circumstances and environments.

Certain official censuses report that girls work far less than boys. A majority of girls, whatever else they may be doing, work for 4 to 16 hours daily at home, invisible, isolated, unremunerated and unrecognized. One reason is that girls assist parents in home-based activities as well as relieve parents to take up paid jobs outside. Official accounts focus only on the adult women and for them, the girl child is invisible. This stems from the fact that women did not consider the work they did at home as labour. Their self-perception was linked to the perception of the out side

world. When women's work was unrecognised, it is not surprising that the work done by girls was not seen as work at all.

The need of the hour is therefore to make girl child visible and ensure her access to education and healthy socialisation. For this, the utmost priority must be given to make provisions for compulsory primary education, vocational training, improvement of socio-economic condition of the families where children are forced to work. Any attempt to evolve such measures needs several detailed empirical studies on the problem, for it has different dimensions which differ from one society to another, one region to another and from one time to another. The present study is an empirical survey in that direction. It made an attempt to analyse the socio-economic background of child labour households, nature of work, working conditions, wage particulars of the children in various occupations of urban informal sector.

1.4.1 Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of the present study are;

i. To analyse the magnitude, nature and composition of child labour in India in general and in Andhra Pradesh in particular,

ii. To analyse the socio-economic background of the child labour households.

iii. To study the employment and working conditions of child labour and girl child workers so as to identify the areas of exploitation and

iv. To analyse the earnings of child workers and their contribution in mitigating household poverty.

1.4.2 Methodology

The methodology adopted for the purpose of this study is detailed below.

a. Sources of Data. The study is based on both primary and secondary data. For inter-country comparison, for providing a national level picture of the problem, for the analysis of the situation in Andhra Pradesh, secondary sources like census and NSS reports, ILO and UNICEF publications are used. The thrust of the study, however, is

on primary data collected from a sample survey. The sample survey focuses on the child labour in general and the girl child worker in particular, in relation to the economic activities they perform for their families, using Hyderabad as the universe. The children between the age of 6 to 14 years working either for some employer or self-employed are considered for the study. Since children working in unskilled activities or informal sector are largely seen living in nearby *bastis* (i.e., localities) or slums, it was decided to study slums for investigating the problem. There are altogether 811 notified slums in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, covering a population of 12 lakhs. This constitutes 35 percent of city's total population as per 1991 census.

The Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad (MCH) has been pursuing a programme called Hyderabad Slum Improvement Project with the financial assistance of Overseas Development Administration (ODA), United Kingdom (UK). Under this project, the MCH had undertaken the development of slums in a phased manner. It took up 300 slums for the improvement in its III phase during the period from 1991 to 1996. Subsequently it dropped 28 slums from the list and took up a total of 272 slums for the implementation of various programmes under civic infrastructure, community development, and health sector with an active involvement of voluntary organisations, neighbourhood committees and women groups. The present study drew its sample from a list of 272 slums for which lists of households are available.

b. Sample Design. The sample design involved a two-stage random sampling with a purposive element. The first stage involved drawing 25 sample slums from seven Municipal Circles covering Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Two or more slums were selected randomly from each circle depending upon the total number of slums taken up by the ODA project. In the second stage, the sample households from the 25 selected slums were drawn at random but with a purposive cause viz. that the household should have at-least one child worker. When the randomly selected household does not have a child worker the sample was moved to the next or the following listed household which had a working child . In the 25 sample slums there are altogether 3883 households, as identified by MCH-ODA in its III phase for the

improvement of slums. The study drew 300 households with a purposive sample starting from the child workers in the area. The details of sample selection of slums and households are presented in Table 1.18.

C. Statistical Tools applied. Both quantitative and qualitative techniques were used to collect, organise, summarise, analyse and interpret the data for drawing relevant results. As the study relates to the problem of child labour and working conditions at work sites in the informal sector, certain qualitative techniques like direct observation of the work process at various work sites, informal discussions with work contractors as well as child workers and parents were adopted to obtain in-depth insight into the problem. The quantitative techniques like frequency distribution of data, simple averages, multiplications, ratio analysis were applied for the tabulation of data.

1.4.3 Limitations of the Study

The study has of course, certain limitations, which are peculiar to a sample research belonging to the household survey. The sample design of slums and households was based on random sampling selection method. Since the main thrust is on child labour, the households that had child workers were surveyed without adopting any technical method of sampling. Since the fieldwork was conducted from July 1999 to December 1999, the analysis is also subject to all limitations of time.

An important limitation lies in the inherent weakness of the data supplied by households with regard to income sources of the family. The people running petty stalls like pan shops, hair-cutting saloons, *kirana* (the provision) stores, cobblers, vendors and hawkers and other self-employed units did not maintain any records and therefore data collected on their net income has been purely based on estimates given by them.

Another limitation is non co-operation and reluctance of the sample respondents to give replies to the questions properly. Wherever they answered, some of them were quite vague and did not answer to the point. Though efforts were made

Table 1.18

Sample Structure

Hyderabad Municipal Circles	1st Stage: Slums		2nd Stage: Households	
	Number of Slums *	Number of Sample Slums	Total No. of Households in sample slums **	Number of Sample Households
1.	67	5	908	60
2.	44	4	648	49
3.	43	4	790	54
4.	59	4	506	44
5.	25	3	496	41
6.	12	2	242	23
7.	22	3	293	29
Total:	**272**	**25**	**3883**	**300**

* These slums are identified for improvement by Hyderabad Slum Improvement Project in its III phase with the financial assistance of ODA-UK.

** These are the total number of households (in 25 sample slums) as estimated by MCH in its III phase for the improvement of slums.

to counter check these responses with those of others, there were still possibility of variations in opinions and biases as reflected in the answers. Another limitation was that for the analysis of girl child in South Asian Region, the countries for which data is available were taken for the purpose.

1.4.4 Chapterization

The study is organised into six chapters. The first chapter provides an over-all view to the study by examining the present state of research in the review of literature on child labour. It also attempts to bring out a comparative analysis about the status of girl child in South Asian countries and presents the objectives and methodology of the thesis. The second chapter comprises of the analysis of work participation by children between 6 and 14 years of age and their educational background. Based on the Census data, the analysis and interpretations are presented in respect of the composition of child labour in various industrial activities in India and in Andhra Pradesh. The results of the sample survey are presented in three chapters from three to five. The third chapter focuses on the general characteristics of child labour households in terms of family size, working members, education, parental occupations and monthly incomes. The fourth chapter deals with employment particulars, working conditions and wage rates of child labour. To obtain further qualitative dimensions of the problem of child labour, an attempt is made to present profiles of some girl child workers as part of this chapter. The fifth chapter presents the wage structure, monthly incomes of child labour, share of childrens' contribution to household income, poverty line and the extent of poverty. It also examines the household poverty in relation to childrens' contribution. The sixth chapter presents the summary and conclusions. On the basis of the findings, some suggestions have been made for taking necessary steps to alleviate the problem of child labour and particularly the girl child worker.

1.4.5 The Concepts used in the study

a. **Households.** A household consists of a group of persons including relatives normally living together and taking food from a common kitchen. It includes all those persons who are temporarily away due to some reasons and excludes all those who are visiting temporarily as guests.

b. **Salaried Jobs.** Any person who works in an enterprise under the supervision of an employer for a salary on a monthly basis is considered as a salary jobholder. Though he/she does not get paid holidays as in the formal sector, he/she does take leave on emergency conditions and employers do permit them to avail such leave with pay.

c. **Petty Business.** Any person who operates a small enterprise of his/her own and works by independently as an individual is a petty businessperson. It relates to the trading activity where the businessperson sells goods and services to the people living in the locality. He/she may have members of the family working alongside in the business without any remuneration.

d. **Wage Labourer.** Any person who works under an employer for remuneration or wages on a daily basis is considered as a wage labourer. Mostly, in such type of employment, the wages are paid on a piece-rate basis.

e. **Self-employment.** Any person who is engaged in an occupation of his/her own and earns income by providing service to the people is a self-employed worker. In this occupation, production of goods or buying of goods wholesale, and selling in retail would not take place as in the petty business.

f. **Unpaid Family Worker.** Any person who works for family business or in household chores but does not receive any remuneration in return is considered as an unpaid family worker.

g. **Un-employed.** All persons of the age of 5 years and above who were not working during the reference period but were available for work are regarded as un-employed persons. They are involuntary unemployed persons.

h. **Non-workers.** All persons of the age of 5 years and above who were not working during the reference period because of their unwillingness to work are regarded as non-workers. They are voluntary unemployed persons.

CHAPTER 2

CHILD LABOUR- A STATISTICAL PROFILE

2.0 Introduction

The world population of working children has yet to be counted accurately, because as it is often illegal and clandestine, child labour lies beyond the reach of official labour statistics. It is therefore difficult to present an accurate estimate of the overall magnitude of child labour in India. As revealed in the preceding chapter, various agencies have estimated the magnitude of child labour in varying proportions on account of numerous limitations mainly the predominance of the informal nature of labour market, multiplicity of concepts and source of data etc. However, the official estimation of child labour relies on the census statistics. Therefore, to understand the extent and composition of child labour in general and economic participation of girl child in particular, the Census Data were used and findings of the analysis were presented in this chapter.

2.1 Child Labour in India: Inter-State Situation

With the increasing rate of industrialisation and modernisation, the incidence of child labour in India has increased considerably. The 1991 census of India identified 11.28 million children as workers. Over 9 million of them, were main workers (involved in full time activities) and 2.2 million were marginal workers (i.e., they were not working on a full time basis). They together constituted 5.4 percent of the total child population (5 to 14 Years of age) in India, recording an increase of 0.2 percent over the 1981 Census. While in the main workers, the girl's share was 37.6 percent, in the marginal workers they constituted as high as 76.1 percent.

According to the 1991 census, the total population of India was 838.56 millions in which child population of 5 to 14 years of age group was 25 percent (209.8 millions). The State-wise distribution of child workers (main) is presented in Table 2.1. Ranks were assigned to the States as per the percentage of child workers to total

Table 2.1

State-Wise Distribution of Child Workers in India 1991

S.No.	State	Percentage of Child Workers (main) to					
		Total Workers	Rank	Total Children	Rank	Total Population	Rank
1.	Andhra Pradesh	5.4	1	9.2	1	2.3	1
2.	Karnataka	4.7	2	7.4	2	1.8	2
3.	Meghalaya	4.3	3	6.6	3	1.7	3
4.	Madhya Pradesh	4.0	4	6.0	4	1.5	4
5.	Assam	3.7	5	4.3	9	1.2	6
6.	Rajasthan	3.5	6	4.1	11	1.1	7
7.	Sikkim	3.2	7	4.9	7	1.3	5
8.	Nagaland	3.1	8	5.2	6	1.3	5
9.	Orissa	3.1	8	4.2	10	1.0	8
10.	Bihar	3.1	8	3.4	14	0.9	9
11.	Arunachal Pradesh	3.0	9	5.3	5	1.3	5
12.	West Bengal	2.9	10	3.5	13	0.9	9
13.	Uttar Pradesh	2.8	11	3.1	15	0.8	10
14.	Maharashtra	2.6	12	4.3	9	1.0	8
15.	Gujarath	2.6	12	3.7	12	0.9	9
16.	Tamilnadu	2.3	13	4.4	8	0.9	9
17.	Punjab	2.2	14	2.8	17	0.6	12
18.	Mizoram	2.2	14	3.7	12	0.9	9
19.	Haryana	1.9	15	2.1	19	0.5	13
20.	Manipur	1.9	15	3.0	16	0.7	11
21.	Tripura	1.7	16	1.9	20	0.5	13
22.	Himachal Pradesh	1.7	16	2.5	18	0.6	12
23.	Goa	1.0	17	1.6	21	0.3	14
24.	Delhi	0.9	18	1.2	22	0.3	14
25.	Kerala	0.3	19	0.5	23	0.1	15
Union Territories							
1.	Dadrad Nagar Haveli	4.4	1	8.0	1	1.9	1
2.	Daman & Dig	2.3	2	3.1	2	0.7	2
3.	Pondichery	0.9	3	1.5	3	0.3	3
4.	Chandigarh	0.8	4	1.4	4	0.3	3
5.	Andaman & Nocobar Islands	0.8	4	1.1	5	0.3	3
6.	Lakshadeep	.01	5	0.1	6	0.03	4
India		3.2		4.3		1.1	

Source: Census of India 1991 Series 1 – India. Part-III-B.Series. Economic Tables Volume-1. Tables B-1(S), B-2(S), B-3(S), B-4(S), Part A&B. India, States and Union Territories. P.76-171.

workers, child population and total population. It can be noted from this table that Andhra Pradesh was ranked 1st among all the States including the Union Territories of India in the percentage of child workers in terms of . .. all the three variables viz., total workers, total children and total population. The incidence of child labour in Andhra Pradesh was so high that the difference in the percentages of child labour between A.P and the State with 2nd rank (i.e., Karnataka) was larger than the difference in the percentages of child labour between any other two States in India. The higher the incidence of child labour, more could be the illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and backwardness. Kerala, with its highest literacy rate in India, accounted for the lowest percentage of child labour in India. Kerala's percentages of child labour in total workers, total children and total population were 0.3, 0.5 and 0.1 respectively against 5.4, 9.2 and 2.3 of Andhra Pradesh.

Further, Table 2.2 presents the details of States and districts having the maximum and the minimum percentage shares of working children. From the table, it can be noted that among the major States, the share of India's working children varies from 14.7 percent in Andhra Pradesh to a mere 0.30 percent in Kerala. It means that one child worker for every 6.8 child workers in India, lives in Andhra Pradesh. The volume of working children within each State also varies from district to district. The proportion of working children in total workers in Andhra Pradesh across districts varies from 8.1 percent in Mahaboobnagar district to 1.7 percent in Hyderabad district. However, while child workers percentage in Mahaboobnagar district consists of both rural and urban children, Hyderabad has only urban children, as there is no rural area in this district.

2.2 Rural – Urban Differences of Child Labour in India

Majority of the child workers in India, i.e., about 90 percent were in the rural areas. During the census decade from 1981 to 1991, due to the expansion of urbanization there was a rise in the male child workers in the urban sector from 9.9 percent to 12.4 percent and a corresponding decrease in the rural sector from 90.1 percent to 87.6 percent (see Table 2.3). However, the percentage of girl child workers

Table 2.2

Intra – State and Inter-State Differences in the Incidence of Child Labour, 1991

Sl.No.	India/Biggest States	Maximum Value	Minimum Value
1.	India	Andhra Pradesh (14.7)	Kerala (0.30)
2.	Andhra Pradesh	Mahaboobnagar (8.1)	Hyderabad (1.7)
3.	Assam	Nagaon (8.7)	North Cochar Hills (0.4)
4.	Bihar	Saharsa (4.3)	Lohardaga (0.6)
5.	Gujarath	Panch Mahab (11.9)	Gandhinagar (0.3)
6.	Karnataka	Dharwad (9.8)	Kodagu (0.6)
7.	Kerala	Palakkad (16.9)	Pathanamthitta (2.1)
8.	Madhya Pradesh	Bastar (7.4)	Datia (0.4)
9.	Maharashtra	Nanded (6.5)	Sindudurg (0.5)
10.	Orissa	Korapur (20.2)	Baleshwar (3.3)
11.	Punjab	Amritsar (15.6)	Rupnagar (1.9)
12.	Rajasthan	Jaipur (6.9)	Jaisalmer (0.6)
13.	Tamil Nadu	Salem (9.3)	Kanniyakumari (0.8)
14.	Uttar Pradesh	Allahabad (3.9)	Uttarkashi (0.3)
15.	West Bengal	Medinipur (14.7)	Darjiling (1.5)

(Figures in brackets are percentage of children in work force).

Source: Census of India : "Working Children in India. An analysis of the 1991 Census Data". A study Report in the Analytical Study Report series on the 1991 Census Data, Registrar General, India, New Dehli, November,1998.

has not changed in the same proportion. A slight increase (0.7 percent) in the urban sector was recorded from 6.7 percent to 7.4 percent. Urbanization could not attract the girl workers from the countryside. Rather, the opportunities provided by the process of urbanization could not reach the orbit of rural girl workers. Due to the traditional conventions, superstitions, poverty, illiteracy, helping adults in the household chores, providing cheap labour in a variety of menial agricultural operations, the mobility of girl workers was restricted and they accounted for more than 92 percent in rural India.

Table 2.3

Region -Wise Distribution of Child Workers in India, 1981-1991

Region	1981 (%)			1991 (%)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Rural	90.1	93.3	91.1	87.6	92.6	89.5
Urban	9.9	6.7	8.9	12.4	7.4	10.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Census of India – 1991 op.cit., p.76 to 78.
Census of India – 1981 Series 1 – India. General Economic Tables (B.1 to B.5). p.134.

2.3 Occupational Distribution of Child Labour in India

The census data relating to this aspect are presented in Table 2.4. As per the table, over 82 percent of girls were engaged in agriculture directly, in 1991. Within agricultural sector, 52 percent were employed as agricultural labourers and about 30 percent were cultivators. During the decade of 1981 and 1991, there was not much change in the composition of girl child workers in the main industrial activities in India. Out of around 77 percent of male child workers in agricultural activities, about 38 percent were engaged as agricultural labourers and 39 percent were cultivators. Household industry, which comprises mainly the industries of *Beedi*-making, weaving, knitting, carpet making etc. generally engage the labour with a large component of female workers though their percentage in the total child workers was very limited i.e., 5.3 in 1981 and 4.6 in 1991. Yet the percentage of girl workers was two times (4.6) that of male child workers (2.1) in 1991. The activity of "other

workers" shown in the table include factory workers, plantation workers, those engaged in trade, commerce, business, mining, transport, construction and a variety of other services. While 1/5 of the total male child workers were engaged in this category of occupations, the corresponding proportion of girl workers was only 1/8 during the period. Even considering all workers including adults, it is found that more female workers are engaged in agricultural sector (about 78.8 percent against 60.7 percent of male workers) which relatively employs more illiterate people. Similarly, it is also found that more male workers are engaged in the category of other workers' (about 37.2 percent against 17.7 percent of female workers) which requires relatively skilled labour in 1991.

Table 2.4

Occupational Distribution of Child Workers in India, 1981-1991

Occupations	All Workers				Child Workers			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
Cultivator	43.7	39.9	33.2	34.6	39.0	37.9	29.1	30.9
Agricultural Labourers	19.6	20.8	46.2	44.2	37.7	39.5	52.9	51.9
Household Industries	3.2	2.1	4.6	3.5	3.2	2.1	5.3	4.6
Other * Workers	33.5	37.2	16.0	17.7	20.1	20.5	12.7	12.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Other Workers: Forestry, Plantation, Hunting, Mining, Trade, Transport, Construction and Services.

Source : Census of India. 1991.op.cit p.174 to 261
Census of India 1981 op.cit pp.238 to 24

2.4 Child Labour and Education

Fifty years after Independence, the slow progress of education particularly primary education in India is a matter of deep concern. In 1991, there were 10 million illiterate children in the age group of 5 to 14 years in the country (5.5 million boys and 4.5 million girls). While it was argued that government must be held

responsible for promoting school education to every child, it is essential that all sections of society have also to play a role, if this was to be made a reality.

The fundamental reason for promoting universal primary education was that education is of intrinsic value in itself and valued for what it can do (instrumental value). Jean Dreze and Amartyasen (1995)[1] provide a useful classification of the benefits of education. Education is desired for itself as it opens up a vast world of opportunities and ideas to the educated person. It is of great instrumental value in the process of economic growth and development. Education plays a critical role in demographic transition; female education in particular is seen to be important in the process of lowering fertility and mortality. There is a strong correlation between literacy and life expectancy.

A report[2] on basic education in India Stated that educational achievements in India were highly uneven. Literacy, for instance, was almost universal in urban Kerala while practically unknown among the Scheduled Caste women in Rajasthan. As per the report, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh were the worst performers. It was shocking to find that in as many as 72 districts in these four States, a majority of children in the 10-14 years of age group are illiterate.

Another notable pattern is that literacy rates are much lower for women than for men in most regions. In fact, India has one of the highest female-male gaps in literacy rates in the world. According to Human Development Report of 1998, only five countries have a higher gap than India viz., Bhutan, Syria, Togo, Malawi and Mozambique. Rajasthan alone has as large population as those in all these countries put together and no country in the world has a higher female-male literacy gap than Rajasthan[3].

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[1] Dreze.J and Amartya Sen (1995), "Economic Development and Social Opportunity" Oxford University Press, quoted in Kirit.S.Parikh (ed), India Development Report, 1999-2000, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, p.68.

[2] The Probe Team: Public Report on Basic Education in India, Centre for Development Economics, Oxford University Press New Delhi, 1999.

[3] Ibid.

2.5 Child Education Across the States in India

State-wise percentages of children of 5-14 years attending school as per the 1991 census are presented in Table 2.5. Figures in the table reveal that about 44.5 percent of rural children and 65.8 percent of urban children in India were attending school. The data on school attendance show variations across the States and between rural and urban areas within each State. With the exception of Kerala, attendance rates among girls were lower than among boys. In Kerala 85% of rural boys and girls, 87% of urban boys and girls in the age group of 5-14 years were attending school. It was the largest percentage ever recorded in any other State in India. Urban children in all the States, it appears, were more accessible to school compares to the rural children. The gender gap also tends to be wider in rural areas. In rural Rajasthan, for example, 48.2 percent of boys and 17.6 percent of girls were attending school. In general, attendance rates of girls were very low in the rural areas of Rajasthan, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. In Rajasthan, the attendance rate of girls touched the lowest bottom in rural areas with 17.6 percent as against the national average of 36.8 percent and it was the second lowest in urban areas (53.2 %) after Uttar Pradesh (46.4%) against 63.1 percent of the national average. In Andhra Pradesh, the percentage of children attending school was more or less equal to the national average except in the case of rural girls whose percentage (i.e., 34.3%) was less than the national average (i.e., 36.8%).

2.6 Child Labour in Andhra Pradesh

Andhra Pradesh is the 5th largest State in the country. The State is administratively divided into 23 districts which are under three geographical regions: Coastal Andhra (9 districts) Rayalseema (4 districts) and Telangana (10 districts). The population of Andhra Pradesh, according to 1991 census, was 66.51 million. This was nearly 8 percent of the total population of the country . There were 23.88 million children in the age group of 0-14 years in the State. About 30 percent of this population was in the age group of 0-4 years component of children was kept out

Table 2.5

Percentage of Children (5-14) Attending School in India, 1991

Sl. No.	State	Rural			Urban		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1.	Kerala	85.0	85.0	85.0	87.1	87.1	87.1
2.	Goa	82.5	78.3	80.4	83.4	80.1	81.2
3.	Himachal Pradesh	71.5	62.0	71.4	83.9	82.2	83.1
4.	Tamilnadu	71.5	62.0	66.9	77.1	74.5	75.8
5.	Punjab	63.2	55.5	59.6	69.5	68.0	68.8
6.	Maharashtra	65.4	53.1	59.5	75.1	71.8	73.5
7.	Sikkim	61.0	55.1	58.1	75.3	71.8	73.6
8.	Haryana	63.6	48.0	56.4	73.6	68.8	71.3
9.	Gujarath	60.9	46.8	54.1	67.6	62.6	65.2
10.	Mizoram	54.8	51.5	53.2	76.8	76.1	76.5
11.	Tripura	54.8	48.0	51.5	69.6	67.2	68.4
12.	Karnataka	58.0	44.2	51.2	71.3	67.3	69.3
13.	Manipur	51.5	45.8	48.7	61.4	58.6	60.0
14.	Nagaland	50.0	46.4	48.3	66.8	65.6	66.2
15.	Orissa	55.1	40.4	47.8	69.1	61.8	65.6
16.	Assam	48.0	41.2	44.7	68.4	65.1	66.8
17.	Andhra Pradesh	51.2	34.3	43.0	69.3	63.2	66.3
18.	West Bengal	45.4	37.3	41.4	64.4	59.1	61.8
19.	Madhya Pradesh	51.1	30.6	41.2	70.1	63.0	66.7
20.	Aranachal Pradesh	43.4	33.0	38.4	63.7	57.9	61.0
21.	Uttar Pradesh	42.6	23.4	33.7	53.4	46.4	50.1
22.	Rajasthan	48.2	17.6	33.4	66.4	53.2	60.1
23.	Meghalaya	31.2	32.1	31.6	72.6	70.7	71.6
24.	Bihar	39.8	21.8	31.4	63.4	54.1	59.0
India		51.6	36.8	44.5	68.4	63.1	65.8

Source: Census of India 1991.series.1-Inda.part IV-A-C series.Socio-Cultural Tables-Volume-2.p.22-118

of the labour force. Thus, the child population in the age group of 5 to 14 years considered to be part of the labour force was 16.65 million. This was again nearly 8 percent of the total child population (of the age group of 5-14 years) of the country.

During the decade between 1981 and 1991, child population (5 to14 years) in the State of A.P increased from 14.14 million to 16.65 million. This increase has worked out to be 1.8 percent per annum. The total population during the period increased by 2.4 percent per annum. The child workers (main) in the State in 1981 and 1991 were 1,754,188 and 1,537,293 respectively. Thus there was a considerable decline in the number of child workers over the decade. This decline was 12.4 percent over the period, which worked out to 1.2 percent per annum. Yet, the magnitude of child labour in the State was significantly high. In 1991, about 9.2 percent of all the children in the State were workers. In other words, 17 percent of all the child workers in India lived in the State, showing an increase of 1 percent over the 1981 census.

2.7 District-Wise Child Labour in Andhra Pradesh

The details of the district-wise distribution of child workers are presented in Table 2.6. Ranks were assigned to the districts in accordance with the percentage of child workers to total workers, child population and total population. As can be noted from Table 2.6, Mahaboobnagar and Kurnool were placed at 1st and 2nd ranks in the percentage of child workers in the State. The high incidence of child labour in these two districts was evident from the fact that the difference in the percentage of child workers between the districts of 2nd and 3rd ranks was larger as compared to the difference in the percentage of child workers in any of the two districts of Andhra Pradesh. Thus Mahaboobnagar was assigned 1st rank in the percentage of child workers to total workers (8.1 percent) as against Chittor with lowest rank where child workers were only 4 percent. It was also placed at 1st rank in other two i.e., the percentage of child workers to child population (14 percent), as well as to total population (3.9 percent) against East Godavari which ranked the lowest in both cases at 6.3 percent and 1.6 percent respectively.

Table 2.6

District-Wise Distribution of Child Workers in Andhra Pradesh in 1991

S.No.	District	Percentage of Child Workers to					
		Total Workers	Rank	Total Children	Rank	Total Population	Rank
1.	Mahaboobnagar	8.1	1	14.0	1	3.9	1
2.	Kurnool	8.0	2	13.5	2	3.6	2
3.	Khammam	6.4	3	10.5	6	2.8	3
4.	Ananthapur	6.1	4	10.2	8	2.6	5
5.	Medak	5.9	5	10.4	7	2.7	4
6.	Guntur	5.9	5	11.2	3	2.7	4
7.	Adilabad	5.8	6	9.1	12	2.4	7
8.	Vijayanagaram	5.8	6	11.1	4	2.6	5
9.	Karimnagar	5.6	7	11.2	3	2.7	4
10.	Nizamabad	5.6	7	10.7	5	2.7	4
11.	Prakasham	5.4	8	9.7	9	2.5	6
12.	Warangal	5.3	9	9.4	10	2.4	7
13.	Nalgonda	5.3	9	9.3	11	2.4	7
14.	West Godavari	5.3	9	9.1	12	2.4	8
15.	Srikakulam	5.1	10	9.4	10	2.2	8
16.	Krishna	4.9	11	8.7	13	2.1	9
17.	Ranga Reddy	4.9	11	7.4	17	1.9	10
18.	Vishakapatnam	4.7	12	7.8	15	1.9	10
19.	Nellore	4.4	13	8.1	14	1.7	10
20.	Cuddapah	4.2	14	6.9	18	1.7	11
21.	East Godavari	4.2	14	6.3	19	1.6	12
22.	Chitoor	4.0	15	7.5	16	1.7	11
23.	Hyderabad	1.7	16	1.8	20	0.5	13
	Andhra Pradesh	5.4		9.2		2.3	

Source: Census of India 1991. Series.2.Andhra Pradesh. Part-III-B.Series. Economic Tables. Directorate of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh. pp.76 to 147.

Hyderabad, the capital city of Andhra Pradesh, has been experiencing rapid expansion of urbanization. It has no rural component in its geographical area. Since most child workers in any district live in rural areas, the average percentage of child workers in Hyderabad could not be compared with other districts to draw any meaningful inferences.

2.8 Rural-Urban Child Labour in the Districts of Andhra Pradesh

Data pertaining to the percentage of child workers to total workers distributed in rural and urban areas of all the districts in the State are presented in Table 2.7. As can be noted from the table, in all the districts, it is obvious that the percentages of child workers in the rural areas were higher than those of in the urban areas. And the proportion of girl workers in the total female workers was always higher than the proportion of boy workers in the total male workers in both the urban and rural areas of all districts in the State. The concentration of child workers was more in the relatively less developed districts.

In urban areas, the percentage of child workers was 2.4. While this was the State average, across the districts, the figure varied from 4.3 percent in Kurnool district to 1.2 percent in Vishakapatnam district. In six districts of A.P, the share of the child workers was far higher than the State average. These districts were Kurnool, Mahaboob Nagar, Anantapur, Guntur, West Godavari and Srikakulam. In rural areas, the percentage share of child workers in AP was 6.1. Across the districts, this ranged from 8.9 percent in Kurnool district to 4.4 percent in Chitoor district. In seven districts of AP this rural percentage of child workers was far above the State average of 6.1 percent. These districts were Kurnool, Mahabub Nagar, Khammam, Anantapur, Guntur, Adilabad and Ranga Reddy. From the analysis of the concentration of child workers by region, it was found that among the districts above the State average, there were more Coastal Andhra districts with concentration of urban child workers, while more Telangana districts registered the concentration of rural child workers. A similar analysis of both rural and urban shares of child workers showed four districts as areas of concern. They are Kurnool, Mahabub Nagar, Anantapur and Guntur.

Table 2.7

District-wise Share of Child Workers in the Total Work Force in Andhra Pradesh, 1991

Sl. No.	District	Rural			Urban		
		Male	Female (Rank)	Total	Male	Female (Rank)	Total
1.	Kurnool	7.3	11.2 (1)	8.9	3.4	6.8 (2)	4.3
2.	Mahaboobnagar	7.5	9.5 (2)	8.3	2.5	7.4 (1)	3.8
3.	Khammam	5.7	9.3 (3)	7.1	1.5	4.9 (6)	2.0
4.	Guntur	4.9	9.0 (4)	6.6	2.5	5.9 (4)	3.3
5.	Adilabad	5.1	8.8 (5)	6.6	1.2	4.5 (10)	1.7
6.	Karimnagar	4.0	8.7 (6)	6.1	1.3	3.1 (3)	2.5
7.	Ananthapur	5.5	8.5 (7)	6.6	2.8	5.4 (5)	3.2
8.	Krishna	4.2	8.4 (8)	5.7	2.4	4.7 (8)	2.8
9.	Vishakapatnam	4.9	8.1 (9)	6.1	1.0	2.9 (16)	1.2
10.	Prakasham	4.1	8.0 (10)	5.7	2.0	4.4 (11)	2.6
11.	Vijayanagaram	5.2	7.7 (11)	6.2	2.5	4.4 (11)	2.8
12.	Medak	5.4	7.6 (12)	6.3	1.5	3.9 (12)	1.9
13.	Nizamabad	4.9	7.6 (12)	6.1	1.7	4.5 (10)	2.5
14.	Warangal	4.5	7.6 (12)	5.8	1.2	4.5 (10)	1.9
15.	Ranga Reddy	6.0	7.6 (12)	6.6	1.6	3.2 (14)	1.9
16.	West Godavari	4.8	7.5 (13)	5.7	3.0	4.8 (7)	3.3
17.	Cuddapah	3.2	7.3 (14)	4.6	2.1	4.7 (8)	2.6
18.	Nalgonda	4.5	7.2 (15)	5.6	1.5	4.8 (7)	2.2
19.	Srikakulam	4.1	7.2 (15)	5.3	2.3	5.4 (5)	3.1
20.	Nellore	3.9	6.6 (16)	4.9	2.1	4.6 (9)	2.6
21.	Chittor	3.3	6.3 (17)	4.4	1.8	3.4 (13)	2.0
22.	East Godavari	4.4	5.3 (18)	4.7	2.3	3.1 (15)	2.4
23.	Hyderabad	-	-	-	1.5	2.6 (17)	1.7
	Andhra Pradesh	4.9	8.1	6.1	2.0	4.5	2.4

Source: Census of India 1991. Series.2.Andhra Pradesh. Part-III-B.Series. Economic Tables. Directorate of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh. pp.76 to 147.

Note: Figures in brackets indicate the ranks of districts in the case of female child workers.

2.9 District-wise Distribution of Girl Child Workers in the State

An analysis of the gender composition of child workers across the districts of Andhra Pradesh revealed certain valuable information. The incidence of girl child labour was highest in Andhra Pradesh. Firstly, 9.4 percent of total girl child population in the State were workers, while the comparable all India average was only 3.4 percent. Secondly, in both, urban and rural areas of all the districts in the State, the proportion of child workers to total workers was more in the case of girls than in the case of boys.

In Table 2.7, districts have been ranked as per the percentage share of girl workers in the total female workers for both rural and urban regions and given in the brackets of the respective column. The percentage share of girl workers in rural areas of eight districts and that of girl workers in urban areas of 12 districts exceeded the State averages of 8.1 percent and 4.5 percent respectively. From table, it is clear that seven districts, with both rural and urban averages, showing girl child concentration higher than the corresponding State averages were facing a critical situation as regards girl child workers. They were Mahaboobnagar, Kurnool, Karimnagar, Guntur, Anantapur, Khammam, and Krishna districts.

Data pertaining to the share of child workers in each district in the total child workers of the State are presented in Table 2.8. Ranks have been assigned to the districts as per the share of girl workers they had in the State. Out of the seven districts mentioned above, five districts (i.e., Mahaboobnagar,Kurnool, Karimnagar, Guntur and Anantapur) had 34.8 percent share of rural girl workers in the State, while four districts (i.e., Guntur, Kurnool, Karimnagar and Ananthapur) had 32 percent share of urban girl child workers in the State. Mahaboobnagar which had the largest share of both girl and boy workers in rural areas did not show much concentration of child workers in urban areas. In contrast, Krishna district, which had the considerable share of urban girl and boy workers, did not show much concentration of rural child workers. Hyderabad with no rural component in the district ranks first and fifth in the urban concentration of male and female child workers respectively in the State. Over

Table 2.8

District-Wise Distribution of Working Children in Andhra Pradesh, 1991.

Sl. No.	District	Rural			Urban		
		% Share of Male Child Workers	% Share of Female Child Workers	Rank in the Share of Girl Workers	% Share of Male Child Workers	% Share of Female Child Workers	Rank in the Share of Girl Workers
1.	Mahaboobnagar	8.5	8.0	1	2.2	4.5	9
2.	Guntur	6.3	7.6	2	8.9	11.9	1
3.	Kurnool	6.8	7.1	3	7.7	8.5	2
4.	Karimnagar	4.1	7.0	4	2.2	6.7	4
5.	Prakasam	4.0	5.2	5	2.7	3.7	11
6.	Anantapur	5.7	5.1	6	6.1	4.9	7
7.	Warangal	4.3	5.0	7	1.7	3.4	12
8.	Nalgonda	4.6	4.8	8	1.4	2.1	17
9.	Krishna	4.4	4.8	8	9.7	7.6	3
10.	Medak	4.3	4.2	9	1.3	1.6	19
11.	West Godavari	5.7	4.2	9	6.4	5.2	6
12.	Khammam	4.3	4.1	10	1.8	2.1	17
13.	Nizamabad	3.2	4.1	10	1.8	4.0	10
14.	Vishakhapatnam	4.3	3.8	11	3.8	3.2	13
15.	Chittoor	3.8	3.7	12	3.3	2.5	16
16.	Adilabad	3.2	3.7	12	1.6	2.0	18
17.	Srikakulam	3.4	3.6	13	1.9	2.7	15
18.	Vijayanagaram	4.0	3.5	14	2.5	2.1	17
19.	Ranga Reddy	3.3	2.8	15	5.5	4.7	8
20.	Nellore	3.0	2.8	15	3.5	3.7	11
21.	East Godavari	6.5	2.5	16	7.4	3.4	12
22.	Cuddapah	2.3	2.5	16	3.4	3.1	14
23.	Hyderabad	-	-	-	13.2	6.2	5
Andhra Padesh		100	100		100	100	

Source: Census of India.1991 Series.2-Andhra Pradesh-Part-III-B.Series-Economic Tables. Directorate of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh. p.76-147.

13 percent of urban boy workers in the State were in Hyderabad district. Likewise, over 11 percent of urban girl workers in the State were in Guntur district, which ranked first with the largest share of urban girl workers in the State.

2.10 Urban-Rural Child Workers in Andhra Pradesh

A majority of child workers in A.P, i.e., around 90 percent, lived in the rural areas (Table 2.9) during the census decade between 1981 and 1991 and there was no considerable change during this period in the composition of male and female child workers in urban and rural areas of the State. A slight increase in the percentage of urban male child workers was recorded from 9.1 to 11.3, during this period while the share of urban girl workers increased marginally from 5.6 to 5.8 percent. In 1991, in the total urban child workers, the share of male and female children were 66.7% and 33.3% respectively and in the total rural child workers, their share was almost half i.e., 49% and 51% respectively. The share of girl workers in the total workers of urban and rural areas increased during this period. However, this increase was marginal in urban areas by just 2.4 percent (from 30.9% to 33.3%) and in rural areas it increased by 8.1 percent (from 42.9% to 51.0%).

Table 2.9

Region-wise Distribution of main Child Workers in Andhra Pradesh, 1981-1991.

Region	1981					1991				
	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Total
Urban	92,320 (69.1)	9.1	41,271 (30.9)	5.6	133,591 (100)	87,835 (66.7)	11.3	43,936 (33.3)	5.8	131,771 (100)
Rural	925,994 (57.1)	90.2	694,602 (42.9)	94.4	1,620,596 (100)	689,053 (49.0)	88.7	716,469 (51.0)	94.2	1,405,522 (100)
Total	1,018,314 (58.1)	100	735,873 (41.9)	100	1,754,187 (100)	776,888 (50.5)	100	760,405 (49.5)	100	1,537,293 (100)

Source: Census of India-1991.Series.2-Andhra Pradesh.Part-III.B.Series. Economic Tables – Directorate of Census Operations, p.76-78.
Census of India-1981.Series.2-Andhra Pradesh.Part-III.A&B(i) General Economic Tables. (Table B1 to B6). p.106.

The above analysis reveals that not only a very large component of girl workers (above 94 percent) lived in the rural areas, but also their percentage share in the total

rural child workers registered an increasing trend during the census period of 1981 and 1991.

2.11 Marginal Workers in Andhra Pradesh

The concept of marginal workers was introduced in 1981 census. It was thought that under the Indian conditions the enquiry relating to the usual status of workers was more appropriate than the current status. The economic question of the 1981 census was thus formulated in order to first divide the population into those who had worked at any time during the year preceding the census year and those who had not worked at all during the year. The latter were termed as non-workers. Having classified the population into these two broad groups, an attempt was made further to sub-divide those who had worked any time into two groups namely main workers i.e., those who had worked in some economic activity for the major part of the year, and marginal workers i.e., those who had worked for some time during the last part, but not worked for the major part of the year. Thus a three-fold classification of workers into a mutually exclusive groups of main workers, marginal workers and non-workers was introduced in 1981 census. The same classification was continued for 1991 census also.

In 1991, the total child workers in A.P. were 1,661,940 of whom 1,537,293 were main workers and 124,647 were marginal workers. Together they constituted 10.0 percent of total child population (of the age group of 5-14 years) in A.P. While in the main workers, the girl's share was almost half (49.5 percent), in the marginal workers, they constituted a considerable share i.e. more than 76 percent. Though the component of marginal workers in the total child workers was only 7.5 percent, it's significance for women and girl workers who worked on part-time combining household chores in mitigating the household poverty was worth noticing.

The details of the share of child workers in each district in the total marginal child workers of the State are presented in Table 2.10. It can be noted from the table that Guntur district had the largest share of urban marginal girl workers (8.2 percent)

Table 2.10

District-Wise Distribution of Marginal Child Workers in Andhra Pradesh 1991.

Sl. No.	District	Rural			Urban		
		% Share of Male Child Workers	% Share of Female Child Workers	Rank in the Share of Girl Workers	% Share of Male Child Workers	% Share of Female Child Workers	Rank in the Share of Girl Workers
1.	Anantapur	4.2	7.7	1	2.5	6.0	6
2.	Vishakapatnam	7.5	6.8	2	8.6	6.1	5
3.	Srikakulam	6.3	6.3	3	8.1	4.2	11
4.	Vijayanagaram	6.2	5.7	4	1.6	3.5	14
5.	Guntur	7.0	5.7	4	4.9	8.2	1
6.	Warangal	5.9	5.5	5	3.8	4.7	9
7.	Nalgonda	3.8	5.4	6	0.5	0.6	21
8.	Chittoor	3.9	5.3	7	5.4	3.2	15
9.	Cuddapah	2.2	5.0	8	0	5.3	8
10.	Prakasham	3.5	4.9	9	3.2	4.1	12
11.	Nellore	4.5	4.8	10	3.2	4.4	10
12.	Mahaboobnagar	3.4	4.6	11	2.2	1.8	18
13.	West Godavari	6.7	4.2	12	8.9	7.3	2
14.	Khammam	7.3	3.8	13	3.1	0.9	20
15.	Adilabad	3.5	3.6	14	2.7	3.8	13
16.	East Godawari	5.8	3.6	14	8.1	6.4	4
17.	Krishna	5.1	3.5	15	4.5	5.9	7
18.	Kurnool	2.6	3.4	16	1.6	3.5	14
19.	Karimnagar	3.0	3.4	16	5.4	7.0	3
20.	Nizamabad	2.8	2.3	17	2.2	2.6	16
21.	Medak	2.9	2.2	18	1.1	1.5	19
22.	Rangareddy	2.1	2.1	19	1.1	2.0	17
23.	Hyderabad	-	-	-	17.3	7.0	3
Andhra Pradesh		100	100	-	100	100	-

Source: Census of India.Series.2-Andhra Pradesh-Part-III-B.Series Economic Tables. Directorate of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh. pp.96-147.

in 1991. In the rural areas, Ananthapur, Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam ranked 1st, 2nd and 3rd in the concentration of marginal girl child workers in the State. Hyderabad with no rural component in the district, ranked first in urban boy workers (17.3%) and third in the share of girl workers (7.0%) in the State.

Table 2.11

Urban-Rural Distribution of Marginal Child Workers in Andhra Pradesh, 1981-1991.

Region	1981					1991				
	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Male	%	Female	%	Total
Urban	2293 (31.5)	5.4	4,978 (68.5)	3.2	7,271 (100)	1,853 (35.2)	6.3	3,417 (64.8)	3.6	5,270 (100)
Rural	10,033 (21.1)	94.6	149,819 (78.9)	96.8	189,852 (100)	27,761 (23.3)	93.7	91,616 (76.7)	96.4	119,377 (100)
Total	42,326 (21.5)	100	154,797 (78.5)	100	197,123 (100)	29,614 (23.8)	100	95,033 (76.2)	100	124,647 (100)

Source: Census of India 1991-Series.2-Andhra Pradesh. op.cit., p.76-78.

Census of India 1981-Series.2-Andhra Pradesh Part-III.A&B(i).General Economic Tables. (Tables B-1 to B-6). Directorate of Census Operations. Andhra Pradesh. p.106.

During the census decade of 1981-1991, there was no change in the regional composition of marginal child workers in A.P. As revealed by Table 2.11, around 94 percent of boy workers and 96 percent of girl workers were reported to be living in rural areas of A.P. in 1991. Within the regions, girls predominately constituted marginal workers. While in the urban areas girls constituted 64.8 percent of total marginal workers, in the rural areas their share was 76.7 percent in 1991. In the rural and urban areas, girls normally worked on a part-time basis, as they were obliged to share household chores also, unlike boys. This was the main reason for the higher share of girls in the total marginal workers.

2.12 Work Participation Rates

The measurement of economic activity of the people had been attempted in every census of the country though there has been variation in the concepts adopted from time to time. The classification of the population as workers and non-workers

based on the concept of work was introduced in 1961 census. In 1971 census, the main activity (how one engaged oneself mostly) of the people was enquired into, and based on this information, population was divided into two broad streams of main activity as workers and non workers. The 1971 census registered a sharp decline in the work participation rate defined as the percentage of workers among population, as compared with the 1961 census. As already mentioned above (in section 2.11), the concept of work was again divided into two parts as main work and marginal work in 1981 census and this classification was continued in the 1991 census also. For all practical purposes, however, the main activity of the people termed as main workers was taken into consideration.

Table 2.12

Work Participation rates by the Children in Andhra Pradesh

Census Year	Rural			Urban			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
A. Percentage of Child Workers to Child Population (5-14)									
1961	27.2	20.0	23.7	9.5	5.3	7.4	24.0	17.4	20.8
1971	20.3	11.9	16.2	7.1	2.6	4.9	17.8	10.1	14.0
1981	16.7	12.9	14.8	5.7	2.6	4.2	14.2	10.6	12.4
1991	11.0	12.0	11.5	3.9	2.0	3.0	9.1	9.4	9.2
B. Percentage of Child Workers to total workers									
1961	10.9	11.0	10.9	4.7	7.4	5.4	10.0	10.7	10.3
1971	9.1	11.5	9.9	3.7	6.6	4.2	8.2	11.1	9.0
1981	7.5	10.6	8.6	2.9	6.5	3.5	6.6	10.3	7.8
1991	4.9	8.1	6.1	2.0	4.5	2.4	4.2	7.7	5.4

Source: Census of India 1991.series.2-Andhra Pradesh.op.cit.p.76-78.

Census of India 1981.series.2-Andhra Pradesh.op.cit.p.106.

Census of India 1971.series.2-Andhra Pradesh.Part-II-B.Economic Tables.Directorate Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh.p.4.

Census of India 1961.Volume.2-Andhra Pradesh.Part-II-B (I) Economic Tables, p.6.

The figures from 1961 census were taken to compare the trends, which occurred in the work participation of children during the period 1961-1991. Details of work participation rates of the children in A.P. are presented in Table 2.12. The

figures of child workers as a proportion to child population show that while 23.7 percent of child workers were concentrated in rural areas, only 7.4 percent were in urban areas in 1961. There was a drastic decline in the participation rates in 1971. The rural participation rate declined from 23.7 to 16.2 and urban participation from 7.4 to 4.9. In the subsequent census years also, a gradual decline was registered. In 1991, the percentages of child workers concentrated in rural and urban areas were 11.5 and 3 respectively. An important point regarding girl workers is that while the proportion of girl workers to total girl population was less than that of boys, the proportion of girl workers to total female workers was more as compared to that of boy workers. There was a steep decline in the proportion of rural boy workers from 10.9 to 4.9 percent during the census periods from 1961 to 1991. However, in the case of girl workers the decline during 30 years of census period (1961 to 1991) was only nominal from 11 percent to 8.1 percent. This explains the nature of immobility of girl workers in rural areas.

2.13. Growth in Child Population and Child Workers

The percentage changes in the child population and child workers in Andhra Pradesh during the period from 1961 to 1991 are presented in Table 2.13. An analysis of this aspect was considered important in the light of the declining trend noticed in the earlier analysis of work participation rates by the children during the same period. The child population (between 5-14 years) in A.P. increased from 9,224,996 in1961 to 16,655,656 in 1991, an increase of over 80 percent during the period. In this, the male children increased by 82 percent and female children by 79 percent. During this period the child workers registered a decline from 1,915,791 in 1961 to 1,537,293 in 1991, which worked out to 19.8 percent. Further, while male workers declined considerably by 31 percent, girl workers declined only marginally by 3.7 percent.

The data pertaining to this aspect are presented in Table 2.13. During 1961-1971 there was a sharp fall in the child workers from 1,915,791 to 1,627,492, a decline of 15 percent in which male child workers registered a decline by 6.7 percent (i.e., from 1,125,837 to 1,050,540) and the decline in girl workers was as high as 26.9

percent (i.e., from 789,954 to 576,952). However, during 1971 – 1981 there was a sharp increase in the proportion of girl workers by 27.5 percent (i.e., from 576,952 to 735, 874), while the boy workers recorded a further decline by 3.1 percent (i.e., from 1,050,540 to 1,018, 314). During 1981- 1991, while boy workers registered a further considerable decline by 23.7 percent (i.e., from 1,018,314 to 776, 888), the girl workers showed an increase by 3.3 percent (i.e., from 735,874 to 760, 405).

Table 2.13

Percentage Change in Child Population and Child Workers in A.P 1961-[99]

Region	Year	Child Population (5-14)%			Child Workers %		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Urban	1961-71	+32.4	+34.9	+33.6	-1.3	-33.0	-12.3
	1971-81	+45.8	+45.3	+45.5	+17.2	+44.6	+24.5
	1981-91	+39.1	+37.5	+38.3	-4.9	+6.5	-1.3
Rural	1961-71	+24.2	+32.7	+23.9	-7.1	-26.6	-15.2
	1971-81	+16.4	+16.4	+16.4	-4.7	+26.6	+6.6
	1981-91	+12.9	+10.7	+11.8	-25.6	+3.3	-13.2
Total	1961-71	+25.6	+25.6	+25.6	-6.7	-26.9	-15.0
	1971-81	+22.0	+21.9	+21.9	-3.1	+27.5	+7.8
	1981-91	+18.8	+16.7	+17.7	-23.7	+3.3	-12.3

Source: Same as in Table 2.12.

During 1981-1991, in rural areas of A.P., while one fourth of male child workers (i.e., 25.6 percent) were withdrawn from the labour force (from 925,994 to 689, 053), the girl workers increased by 3.3 percent (693,603 to 716,469). In the urban areas also a similar trend was witnessed. While male child workers were declined by 4.9 percent, the girl workers registered an increase by 6.5 percent during 1981-1991.

It was noteworthy that during 1981-1991, corresponding to 18.8 percent growth in male child population, there was a considerable decline by 23.7 percent in their numbers as workers. While for a lesser growth of girl child population (16.7 percent), there was an increase in girl workers by 3.3 percent. A decline in child labour was encouraging. But, as the size of child population in A.P. was considerable, a decline in male child workers might not be sufficient to have an impact. Moreover, the rise in

girl child workers over the years would more than offset the gain due to the declining numbers of male child workers in the State.

2.14 Industrial Activity of Child Labour in A.P

For an analysis of the employment into various activities in the economy, this study uses the occupational classification adopted by the Census of India. Agricultural sector occupies the important place in providing employment to rural labour force in India. In urban areas, household industry provides a sizeable variety of employment to girl workers whereas for boy workers, manufacturing other than household industry, trade and commerce provides relatively more employment. Other activities such as quarrying, transport and communications have not been attributed much significance either as providers of income or employment to child workers in both urban and rural regions. In view of the significance of industrial activities in providing employment to workers in the country, it appears that 1991 Census classified all industrial activities into four broad groups. For the analysis and comparison of the trends which occurred in the composition of child workers in the employment from 1961 to 1991, the industrial activities classified in the census prior to 1991 have been adjusted for the purpose of the present study to match them with those of 1991 census.

The particulars of the percentage shares of child workers in the total workers in A.P. as classified into four broad industrial groups during the census period of 1961 – 1991 are presented in Table 2.14. As per the table, while there was a drastic decline in the percentage of boy workers in the household industry from 20.3 in 1961 to 4.7 in 1971, while the decline in the girl workers' percentage was only nominal from 15.2 percent in 1961 to 14.6 in 1971. In the subsequent census years, much change was not registered and in 1991, the percentage of boy and girl workers in household industry was 2.8 and 10.7 respectively. In the case of "other workers" the boy workers recorded a decline by 6 percent during 1961 to 1991 (i.e., 8.7 to 2.7), whereas the corresponding decline in girl workers was only 3.7 percent (i.e., 9.9 to 6.2) during the same period. In all the industrial categories mentioned in the table, the decline in the

Table 2.14

Industrial Classification of Child Labour in Andhra Pradesh from 1961-1991

Industrial Group	Industrial Activity	a. Percentage of Child Workers to total workers							
		Male				Female			
		1961	1971	1981	1991	1961	1971	1981	1991
I	Cultivators	6.8	5.4	4.7	3.0	9.2	8.5	8.0	5.8
II	Agricultural Labourers	12.8	12.2	11.6	7.2	11.4	11.6	11.2	8.5
Va	Workers engaged in Household Industry	20.3	4.7	4.3	2.8	15.2	14.6	14.0	10.7
III, IV, V, VI-IX	Other workers	8.7	8.6	4.9	2.7	9.9	11.5	9.1	6.2
Total		10.0	8.2	6.6	4.2	10.7	11.1	10.3	7.7
		b. Percentage share of Child workers in each industrial activity to the total Child workers							
		Male				Female			
I	Cultivators	28.0	24.5	26.4	22.2	33.1	14.9	18.4	16.9
II	Agricultural Labourers	27.8	41.1	46.8	52.5	41.7	65.8	63.9	66.4
Va	Workers engaged in Household Industry	20.7	2.9	3.0	1.8	12.8	5.7	7.0	6.4
III, IV, V, VI-IX	Other workers	23.4	31.4	23.8	23.4	12.4	13.6	10.6	10.3
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Census of India-1991.series.2-Andhra Pradesh.Part-III.B.Series.Economic Tables,Directorate of Census, Andhra Pradesh.p.190-191.
Census of India-1981.series.2-Andhra Pradesh.Part-III.A&B(i).General Economic Tables (Tables B1 to B6).p.164-167.
Census of India-1971.series.2-Andhra Pradesh.Part-III.B.Series.Economic Tables,Directorate of Census, Andhra Pradesh.p.4-6.
Census of India-1961.volume II-Andhra Pradesh.Part-II-B(i).Economic Tables, p.6 -7.

proportion of boy workers in the total male workers was apparently more than that of girl workers during the 30 years of census period i.e., from 1961 to 91.

Data pertaining to the percentage share of child workers in each industrial activity are also presented in the same table (i.e., 2.14). It can be noted from the table that girl cultivators had declined from 33.1 percent to 14.9 percent during 1961 and 1971, while the proportion of the girls as agricultural labourers had increased considerably from 41.7 percent to 65.8 percent during the same period. In 1991, the percentage shares of girl workers as cultivators and agricultural labourers were 16.9 and 66.4 respectively. In respect of the boy workers, the percentage shares as cultivators had declined from 28.0 in 1961 to 22.2 in 1991, and as agricultural labourers, it increased from 27.8% in 1961 to 52.5% in 1991. In the household industry, though the girls percentage in the total female workers was more than one-tenth (10.7 percent) in 1991, their share in total girl workers was only 6.4. In other words, household industry as a provider of employment to girl workers was not significant as compared to the agricultural sector, which provided 83.3 percent of employment to girl workers in 1991.

2.15 Concentration of Girl Workers in Agriculture

Since 94 percent of all child workers in A.P. were living in the rural areas, it was necessary to identify the activity in which they were mostly engaged. In all the districts of A.P. the largest and second largest working children groups were invariably engaged in the agricultural sector either as agricultural labourers or as cultivators, in 1991. There was however one exception . In Nizamabad district, the first largest group of working children were girls (12,250) and they were engaged in the last category of "other workers" which obviously includes manufacturing, processing and servicing activities in the sectors other than household work.

Keeping the intensity of girls engaged in rural agricultural sector in view, their percentages were calculated for the top 10 districts of Andhra Pradesh as presented in the Table 2.15. The table reveals that in Krishna district, 89.4 percent of total girl

Table 2.15

Concentration of Girl Workers in Agricultural Activity of rural sector in top 10 districts of A.P – 1991.

Sl.No.	District	% in total girl workers	% in total Child Workers
1.	Krishna	89.4	47.3
2.	Guntur	88.1	49.2
3.	West Godavari	84.9	36.5
4.	Khammam	84.7	42.5
5.	Kurnool	80.8	42.1
6.	Prakasham	79.9	45.9
7.	Nellore	79.4	39.3
8.	Cuddapah	75.8	40.1
9.	Mahaboobnagar	74.1	36.6
10.	Warangal	73.6	40.2
Andhra Pradesh		68.2	34.8

Source: Census of India 1991 series 2 Andhra Pradesh, part 3. B.series. Economic Tables pp161-190

workers were engaged as agricultural labourers and this percentage as calculated in the total child workers (male + female) was 47.3. The first five districts, which far exceeded the State average of 68.2 percent in employing girls as agricultural labourers were Krishna (89.4%), Guntur (88.1%), West Godavari (84.9%), Khammam (84.7%) and Kurnool (80.8%) districts. Illiteracy, backwardness, requirement of cheap labour in a variety of agricultural operations pulls the innocent girls into the poorly paid rural agricultural sector.

2.16 Child Education in the Districts of Andhra Pradesh

In Andhra Pradesh, nearly 51% children (57 % of rural children and 34% of urban children) in the age group of 5-14 years were not attending school. The 1991 census shows that their number was 8,463,553 in total. In this, 82.4 % (6,970,600) live in the rural areas. Over 20 % of these children were full-time workers. However, the marginal workers and non-workers who were not attending school were either actively or passively employed with or without wages. Although there is no clear basis to include all of them who did not attend school as child labourers, they still fall into the category of potential child labourers.

Level of education or attendance of children in school and child labour usually go in the opposite direction. Data relevant to this variable are presented in Table 2.16. As already observed earlier, while Mahaboobnagar and Kurnool districts were the worst affected districts of child labour in both rural and urban areas, Chittoor and Cuddapah districts had relatively smaller number of child workers in Andhra Pradesh. The Table 2.16 shows that in Chittoor district 58.1 percent of rural children were attending school as compared to just 28.7 percent in Mahaboobnagar district. Only 20.2 percent of the rural girls in Mahaboonagar were attending school, which was far less than the State average of 34.0 percent. There were wide variations in the rate of children's school attendance across the districts and between rural and urban areas. Girls were less likely to be in school as compared to boys. The gender gap as noticed in the earlier tables of all India figures tends to be wider in rural areas. In rural Cuddapah, for example, 65.3 percent of boys and only 39.9 percent of girls were attending school.

In urban areas, Nalgonda ranked first in both the genders with 80.1 percent of boys and 70.9 percent of girls attending school. Even, Hyderabad, the capital city of Andhra Pradesh, could not record such a high rate of school attendance as witnessed in Nalgonda. In Hyderabad 70.5 percent of boys, just above the State average by 1.2 percent (State average being 69.3 percent) and 68.6 percent of girls above the State average by 5.5 percent (State average being 63.1 percent) were attending school. The gender gap in Hyderabad, however, was the lowest by 1.9 percent, which obviously reveals the sign of development due to urbanization.

2.17 Child Labour and their Educational Levels in Andhra Pradesh

Child workers in Andhra Pradesh were grouped according to their levels of education. Table 2.17 presents a detailed account of child workers in both rural and urban areas in the State between 1981 and 1991. The second category, "Literates without education level" in 1981 census was termed as "below primary level" in 1991 census.

Table 2.16

District-Wise Percentage of Children (5 to 14 Years) Attending School in Andhra Pradesh, 1991.

S.No.	District	Rural			Urban		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1.	Chittoor	68.4	46.8	58.1	73.2	67.3	70.6
2.	Cuddapah	65.3	39.9	53.1	71.2	60.6	66.2
3.	West Godavari	54.3	48.1	51.2	66.7	62.8	64.8
4.	Krishna	55.5	45.6	50.6	69.3	64.9	67.1
5.	Nellore	55.7	40.2	48.2	71.1	66.1	68.6
6.	Guntur	53.5	39.9	46.9	65.3	58.3	61.9
7.	Karimnagar	57.3	33.2	45.4	78.5	66.1	72.5
8.	Prakasham	54.6	35.0	45.1	69.2	63.8	66.6
9.	East Godavari	47.2	41.8	44.5	62.8	58.5	60.9
10.	Nalgonda	54.6	33.4	44.2	80.1	70.9	75.7
11.	Srikakulam	52.5	34.2	43.5	69.2	60.0	64.8
12.	Khammam	49.9	34.5	42.5	75.8	69.3	72.6
13.	Anantapur	52.7	30.5	42.0	63.7	54.6	59.2
14.	Warangal	51.3	31.4	41.7	73.6	66.1	69.9
15.	Vijayanagaram	48.2	31.6	40.1	69.0	59.9	64.5
16.	Rangareddy	51.6	29.5	39.2	69.4	64.9	67.1
17.	Visakhapatnam	47.2	30.3	39.0	71.8	64.8	68.4
18.	Nizamabad	46.2	26.7	36.7	64.0	57.7	61.0
19.	Adilabad	46.4	25.5	36.2	68.4	58.7	63.6
20.	Medak	42.4	23.1	33.0	69.3	62.8	66.2
21.	Kurnool	40.5	22.9	32.0	60.2	50.9	55.7
22.	Mahaboobnagar	36.8	20.2	28.7	70.4	60.8	65.6
23.	Hyderabad				70.5	68.6	69.6
Andhra Pradesh		51.2	34.0	43.0	69.3	63.1	66.3

Source: Census of India.1991.Series.2-Andhra Pradesh.Part IVA-C Series. Socio-Cultural Tables-Directorate of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh. pp.304-376.

Table 2.17

Educational Levels of Rural and Urban Child Labour in Andhra Pradesh, 1981-1991.

Educational Level	Uraba				Rural			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
Illiterates	70.04	62.21	88.37	78.95	85.6	77.26	93.65	86.54
Literates Without edn. Level *	8.96	15.51	4.02	10.05	5.59	10.15	2.46	6.37
Primary	16.79	19.09	6.27	9.45	7.76	11.02	3.54	6.46
Middle	3.88	2.69	1.25	1.37	0.99	1.40	0.33	0.55
Matriculation/ Secondary	0.29	0.42	0.09	0.14	0.05	0.15	0.02	0.06
Higher Secondary Inter/pre-university	0.03	0.06	-	0.05	0.01	0.02	-	0.02
Non-technical Diploma/ Certificate not equal to degree	0.01	0.01	-	-	-	0.01	-	0.01
Technical Diploma/ Certificate,not equal to degree	-	0.01	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total workers	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Below primary in 1991 census.

Source : Census of India.1991.Series.2-Andhra Pradesh.Part III-B Series.Economic Tables-01.cit. p.-378.

Census of India.1981.Series.2-Andhra Pradesh.Part III-A&B(i).General Economic Tables(Tables B-1 to B-6). p.-468.

As revealed in Table 2.17, there was a gradual decline in the category of illiterate child workers over the period of 10 years i.e., 1981 to 1991. In 1991,77 percent of male child workers and 86 percent of female child workers in the rural areas were illiterate. In 1991, among urban child workers in Andhra Pradesh, 62 percent of male child workers and 79 percent of girl child workers were illiterate. The percentage of girl child workers who completed primary schooling increased from 6.3 percent to 9.5 percent in urban areas and from 3.5 percent to 6.5 percent in rural areas during the period. There was a considerable increase in the urban girl child workers who were literate without any educational level or who were below primary level from just 4 percent to 10 percent over the decade from 1981 to 1991. However, the percentage of girl workers who completed middle school level was very negligible, being 0.55 percent in rural and 1.37 percent in urban areas, in 1991.

2.18 Child Labour– Combining Work with School

It was a common phenomenon for child workers to combine work with other unpaid regular activities like attending household chores, looking after siblings, helping elders in a variety of agricultural related operations and also in cottage industries. It was difficult to enumerate as to how many child workers were engaged in unpaid activities at home. However, the census authorities could enumerate the child workers who combined work with attending school. The percentage of such child workers was very low. Table 2.18 presents the data relating to percentages of child workers attending school to total child workers as well as their percentage share of main and marginal workers in the total student workers. In the total number of 1,018,314 main male child workers in 1981, the proportion of children attending school was just 0.47 percent (i.e. 4,773 workers). In 1991, this percentage rose slightly by 1.11. The increase in the percentage of marginal workers attending school during the period was 6.54 i.e., from 16.37 percent to 22.91 percent. In the case of girl workers, their proportion as students was still low. In 1981, out of 735874 main workers, only 0.2 percent (i.e., 1,435 workers) of girls were attending school, and this percentage rose to 0.6 percent in 1991. The percentage of marginal girl workers attending school increased from 1.55 in 1981 to 4.56 in 1991, an increase of just about

Table 2.18

Proportion of Child Workers attending school in Andhra Pradesh, 1981-1991
(Combining School with work)

Area	a. Proportion of Student Child Workers to Total Child Workers											
	Male						Female					
	1981			1991			1981			1991		
	Main	Marginal	Total	Main	Marginal	Total	Main	Marginal	Total	Main	Marginal	Total
Urban	0.48	9.68	0.7	1.57	24.55	2.05	0.31	2.17	0.51	0.77	15.8	1.86
Rural	0.47	16.76	1.14	1.05	22.8	1.89	0.19	1.53	0.43	0.59	4.14	0.99
Total	0.47	16.37	1.1	1.11	22.91	1.91	0.2	1.55	0.43	0.6	4.56	1.04
	b. Percentage share of child workers attending school											
Urban	66.6	33.4	100	75.2	24.8	100	54.4	45.6	100	38.6	61.4	100
Rural	31.2	60.8	100	53.4	46.6	100	36.3	63.7	100	52.6	47.4	100
Total	40.8	59.2	100	60.0	40.0	100	37.4	62.6	100	51.2	48.8	100

Source: Census of India.1991.Series.2 – Andhra Pradesh.Part-IV.A-C.Series.
Socio-Cultural Tables – Directorate of Census, Operations- Andhra Pradesh.p.450.

Census of India.1981.Series.2-Andhra Pradesh.PartIV.A- Social and Cultural Tables

3.01 percent much below the increase of marginal boy workers attending schools (i.e. 6.54%).

The details of the percentage share of child workers attending school in the total student workers are also presented in the Table 2.18. In 1981, the numbers of child workers attending schools were higher among main workers in urban areas and among marginal workers in rural areas of both boys and girls, than their counterparts. However in 1991, for boys, it was main workers in both the regions, urban as well as rural, who were attending schools more than their counterparts. During the period 1981-1991, their percentage increased by 8.6 (i.e., from 66.6% to 75.2%) in urban and by 22.2 (i.e., from 31.2% to 53.4%) in rural areas. For girls, their percentage in marginal workers increased by 15.8% (i.e., from 45.6% to 61.4%) in urban areas and in rural areas, the percentage of main workers increased by 16.3% (i.e., from 36.3% to 52.6%) during the same period.

2.19 Enrolment and Drop-out Rates

The data relating to the enrolment of children in primary schools in Andhra Pradesh are presented in Table 2.19.

Table 2.19

Enrolment of children in primary schools in Andhra Pradesh from 1982-83 to 1992-93 (in lakhs)

Year	Boys	Girls	Total	% of girls to total
1982-83	34.90	24.89	59.79	41.63
1987-88	40.89	30.05	70.95	42.37
1992-93	34.25	26.58	60.84	43.69

Source: Child Labour in Andhra Pradesh - A Profile, Department of Labour and Women's Development & Child Welfare. Govt. of A.P. with UNICEF Collaboration.1993 .p.32

As revealed by the table, the enrolment of both boys and girls had dropped out significantly during 1987-88 to 1992-93. The decline in boys enrolment was from 40.89 lakhs to 34.25 lakhs and that in girls enrolment was from 30.05 lakhs to 26.58

lakhs during the period. The percentage of girl's enrolment in total enrolment of children however increased over the period. It increased from 41.63 to 42.37 percent during 1982-83 to 1987-88 and from 42.37 to 43.69 percent during 1987-88 to 1992-93. However, while there was no decline in the growth of child population in A.P a fall in school enrolment of the children during 1987-88 to 1992-93 was a cause of concern.

Table 2.20 shows that over 52 percent of all children dropped out of the schools in the I-V Class levels in Andhra Pradesh in the year 1992-93. If the dropout rates of those in I to VII classes were considered, well over 63 percent of children left the school. Nearly 68 percent of girls were out of schools before completing Class VII. While Medak and Nalgonda districts topped the list of all the districts in the dropout rates of children between I-V Class levels of education, Mahaboobnagar and Cuddapah districts topped in the dropout rates of children between I-VII Class level. That means, in Mahaboobnagar and Cuddapah districts, the dropout rates at the middle level (V-VII classes) were considerably higher than the dropout rates in the primary school level (I-V classes).

The dropout rates of girls were always more than those of boys except in Cuddapah and Adilabad districts where girl dropout rates were far less than boys in I-V class level. Even in Hyderabad, the capital city of Andhra Pradesh, the dropout rate of girls was higher with 22.3 percent than that of boys with 19.9 percent in I-V class level, and in I-VII class level, the dropout rate of girls and boys was 36.7 percent and 29.7 percent respectively. However, these drop out rates in Hyderabad were far less than the State average rates.

2.20 Elementary Education and Government Expenditure

It would be appropriate at this point to examine the status of Andhra Pradesh in the field of education. The Government of Andhra Pradesh, like all the other States and Union Territories of India, aimed at the removal of illiteracy and universalization of elementary education. Indeed Article 45 of the Constitution of India enjoins that

Table 2.20

District-Wise Dropout Rates for the Year 1992-93.

Sl. No.	District	I-V Classes			I-V11 Classes		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1.	Medak	65.0	68.9	66.5	71.4	70.2	70.9
2.	Nalgonda	65.0	69.2	65.6	52.1	67.7	58.2
3.	Nizamabad	64.1	66.8	65.3	69.8	78.0	72.1
4.	Khammam	62.7	65.3	63.8	69.6	73.6	71.3
5.	Kurnool	59.3	63.9	61.3	62.5	63.4	62.8
6.	Vizianagaram	58.3	62.9	60.4	65.1	76.9	70.5
7.	Nellore	59.1	60.7	59.8	68.8	74.4	71.4
8.	Rangareddy	60.7	56.9	59.1	68.1	69.7	68.8
9.	Prakasham	53.3	59.8	56.3	67.8	76.2	71.6
10.	Warangal	50.2	65.2	55.9	41.3	65.8	51.0
11.	Srikakulam	49.4	37.4	53.1	61.5	76.5	68.2
12.	Guntur	52.1	53.2	52.6	55.8	65.5	60.1
13.	Caddapah	54.2	19.7	52.3	69.4	79.2	74.0
14.	Anantapur	53.5	50.2	52.2	58.8	73.6	65.4
15.	Mahaboobnagar	52.1	52.0	52.1	77.2	75.3	76.5
16.	West Godavari	49.7	53.2	51.4	61.8	65.5	63.6
17.	Krishna	44.8	57.9	51.0	45.6	53.1	49.3
18.	Karimnagar	47.4	51.4	49.0	54.6	69.7	60.9
19.	Chittoor	45.6	51.1	48.1	49.6	64.9	56.7
20.	East Godavari	36.8	40.0	38.4	57.6	65.0	61.3
21.	Vishakhapatanam	33.9	34.0	33.9	66.3	72.6	69.0
22.	Adilabad	28.9	9.9	22.6	50.8	58.6	53.9
23.	Hyderabad	19.9	22.3	21.1	29.7	36.7	33.3
Andhra Pradesh		51.2	54.0	52.4	60.0	67.9	63.2

Source: Same as in Table2.19.

the State should strive to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution (in 1950) free and compulsory education to all the children upto the age of 14 years. In order to achieve universalization of elementary education, the Government of A.P has been increasing its expenditure on education.

Table 2.21
Percapita State Government Expenditure on Education (in Rupees)

Sl. No.	State	1989-90	1985-90	1980-81	Annual % Increase 1980-90	Annual % Increase In Consumer Price Index 1980-90
1.	Punjab	291	130(2)	83 (2)	25.1	8.9
2.	Kerala	240	153 (1)	85 (1)	18.2	8.5
3.	Maharashtra	219	114 (4)	61 (3)	25.9	9.3
4.	Gujarat	201	126 (3)	53 (6)	27.9	9.3
5.	Haryana	198	105 (6)	57 (4)	24.7	8.8
6.	Tamil Nadu	171	107 (5)	50 (7)	24.2	9.3
7.	Karnataka	169	103 (7)	47 (8)	26.0	9.1
8.	Andhra Pradesh	168	92 (9)	43 (10)	29.1	8.9
9.	Orissa	165	72 (12)	41 (12)	30.2	9.1
10.	Assam	165	99 (8)	54 (5)	20.6	7.6
11.	Rajasthan	163	84 (11)	43 (11)	27.9	8.4
12.	West Bengal	155	89 (10)	45 (9)	24.4	9.5
13.	Uttar Pradesh	150	64 (15)	32 (15)	36.9	8.9
14.	Bihar	135	69 (13)	34 (13)	29.7	8.5
15.	Madhya Pradesh	123	67 (14)	33 (14)	27.3	10.3
All India		175	90	47	27.2	8.9

Source: Basic statistics relating to the Indian economy, Vol: 2, States, centre for monitoring Indian Economy, Bombay, September, 1991, Tables 2.20 and 17.1, (figures in parentheses show ranks).

Taken from Child Labour in Andhra Pradesh op.cit.p.28.

Table 2.21 furnishes data on the per capita expenditure of selected large States in India. From the table, it can be seen that Andhra Pradesh had steadily moved up from 10^{th} rank in 1980-81 to 8^{th} rank in 1989-90 in per capita expenditure on education in India. However, the per capita expenditure of Rs. 168 was still far below that of States like Punjab and Kerala and also it was less than the national average of Rs. 175. Kerala, where school attendance of the children (5-14 years) was more than 85 percent and child labour was below 1 percent, was assigned 1^{st} rank in the per capita expenditure on education during 1980- 81 and 1985-90.

Data from the Human Development Report 1998 (Table 2.22) show that India spent much less on education than East Asian Countries such as Korea, Thailand and Malaysia. These countries also allocated a higher share of budgetary resources to education than India, and the share of primary and secondary education in total spending on education was also higher in these countries[4].

Table 2.22

Public Expenditure on Education

Sl. No.	Country	Public Expenditure on		
		Education (as % of GNP) 1995	Education (as % of total Govt. Expenditure) 1993-95	Primary and Secondary Education (as % of all levels) 1990-95
1.	Kenya	7.4	16.1	82
2.	Egypt	5.6	13.8	64
3.	Malaysia	5.3	15.5	76
4.	Thailand	4.2	20.1	73
5.	Iran	4	17.8	63
6.	Korea	3.7	17.4	79
7.	India	3.5	12.1	65
8.	Srilanka	3.1	8.1	73
9.	China	2.3	12.2	67
10.	Bangladesh	2.3	8.7	88

Note: The figures for China may not be comparable due to difference in the system of Accounting.

Source: kirit.s.Parikh (ed) (1999) India Development Report 1999-2000. Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research. Oxford University Press.p.78.

With the introduction of economic reforms in India since 1991-92, the total expenditure on education was gradually reduced. The expenditure on elementary

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[4]Kirit.S.Parikh.(ed) (1999).op.cit., p.78.

education was, however, maintained in the first few years of the reforms. In recent years, actual spending on social sectors was much lower than budgeted expenditure. In 1997-98, for example, the Central Government budgeted for an expenditure of Rs. 25,431 million on elementary education but the revised estimates showed an expenditure of Rs. 22,668 million only. So the Government failed even to spend the amount that had been allocated in the budget. In terms of the share of total plan outlay by the Central Government, the share of education fell after 1990-91 and recovered only in 1995-96[5]

Thus, it may be concluded that child labour is a complex phenomenon and it requires complementary strategies, one of which is compulsory elementary education. The impressive literary rate in Kerala enabled the State to achieve the set goals in the sphere of health and of demographic change. The proportion of total expenditure spent on education in Kerala was higher than the corresponding proportion spent by other States, and most primary school children go to State run or State supported schools in Kerala.

The spread of education is the important factor that would eliminate the child labour in the long run. It is crucial and relatively easier to implement the policy of universal elementary education rather than enforcing laws that regulate the use of child labour.

[5] Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

A SOCIO - ECONOMIC PROFILE OF CHILD LABOUR HOUSEHOLDS IN HYDERABAD

3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the basic features of child labour households. Since it is an empirical survey exploring to analyse the plight of children working in the informal sector, certain slums which were identified for the purpose of improvement under various schemes and spread over 7 Municipal Circles of Hyderabad and Secunderabad were chosen. The survey was conducted in the selected slums of Hyderabad with the assumption that a majority of working children in the urban informal sector live in the slum dwellings. In order to understand the profile of working children, it was thought to approach the households supplying the working children. Generally, the decision to send children to the labour market would be taken by the elders in the households rather than the children themselves. The basic characteristics of the households, therefore, are expected to have a greater bearing on the urban labour force, particularly that comprises of child labour.

A total of 300 households were selected from 25 slums in seven municipal circles covering Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Care was taken to ensure that every household comprised a child worker either boy or girl or both. A majority of the dwelling places of these households were owned while some others were occupied on a rental basis, the monthly rent paid being very nominal at the rate of Rs. 80 to Rs.400. All the inhabitants in a particular locality were closely related or acquainted with one another for a long time. Caste–based localities are a common feature in the slums. Therefore, the localities with all the major castes in the downtrodden strata of Indian caste-system were surveyed to draw a representative sample.

An important feature observed in the survey was that all the child workers were living in nuclear families. Houses in slum areas were congested with small rooms occupied by a number of families having been related to one another. They share common area for living purposes but have separate kitchens. Many of them did not

prefer to live in the joint family, which meant sharing a common kitchen, as they desired more independent life. The fact that children chosen for sample study belonged to the nuclear families lends support to the idea that the economic necessity of the poor families compels the children to undertake work at an early age.

3.1 Caste-Wise Households

Indian society is caste and community-based. The general assumption is that a majority of the slum-dwellers will be from the disadvantaged sections or lower castes/communities, because many of them live below the poverty line. Hence data were collected on this variable. Data relating to distribution of caste-wise households of the study area are presented in Table 3.1. The households were predominantly inhabited by Muslims in the Municipal Circles of one and two and the rest of the circles were inhabited by a large proportion of people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes. In some other clusters, people belonging to Scheduled Tribes were found living in large numbers. In the category of 'other castes', people of *Vaisyas* and *Reddys* who were supplying child workers were found living along with the deprived castes of slum dwellers in some areas of the identified slum localities.

Table 3.1
Caste-Wise Distribution of Sample Households and Population

Sl. No	Caste/ Community	No. of Households	%	Total Population	%	Household Size
1.	Scheduled Castes	77	25.67	527	25.05	6.84
2.	Scheduled Tribes	58	19.33	411	19.53	7.08
3.	Backward Classes	67	22.33	434	20.63	6.48
4.	Muslim Community	86	28.67	674	32.03	7.84
5.	Other Castes	12	4.00	58	2.76	4.83
Total		300	100	2104	100	7.01

As can be noted from Table 3.1, of the total number of 300 households, 28.67% belonged to the Muslim Community, 25.67% to the Scheduled Castes, 22.3% to

Backward Classes and 19.33% to the Schedule Tribes. The average size of households was the highest (i.e., 7.84) in the Muslim Community followed by those of Scheduled Tribes (i.e., 7.08) and the Scheduled Castes (i.e., 6.84). The lowest average size of households was recorded in the category of 'other castes'. Since the number of households and the population were very less in this category, a comparison with other caste-community households in respect of various aspects examined in the study did not yield any substantial inferences. Hence data of 'Other Caste' households were ignored. Thus, it can be stated that the study area was predominantly inhabited by Muslims, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes.

3.2 Gender-Wise Population

Gender is another important variable in population analysis. Particularly with reference to child labourers, it is important to know whether there is any gender-based preference in sending children to do work outside home. The data pertaining to the gender-wise distribution of population in the sample households of various caste communities is presented in Table 3.2. As revealed by the table in the caste-community households, male population overnumbered the female population. The children above the age of 6 years were considered for the purpose of the study, as the children who were 5 years and below in age were too young to be taken as workers. The population of girls to adult female population (41.4%) is more than that of boys (40.8%) and this feature was common to almost all the caste-group households. That is, the population of female children in these households was slightly higher than that of male children.

3.3 Work-Participation Rate

The proportion of child workers to both total workers and child population is another variable. The particulars of data in this respect are presented in Table 3.3. The proportion of children to workers is 34% for boys and 35.5% for girls. The proportion of girl workers to adult female workers is the highest in the Scheduled Castes (39.3%) followed by Scheduled Tribes (35.8%) and it is the lowest in Backward Classes (30.9%). Likewise, the proportion of boy workers to adult male workers is the highest in the Muslim Community (34.9%)

Table 3.2
Gender-Wise Distribution of Sample Population

Sl. No.	Caste/ Community	Gender	Children (6-14)	Adults	Total
1.	Scheduled Caste	Male	112 (41.9)	155 (58.1)	267 (100)
		Female	97 (42.9)	129 (57.9)	226 (100)
		Total	209 (42.9)	284 (57.6)	493 (100)
2.	Scheduled Tribes	Male	84 (40.0)	126 (60.0)	210 (100)
		Female	73 (41.3)	102 (58.3)	175 (100)
		Total	157 (40.8)	228 (59.2)	385 (100)
3.	Backward Classes	Male	87 (39.4)	134 (60.6)	221 (100)
		Female	71 (39.0)	111 (61.0)	182 (100)
		Total	158 (39.2)	245 (60.8)	403 (100)
4.	Muslim Community	Male	142 (42.0)	196 (58.0)	338 (100)
		Female	122 (42.1)	168 (57.9)	290 (100)
		Total	264 (42.0)	364 (58.0)	628 (100)
5.	Other Castes	Male	15 (34.9)	28 (65.1)	43 (100)
		Female	12 (37.4)	20 (62.5)	32 (100)
		Total	27 (36.0)	48 (64.0)	75 (100)
Total		Male	440 (40.8)	639 (59.2)	1079 (100)
		Female	375 (41.4)	530 (58.6)	905 (100)
		Total	815 (41.1)	1169 (58.9)	1984 (100)

followed by Backward Classes (34.8%) and it is the lowest in the Scheduled Tribes (32.6%). In other words, in the total female workers, girls' participation is more from the Scheduled Caste households and similarly in the total male workers, boys participation is more in Muslim and Backward Class households.

Table 3.3
Work-Force Participation Rates of Child Labour

Sl.No.	Caste/ Community	Percentage of Child Workers to Total Workers			Percentage of Child Workers to Child Population(6-14)		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1.	Scheduled Caste	33.3	39.3	36.3	53.6	66.0	59.3
2.	Scheduled Tribes	32.6	35.8	34.0	53.6	54.3	52.9
3.	Backward Classes	34.8	30.9	33.1	52.9	47.9	50.6
4.	Muslim Community	34.9	34.5	34.7	57.7	58.2	57.9
5.	Other Castes.	33.3	40.0	36.4	40.0	50.0	44.4
Total		34.0	35.5	34.7	54.3	56.8	55.5

The percentage of girl workers in children (56.8%) is higher than that of boy workers (54.3%) and this tendency is found in almost all caste-community households except Backward Classes. This percentage of girls is highest in the Scheduled Castes (66%) followed by the Muslim Community (58.2%) and it is the lowest in Backward Class (47.9%) households. Likewise, the percentage of boy workers in total male children is the highest in the Muslim Community (57.7%) followed by the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (53.6%each) and the lowest in Backward Class (52.9%) households. This means that the proportion of girls in workforce when their percentage is considered in total female workers and in total female children is the highest in the Scheduled Caste households and the lowest in Backward Caste households. In the case of boys, their participation in workforce is highest in Muslim Community households. Though boys outnumbered girls in population, girls outnumbered boys among child workers. As a result, the proportion of girls to female workers and female children stand at 35.5% and 56.8% respectively, whereas for boys the corresponding figures are 34% and 54.3% respectively. Further, the share of child labour in total

workers is more than one third (34.7%) and its share in child population is more than half (55.5%).

3.4 Household Size and Child Labour

The proportion of child labour in relation to the household size is another parameter considered in this study. The details of data on this parameter are presented in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 for boys and girls respectively.

Table 3.4
Household Size and Boy Workers

Sl No.	House hold Size	Number of Boy Workers											
		SC	%	ST	%	BC	%	MS	%	Others	%	Total	%
1.	2.	1	1.7	-	-	1	2.2	-	-	-	-	2	0.8
2.	3	1	1.7	-	-	2	4.3	-	-	-	-	3	1.3
3.	4	1	1.7	2	4.4	-	-	2	2.4	3	50.0	8	3.3
4.	5	4	6.7	6	13.3	6	13.1	1	1.2	3	50.0	20	8.4
5.	6	9	15.0	3	6.7	2	4.3	13	15.9	-	-	27	11.3
6.	7	15	25.0	10	22.2	8	17.4	14	17.1	-	-	47	19.7
7.	8	19	31.5	12	26.7	8	17.4	17	20.7	-	-	56	23.4
8.	9	10	16.6	8	17.8	11	23.9	17	20.7	-	-	46	19.2
9.	10	-	-	4	8.9	8	17.4	8	9.8	-	-	20	8.4
10.	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	12.2	-	-	10	4.2
Total		60	100	45	100	46	100	82	100	6	100	239	100
R		0.84		0.39		0.85		0.49		0		0.48	

R= coefficient of correlation

As can be noted from these two tables, for all the caste community households, the work participation of children is positively correlated with the size of households. In other words, as the size of household increased, the work participation rate of children also increased. For instance, in the Scheduled Castes households, while 5% of boy workers were drawn from the households with a size of upto 4, 40% of boy workers came from the household size of 6 and 7. And in Backward Class households, 23.9% of the boy workers belonged to the household size of upto 6 and the rest of 76.1% of boys were drawn from the household size that varied between 7 and 10. In Muslim Community, just 3.6% of boys belonged to the household size of 4 and 5, but more than half the boys (51.2%) were drawn from the household size of 8 and 10. The

coefficient of correlation is the highest in Backward Caste households (0.85) and the lowest in Scheduled Tribe households (0.39). The degree of magnitude is less in the Scheduled Tribes as compared to that of other caste households.

Table 3.5
Household Size and Girl Workers

Sl. No.	House hold Size	Number of Boy Workers											
		SC	%	ST	%	BC	%	MS	%	Others	%	Total	%
1.	2	2	3.1	-	-	2	5.9	-	-	-	-	4	1.9
2.	3	1	1.6	2	5.3	4	11.8	-	-	-	-	7	3.3
3.	4	1	1.6	3	7.9	9	26.5	4	5.6	2	33.3	19	8.9
4.	5	4	6.3	-	-	-	-	13	18.3	1	16.7	18	8.5
5.	6	15	23.4	8	21.1	8	23.5	12	16.9	3	50.0	46	21.6
6.	7	21	32.8	5	13.2	5	14.7	2	2.8	-	-	33	15.5
7.	8	10	15.6	12	31.6	6	17.6	14	19.7	-	-	42	19.7
8.	9	10	15.6	8	21.0	-	-	6	8.5	-	-	24	11.3
9.	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	19.7	-	-	14	6.6
10.	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	8.5	-	-	6	2.8
Total		64	100	38	100	34	100	71	100	6	100	213	100
R		0.68		0.8		0.33		0.08		0.5		0.25	

As per Table 3.5, the coefficient of correlation for girl workers in respect of household size is the highest in Scheduled Tribe households (0.8) and lowest in Muslim households (0.08). In the Scheduled Tribe households, 13.2% of girls have come from the household size of 3 and 4, 34.2% girls from the household size of 6 and 7 while the rest of 52.6% of girls were drawn from the household size of 8 and 9. A consistent correlation is observed in the distribution of girl workers among different sizes of households. Whereas in Muslim households, 23.9% of girls were drawn from the household size of 4 and 5, 39.4% of girls from the household size of 6 to 8 and rest of 36.6% of girls belong to the household size of 9 to 11. That is, a consistent increase in work participation of girls with increase in the size of households is not observed in the Muslim community.

When compared with boy workers, it can be noted that in total households, while 14.1% of girls were drawn from the household size of upto 4 against just 5.4% of boys, the proportion of girl workers in the household size of 9 to 11 was 20.7% as against 31.8% of boys. The coefficient of correlation for boy workers in all the caste-

community households except those of the Scheduled Tribes was higher than that of girl workers. That is, the boys take part more in the work as the size of the households increases, but it is not so with the girls. In other words, when the family size was small girls took up paid work while boys would go to school. Only when it became financially difficult to manage a family of big size, the boys were sent to work.

3.5 Activity Status of the Children

Data pertaining to the activity status of the children between 6-14 years of age in term of workers and non-workers are presented in Tables 3.6 and 3.7 respectively. In table 3.6, those who are involved in full-time activity spending a major part of the day on work, are termed as full-time workers. It can be noted from the table that in the Scheduled Tribe households, all the boys were full-time workers. There were no child workers (boys or girls) in the Scheduled Tribe households where the children were combining school with work. The proportion of such children who are allowed to combine work with schooling (as part time workers) is the highest in Backward Caste households. 32.6% of the boy workers and 26.5% of the girl workers from Backward Caste households were attending school. There were some child workers who were entrusted with household chores and obviously such workers were girls. For instance, 47.0% of girl workers in Backward Castes are obliged to share household activities. In total, while the proportion of girls to combine work with schooling was less (9.4%) as compared to that of boys (12.1%), the percentage of girls who combined work with household chores was 33.3% and no boys were found to have been engaged in that activity.

Further, as can be noted from Table 3.7, among non-workers, the proportion of the boys who attended schools on a full-time basis was much more (i.e., 79.1%) than that of girls (i.e., 40.7%), but when the schooling was combined with household chores (part-time students), it was girls whose percentage was much higher (25.9%) than that of boys (3%). Among all the caste/community households, the highest percentage of full-time boy students was found in Muslim Community (i.e., 86.7%) whereas for girls, the corresponding percentage was only 45.9% in Backward Caste

Table 3.6
Activity Status of Child Workers

Sl. No.	Caste/ Community	Sex	Full-time Workers	Workers/ Schooling (part-time workers)	Working/ Household Chores (Part-time Workers)	Total
1.	Scheduled Caste	Boys	55 (91.7)	5 (8.3)	-	60 (100)
		Girls	40 (62.5)	6 (9.4)	18 (28.1)	64 (100)
		Total	95 (76.6)	11 (8.9)	18 (18.5)	124 (100)
2.	Scheduled Tribes	Boys	45 (100)	-	-	45 (100)
		Girls	28 (73.7)	-	10 (26.3)	38 (100)
		Total	73 (87.9)	-	10 (12.1)	83 (100)
3.	Backward Classes	Boys	31 (67.4)	15 (32.6)	-	46 (100)
		Girls	9 (26.5)	9 (26.5)	16 (47.0)	34 (100)
		Total	40 (50.0)	24 (30.0)	16 (20.0)	80 (100)
4.	Muslim Community	Boys	73 (89.0)	9 (11.0)	-	82 (100)
		Girls	41 (57.7)	5 (7.0)	25 (37.2)	71 (100)
		Total	114 (74.5)	14 (9.2)	25 (16.3)	153 (100)
5.	Other Castes	Boys	6 (100)	-	-	6 (100)
		Girls	4 (66.7)	-	2 (33.3)	6 (100)
		Total	10 (83.3)	-	2 (16.7)	12 (100)
Total		Boys	210 (87.9)	29 (21.1)	-	239 (100)
		Girls	122 (57.3)	20 (9.4)	71 (33.3)	213 (100)
		Total	332 (73.5)	49 (10.8)	71 (15.7)	452 (100)

Table 3.7
Activity Status of Non-Workers

Sl. No.	Caste/ Community	Sex	Schooling (full-time students)	Schooling/ Household Chores	Look after Household Chores	Idle/Not Doing any thing	Unable to work	Total
1.	Scheduled Castes	Boys	41 (78.8)	3 (5.8)	-	8 (15.4)	-	52 (100)
		Girls	10 (30.3)	9 (27.3)	12 (36.4)	-	2 (6.1)	33 (100)
		Total	51 (60.0)	12 (14.1)	12 (14.1)	8 (9.4)	2 (2.4)	85 (100)
2.	Scheduled Tribes	Boys	30 (76.9)	-	3 (7.7)	4 (10.3)	2 (5.1)	39 (100)
		Girls	13 (37.1)	8 (22.9)	12 (34.3)	-	2 (5.7)	35 (100)
		Total	43 (58.1)	8 (10.8)	15 (20.3)	4 (5.4)	4 (5.4)	74 (100)
3.	Backward Classes	Boys	27 (65.9)	3 (7.3)	5 (12.2)	6 (14.6)	-	41 (100)
		Girls	17 (45.9)	10 (27.0)	10 (27.0)	-	-	37 (100)
		Total	44 (56.4)	13 (16.7)	15 (19.2)	6 (7.7)	-	78 (100)
4.	Muslim Community	Boys	52 (86.7)	-	-	8 (13.3)	-	60 (100)
		Girls	23 (45.1)	12 (23.5)	14 (27.5)	-	2 (4.0)	51 (100)
		Total	75 (67.6)	12 (10.8)	14 (12.6)	8 (7.2)	2 (1.8)	111 (100)
5.	Other Castes	Boys	9 (100)	-	-	-	-	9 (100)
		Girls	3 (50.0)	3 (50.0)	-	-	-	6 (100)
		Total	12 (80.0)	3 (20.0)	-	-	-	15 (100)
Total		Boys	159 (79.1)	6 (3.0)	8 (4.0)	26 (12.9)	2 (1.0)	201 (100)
		Girls	66 (40.7)	42 (25.9)	48 (29.6)	-	6 (3.7)	162 (100)
		Total	225 (62.0)	48 (13.2)	56 (15.4)	26 (7.2)	8 (2.2)	363 (100)

households. Out of the 162 non-working girls, nearly 30% of them were asked to be at home looking after siblings and other household chores including assisting the main workers to carry on their work in the household industry. A girl is expected to contribute to the maintenance of the family by assisting her parents. Because the girls did more work at house, the family would lose more if they sent a daughter to school than if they sent a son. According to a 1995 World Bank paper on child labour, when mothers go to work in the market, girls stay at home looking after siblings and other household chores and in this way the opportunity cost of school is not the wages forgone by girls but by their mothers'.

In the total of 201 non-working boys, 26 (12.9%) boys were found doing nothing. While some parents admitted that boys were not inclined either to go to school or to go to work, some others told that they could not afford to admit their sons in private schools as they did not like nearby government schools, and in the process, children had to remain idle at home. In some families of the poor, boys were idle where parents would not force them to work against their liking, but this situation was hardly found in the case of girls. As a result, no girls were found idle or not doing anything in the total sample households.

3.6 Educational Status of Child Labour

Education is an effective instrument for change. So it was considered necessary to examine the educational achievement levels of the children in the study area. The assumption was that parental interest in their children's education would act as an antidote against child labour. In view of this, the data pertaining to the child workers as per their age and educational background are presented in Table 3.8. It can be noted from the table that among the child workers below the age of 10 years, the number of girls was 26 out of 37 i.e., 70.3%. The percentage of girls within the age group varied but younger the age group, larger was the percentage of girls. This only suggests that the girls started working at an early age than the boys, but were withdrawn from employment as their age increased. When the age in terms of education was considered, it was found that the percentage of illiterate working

Table 3.8
Age-wise Educational Background of Child Workers

Sl. No.	Age Group	Sex	Illiterates	Attending School	Dropouts		Total
					Primary	Middle	
1.	6-10	Boys	4 (36.3)	7 (63.7)	-	-	11 (100)
		Girls	14 (53.8)	12 (46.2)	-	-	26 (100)
		Total	18 (48.6)	19 (51.4)	-	-	37 (100)
2.	10-12	Boys	6 (8.9)	10 (14.9)	51 (76.1)	-	60 (100)
		Girls	12 (20.3)	4 (6.8)	43 (72.9)	-	59 (100)
		Total	18 (14.3)	14 (11.1)	94 (74.6)	-	126 (100)
3.	12-14	Boys	8 (4.9)	12 (7.5)	74 (46.0)	67 (41.6)	161 (100)
		Girls	14 (10.9)	4 (3.1)	71 (55.5)	39 (30.5)	128 (100)
		Total	22 (7.6)	16 (5.5)	145 (50.2)	106 (36.7)	289 (100)
Total		Boys	18 (7.5)	29 (12.1)	125 (52.3)	67 (28.0)	239 (100)
		Girls	40 (18.8)	20 (9.4)	114 (53.5)	39 (18.3)	213 (100)
		Total	58 (12.8)	49 (10.8)	239 (52.9)	106 (23.5)	452 (100)

Average age of Boys : 12.3
Average age of Girls : 11.9

children consistently decreased with the increasing age of the children which means in general that, when children were employed at an early age, they remained illiterate. As can be expected, the girls had relatively poor educational background as compared to that of boys. The survey revealed that the percentage of illiterate girls (i.e., 18.8%) was more than two times that of illiterate boys (7.5%). The dropout rate of girl workers shows that the percentage of girls who dropped out at the primary level (53.5%) was about three times the percentage of dropouts at middle level (18.3%). Only 28% of the boy workers and 18.3% of girl workers had a relatively better education. This group of working children was able to reach the middle level of schooling. The percentage of girl and boy workers who were able to attend schools was 9.4% and 12.1% respectively. Since the majority of girls were engaged in

household industries like tailoring, *Beedi* rolling etc, which can be performed on a part-time basis, some girls found it convenient to combine work with school.

The reasons for not attending school as stated by the respondents are given in Table 3.9. Of the total child workers in the sample, the 58 respondents were illiterate and 345 were dropouts. These child workers (i.e., 58 + 345=403) were considered for Table 3.9. The parents of 24.8% of child workers stated that their families were too poor to afford education and another 31.5% stated that the child workers were required to supplement their inadequate family income. A significant fact to be noted in this context is that the child workers who were not able to go to school due to heavy domestic work were exclusively girls. Their percentage in the total girl workers was 36.8%. The percentage of such girl workers was the highest in the Backward Classes (i.e., 64%) followed by that of Muslim households (i.e., 37.9%). The impact of poverty on gender reflects itself in the sharing by girls of heavy domestic work, which deprived them of education.

The data relating to the reasons for child workers not attending school also revealed that there are some cases where, despite the availability of schools and affordability on the part of the parents, they were not interested in their childrens' education (13.4%) for the reasons that there was no immediate returns, no guarantee for better employment and thus sending children to school was a waste of time. The percentage of the boys belonging to such families was highest in Backward Classes (25.8%) followed by those from the Scheduled Tribes (17.8%) households. In the case of girl workers, the corresponding percentages were13.8 (for SCs), 13.2 (for STs) and 12.1 (for Muslims). Even some children (i.e., 6.9%) were not inclined towards schooling saying that education served no purpose as educated children were also working along with them. The percentage of such boys was the highest in Muslim households (20.5%) followed by those from the Scheduled Castes (9.1%). In the Muslim Community, some girls (i.e., 6.1%) also expressed indifference towards education and thus joined the piece-rate wage work like *Bangle* making, *Agarbatti* making and *Zari* embroidery industries. Some respondents were not satisfied with the quality of education (i.e., 4.2%) and therefore they preferred work to school.

Table 3.9
Child Labour and Reasons for not Attending School

Sl. No	Caste/ Community	Sex	Family too poor	Child had to supplement family income	Heavy domestic work	Family not intere-sted	Child not intere-sted	School not good	No school in the vicinity	Total
1.	Scheduled Caste	Boys	16 (29.1)	22 (40.0)	-	7 (12.7)	5 (9.1)	5 (9.1)	-	55 (100)
		Girls	12 (20.7)	15 (25.9)	18 (31.0)	8 (13.8)	-	5 (8.6)	-	58 (100)
		Total	28 (24.8)	37 (32.7)	18 (15.9)	15 (13.3)	5 (4.4)	10 (8.8)	-	113 (100)
2.	Scheduled Tribes	Boys	10 (22.2)	18 (40.0)	-	8 (17.8)	4 (8.9)	5 (11.1)	-	45 (100)
		Girls	10 (26.3)	8 (21.1)	10 (26.3)	5 (13.2)	-	2 (5.3)	3 (7.9)	38 (100)
		Total	20 (24.1)	26 (31.3)	10 (12.0)	13 (15.7)	4 (4.8)	7 (8.4)	3 (3.6)	83 (100)
3.	Backward Classes	Boys	9 (29.0)	14 (45.2)	-	8 (25.8)	-	-	-	31 (100)
		Girls	5 (20.0)	4 (16.0)	16 (64.0)	-	-	-	-	25 (100)
		Total	14 (25.0)	18 (32.1)	16 (28.6)	8 (14.3)	-	-	-	56 (100)
4.	Muslim Community	Boys	20 (27.4)	28 (38.4)	-	10 (13.7)	15 (20.5)	-	-	73 (100)
		Girls	14 (21.2)	12 (18.2)	25 (37.9)	8 (12.1)	4 (6.1)	-	3 (4.5)	66 (100)
		Total	34 (24.5)	40 (28.8)	25 (18.0)	18 (12.9)	19 (13.7)	-	3 (2.2)	139 (100)
5.	Other Castes	Boys	2 (33.3)	4 (66.7)	-	-	-	-	-	6 (100)
		Girls	2 (33.3)	2 (33.3)	2 (33.3)	-	-	-	-	6 (100)
		Total	4 (33.3)	6 (50.0)	2 (16.7)	-	-	-	-	12 (100)
Total		Boys	57 (27.1)	86 (45.0)	-	33 (15.7)	24 (11.4)	10 (4.8)	-	210 (100)
		Girls	43 (22.3)	41 (21.2)	71 (36.8)	21 (10.9)	4 (2.1)	7 (3.6)	6 (3.1)	193 (100)
		Total	100 (24.8)	127 (31.5)	71 (17.6	54 (13.4)	28 (6.9)	17 (4.2)	6 (1.5)	403 (100)

According to some parents, the teachers were not serious, failed to inculcate interest in children towards education. Therefore, some of the Scheduled Caste parents (of 8.8% children) and Scheduled Tribes parents (of 8.4% children) stated that they were not convinced with the performance of Government Schools and if at all they had to get their children educated, they would prefer private schools. The parents of some girls in Muslim (4.5%) and Scheduled Tribes (7.9%) households stated that there were no schools in the vicinity. Very poor status of the households, need of the children to supplement the family income, heavy domestic work, absence of interest on the part of family as well as children, in some cases, were the main reasons for child workers not attending schools.

3.7 Parental Status

The social and living status of parents can also some times influence the child's life. It was a difficult task to solicit information regarding the marital status of the parents. In the slums, where houses were very congested with number of smaller rooms occupied by nuclear families, it was difficult to get detailed information separately for each household. The respondents were not ready to part with information particularly about the status of living parents. The child workers who were living with stepmothers were not allowed to speak whether their mothers had died or been divorced. It was only after friendly talks were held repeatedly with the respondents that some information was obtained and it is presented in Table 3.10.

As revealed in Table 3.10, a majority of the households i.e., 195 (65%) had both the parents living together. The children from 55 households (18.3%) were living with fathers and stepmothers. In this category, the percentage of households was the highest in the Scheduled Tribes (32.7%) followed by that of Muslims (19.8%) and Scheduled Castes (19.5%), where children were found living with step mothers. The households, which had living mothers but no fathers were 46 (15.3%) in which the highest number of 17 households were found in the Scheduled Tribes (29.3%) followed by 14 (16.3%) Muslim households. These were the households where mothers were heading the families and thus the children were living in the women

Table 3.10
Households and Living Status of Parents

Sl. No.	Caste/ Community	Both alive (living together)	Father alive (divorced / separated) living with step mother	Father alive (widower) living with step mother	Mother alive (divorced/ separated)	Mother alive (widow)	Neither alive	Total House-holds
1.	Scheduled Castes	52 (67.5)	9 (11.7)	6 (7.8)	4 (5.2)	6 (7.8)	-	77 (100)
2.	Scheduled Tribes	20 (34.5)	9 (15.5)	10 (17.2)	9 (15.5)	8 (13.8)	2 (3.4)	58 (100)
3.	Backward Classes	58 (86.6)	-	4 (5.9)	5 (7.5)	-	-	67 (100)
4.	Muslim Community	53 (61.6)	12 (14.0)	5 (5.8)	8 (9.3)	6 (7.0)	2 (2.2)	86 (100)
5.	Other Castes	12 (100)	-	-	-	-	-	12 (100)
Total		195 (65.0)	30 (10.0)	25 (8.3)	26 (8.7)	20 (6.7)	4 (1.3)	300 (100)

headed households. These mothers were either widowed or divorced and did not marry again and were living with their children heading the family. There were few child labour households (i.e., 4) where neither of the parents was alive. Children in these households were living with guardians, mostly relatives, and working to contribute to the family income perhaps to reward their guardians for being their wardens. In most cases, these children were forced to seek employment, basically for their survival.

3.8 Women Headed Households

As mentioned above, the women heading a household were either divorced or widows. They would not head households where there were men folks even though they were the main bread earners of the family. In some households of *Padmashali* caste (i.e., BCs), the main earners were women as their men folk were rendered unemployed with the closure of spinning mills in and around the city. Nevertheless, the households were headed by their men. That is, heading a household was not always by the main earners of the household concerned. Therefore, women head a

household only in the absence of their male counterparts. The details in this respect are presented in Table 3.11.

As can be noted from Table 3.11, the number of households headed by women was 46. While the proportion of women headed households was highest in the case of Scheduled Tribes (i.e., 37%) followed by Muslim households (30.4%), the proportion of men headed households was higher in Muslims (28.3%) followed by Scheduled Caste households (26.4%). In all the caste-communities, it was found that the proportion of girl workers in women headed households were more than that of boys. From the abstract given below Table 3.11, it can be found that the share of girls in the total girls workers, and share of boys in the total boy workers in the women headed households were 24.4% and 12.6% respectively. Similarly, from the total child workers of the women headed households, the proportion of girls and boys was 63.4% and 36.6% respectively. It means that the percentage of girl workers was more than that of boys in the households headed by women. The girls usually actively involved themselves in the work force where households were headed by women, because the women, working hard for the upliftment of the family, made girls work in the same way, leaving their boys to school.

3.9 Parental Occupations

It has been a general observation that the parents of working children engage themselves in economic activities such as petty business, self-employment, construction work, casual labour etc. Hence, data were collected on this variable. Details of the various occupations of parents of the working children in the sample households are presented in Table 3.12. The table reveals that the main occupation of fathers of children in a majority of households was petty business (23.3%) followed by salaried jobs (20.%) and self-employment (16%). In Scheduled Tribes, fathers of 17.2% of households were petty businessmen, and 15.5% of households each were engaged in wage employment and self-employment. In this community, the fathers of about 30% of households were not living with the children and another 10.3 percent of households were non-workers. In Muslim community, the main occupation of fathers

Table 3.11
Women Headed Households and Child Labour

Caste/ Community	Women Headed Households	Workers in Women Headed Households						Men Headed Households	Workers in the Men Headed Households					
		Boys	%	Girls	%	Total	%		Boys	%	Girls	%	Total	%
Schedule Caste	10 (21.7)	4 (28.6)	13.3	10 (71.4)	19.2	14 (100)	17.1	67 (26.4)	56 (50.9)	26.8	54 (49.1)	33.5	110 (100)	29.7
Schedule Tribes	17 (37.0)	14 (41.2)	46.7	20 (58.8)	38.5	34 (100)	41.5	41 (16.1)	31 (63.3)	14.8	18 (36.7)	11.2	49 (100)	13.2
Backward Classes	5 (10.9)	2 (28.6)	6.7	5 (71.4)	9.6	7 (100)	8.5	62 (24.4)	44 (60.3)	21.1	29 (39.7)	18	73 (100)	19.7
Muslims	14 (30.4)	10 (37.0)	33.3	17 (63.0)	32.7	27 (100)	32.9	72 (28.3)	72 (57.1)	34.4	54 (42.9)	33.5	126 (100)	34.1
Other Castes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 (4.7)	6 (50.0)	2.9	6 (50.0)	3.7	12 (100)	3.2
Total	46 (100)	30 (36.6)	100	52 (63.4)	100	82 (100)	100	254 (100)	209 (56.5)	100	161 (43.5)	100	370 (100)	100

ABSTRACT

Category	No. of Households	Boys	%	Girls	%	Total	%
Women Headed Households	46 (15.3)	30 (36.6)	12.6	52 (63.4)	24.4	82 (100)	18.1
Men Headed Households	254 (84.7)	209 (56.5)	87.4	161 (43.5)	75.6	370 (100)	81.9
Total	300 (100)	239 (52.9)	100	213 (47.1)	100	452 (100)	100

Table- 3.12

Caste and Parental Occupational Status

Caste / Community	Sex	Salaried Jobs	Petty Business	Wage Empl-oyment	Self Empl-oyment	Un-Empl-oyment	Una-ble to Work	Non-Work-ers	Not Living with Children	Not Alive	Total
Schedule Castes	Father	17 (22.1)	20 (26.0)	8 (10.4)	12 (15.6)	4 (5.2)	2 (2.6)	4 (5.2)	10 (13.0)	–	77 (100)
	Mother	21 (27.3)	17 (22.1)	14 (18.2)	11 (14.3)	10 (13.0)	4 (5.2)	–	–	–	77 (100)
Schedule Tribes	Father	5 (8.6)	10 (17.2)	9 (15.5)	9 (15.5)	–	–	6 (10.3)	17 (29.3)	2 (3.5)	58 (100)
	Mother	5 (8.6)	10 (17.2	9 (15.5)	14 (24.1)	14 (24.1)	4 (6.9)	–	–	2 (3.5)	58 (100)
Backward Classes	Father	17 (25.4)	17 (25.4)	6 (9.0)	11 (16.4)	8 (11.9)	3 (4.5)	–	5 (7.5)	–	67 (100)
	Mother	15 (22.4)	17 (25.4)	11 (16.4)	10 (14.9)	12 (17.9)	2 (3.0)	–	–	–	67 (100)
Muslims	Father	16 (18.6)	19 (22.1)	10 (11.6)	16 (18.6)	4 (4.7)	–	5 (5.8)	14 (16.3)	2 (2.3)	86 (100)
	Mother	7 (8.1)	20 (23.3)	35 (40.7)	6 (7.0)	12 (14.0)	4 (4.7)	–	–	2 (2.3)	86 (100)
Others	Father	5 (41.7)	4 (33.3)	3 (25.0)	–	–	–	–	–	–	12 (100)
	Mother	–	5 (41.7)	7 (58.3)	–	–	–	–	–	–	12 (100)
Total	Father	60 (20.0)	70 (23.3)	36 (12.0)	48 (16.0)	16 (5.3)	5 (1.7)	15 (5.0)	46 (15.3)	4 (1.3)	300 (100)
	Mother	48 (16.0)	69 (23.0)	76 (25.3)	41 (13.7)	48 (16.0)	14 (4.7)	–	–	4 (1.3)	300 (100)

Salaried job	F	watchmen, truck drivers, those in furniture making industries,welding& automobile servicing industries etc.
	M	sweeper, domestic servants, employment in manufacturing industries, attenders in institutions etc.
Petty business:	F	pan shops, leather work, cobblers, vending variety of wares, pottery wares making, eatable stalls etc.
	M	knitting, mirror work, weaving broom sticks, mats, baskets, kirana stores, eatable stalls, vending fruits, vegetables etc.
Wage Labourers:	F	construction work, stone breaking, daily wage labourers etc.
	M	construction work, stone breaking, bangle making, agarbatti making, beedi rolling etc.
Self-employmen	F	rickshah pulling, auto drivers, dhobhi work, hair cutting, rag picking etc.
	M	tailoring, dobhi work, rag picking etc.

of majority households (22.1%) was petty business and the second major occupation was salaried jobs (18.6%) and self-employment (18.6%).

The main occupation of mothers in a majority of Scheduled Caste households was salaried jobs (i.e., 27.3%), in Scheduled Tribes households it was petty business (i.e., 17.2%) and in Muslim households, it was wage employment (i.e., 40.7%). In the total number of 300 households it was found that, the fathers' occupation in a largest number of households was petty business and the mothers' occupation was wage employment. This reveals an interesting fact that mothers in general, readily would take up the available wage work to offer immediate succor to the family, whereas fathers would take time and prefer to run petty business units.

The fathers of the children in 16 households (5.3%) were unemployed, majority of whom were rendered unemployed. Another 15 households (5%) had fathers who were non-workers, and many of them were drunkards, vagabonds and some were wanderers. They were voluntary un-employed persons. There were altogether 46 households (15.3%) where children did not have fathers and therefore these households were headed by women.

The mothers of 48 households (16%) were unemployed persons. Unemployed mothers were the highest in Scheduled Tribe households (24.1%) followed by the Backward Classes (17.9%) and Muslim households (14%). Since these mothers were unpaid for the work they performed for the family and not doing paid work outside the family they were termed as un-employed. However, they worked round the clock attending a variety of household activities. In this way, the status of an unemployed woman was completely different from that of an unemployed man.

3.10 Parental Responsibility

A general notion was that very poor conditions of the households contribute to the high incidence of child labour. However, the extent of responsibility shouldered by the parents towards the family well being also has a role in the incidence of child labour. The responsibility of the parents was measured in terms of the way they spend

their earnings, their punctuality at the work place, sensitiveness to the family requirements, commitment and hard working etc. Keeping this in view, data on the extent of responsibility of both the parents were tabulated and presented in Table 3.13. From the table it can be noted that, children from 135 households (45%) were forced to get into employment as their fathers were not the main earners of the family due to ill health, unemployment, irregular nature of employment and their irresponsible attitude towards family. Some of the casual wage labourers, rickshaw pullers, vendors and construction workers were reportedly spending their earnings for themselves, on gambling, alcohol and other unhygienic beverages. The number of households having such fathers was 17.2% in Scheduled Tribes and 15.1% in Muslim Communities. Around one-fifth of the households in the Scheduled Castes (i.e., 19.5%) and more than one-forth households in Muslims (i.e., 26.7%) had fathers who do not work regularly. They were mostly daily wage labourers, rag pickers, hawkers and vendors and also construction workers. The fathers of more than 10% of households in all the caste-communities (10.4% in SCs, 10.3% in STs, 11.9% in BCs and 10.5% in Muslims) were totally dependents on their families as they were un-employed persons. In the total 300 households, only 115 (38.3%) had fathers who were totally responsible and sensitive to the requirements of their families.

The mothers in general would shoulder more responsibility and this can be observed from the table which shows that 43.3% of households (as against 38.3% in the case of fathers) had mothers who shouldered the total responsibility of the families and contributed their total earnings to the household income. There were no irresponsible mothers who would spend their earnings for themselves. The mothers of 48 households (16%) were totally dependent on the family, as they were able to earn nothing in the form of cash. However, their contribution to the household activities which enabled the other members to join the labour force was very important and therefore they were also equally responsible mothers as the mothers who contributed in cash to their household income. The mothers of 90 households (30%) have no regular income, as they did not get into work regularly due to several reasons that kept them away from work. Such mothers were the highest in proportion in the Backward

Table 3.13
Households and Parental Responsibility

Caste/ Community	Sex	Totally Responsible	Not work regularity	Ill health/ unable to work	Spends for self (irresponsible)	Total dependent on the family	Not living with children	Not alive	Ill treat-ment	Total
Scheduled Caste	Father	35 (45.5)	15 (19.5)	2 (2.6)	7 (9.1)	8 (10.4)	10 (13.0)	-	-	77 (100)
	Mother	40 (51.9)	20 (26.0)	4 (5.2)	-	10 (13.0)	-	-	3 (3.9)	77 (100)
Schedule Tribe	Father	15 (25.0)	8 (13.8)	-	10 (17.2)	6 (10.3)	17 (29.3)	2 (3.4)	-	58 (100)
	Mother	20 (34.5)	13 (22.4)	4 (6.9)	-	14 (24.1)	-	2 (3.4)	5 (8.6)	58 (100)
Backward Classes	Father	30 (44.8)	16 (23.9)	3 (4.5)	5 (7.5)	8 (11.9)	5 (7.5)	-	-	67 (100)
	Mother	25 (37.3)	28 (41.8)	2 (3.0)	-	12 (17.9)	-	-	-	67 (100)
Muslims	Father	25 (29.1)	23 (26.7)	-	13 (15.1)	9 (10.5)	14 (16.3)	2 (2.3)	-	86 (100)
	Mother	38 (44.2)	24 (27.9)	4 (4.7)	-	12 (14.0)	-	2 (2.3)	6 (7.0)	86 (100)
Others	Father	10 (83.3)	2 (16.7)	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 (100)
	Mother	7 (58.3)	5 (41.7)	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 (100)
Total	Father	115 (38.3)	64 (21.3)	5 (1.7)	35 (11.7)	31 (10.3)	46 (15.3)	4 (1.3)	-	300 (100)
	Mother	130 (43.3)	90 (30.0)	14 (4.7)	-	48 (16.0)	-	4 (1.3)	14 (4.7)	300 (100)

Class households (41.8%), followed by Muslim (27.9%) and the Scheduled Caste households (26%). Finally, the mothers of 14 households (4.7%), mostly step mothers and guardians were reported to be guilty of ill-treating the children. Owing to all these reasons, children in these households were forced to work and earn for the family.

3.11 Household Per Capita Income

Details of the per capita income of the households including and excluding the childrens contribution are presented in Tables 3.14 and 3.15 respectively.

Table 3.14
Caste/Community and Per Capita Income of Households with Child Labour Contribution

Per Capita Income of Households (Rs.)	Scheduled Caste Hhds.		Scheduled Tribe Hhds.		Backward Class Hhds.		Muslim Community Hhds.		Other Caste Hhds.		Total Hhds.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
150-200	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4.7	-	-	4	1.3
200-250	2	2.6	-	-	-	-	2	2.3	-	-	4	1.3
250-300	1	1.3	3	5.2	5	7.5	1	1.2	-	-	10	3.3
300-350	3	3.9	6	10.3	7	10.4	5	5.8	2	16.7	23	7.7
350-400	11	14.3	12	20.7	11	16.4	15	17.4	2	16.7	51	17.0
400-450	15	19.5	8	13.8	18	26.9	19	22.1	2	16.7	62	20.7
450-500	3	3.9	7	12.1	12	17.9	13	15.1	3	25.0	38	12.7
500-550	10	12.9	4	6.9	6	8.9	13	15.1	3	25.0	36	12.0
550-600	10	12.9	7	12.1	4	6.0	9	10.5	-	-	30	10.0
600-650	3	3.9	2	3.4	1	1.5	5	5.8	-	-	11	3.7
650-700	2	2.6	6	10.3	1	1.5	-	-	-	-	9	3.0
700-750	8	10.4	3	5.2	2	3.0	-	-	-	-	13	4.3
750-800	6	7.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2.0
800-850	3	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.0
Total	77	100	58	100	67	100	86	100	12	100	300	100
Avg. Income(Rs)	529.50		475.90		437.70		442.40		437.50		470.00	
SD	154.20		127.81		99.38		106.68		71.08		127.83	
CV	29.12		26.86		22.71		24.10		16.24		27.19	

SD= Standard Deviation. CV= Coefficient of Variation.

As per Table 3.14, the proportion of households belonging to higher per capita income of Rs 700 and above is the highest in the Scheduled Castes (22.2%) followed by the Scheduled Tribes (5.2%) and the Backward Classes (3%). There were no

households with per capita income above Rs.650 in Muslim Community. Therefore the proportion of households belonging to low per capita income group of Rs 300 and below was the highest in Muslims (8.1%) followed by the Backward Classes (7.5%) and the Scheduled Tribes (5.2%). In all the caste-communities, a majority of households belonged to the per capita income between Rs 350 and Rs.450. Their proportion was 33.8% in SCs, 34.5% in STs, 43.3% in BCs and 39.5% in Muslims .

Table 3.15
Caste/Community and Per Capita Income of Households without Child Labour Contribution

Per capita income of households (Rs.)	Scheduled Caste Hhds.		Scheduled Tribes Hhds.		Backward Classes Hhds.		Muslim Community Hhds.		Other Castes Hhds.		Total Hhds.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
100-150	2	2.6	4	6.9	2	3.0	7	8.1	-	-	15	5.0
150-200	6	7.8	4	6.9	2	3.0	2	2.3	-	-	14	4.7
200-250	15	19.5	6	10.3	2	3.0	4	4.7	4	33.3	31	10.3
250-300	10	12.9	9	15.5	10	14.9	19	22.1	1	8.3	49	16.3
300-350.	6	7.8	12	20.7	11	16.4	23	26.7	2	16.7	54	18.0
350-400	5	6.5	11	19.0	23	34.3	9	10.5	2	16.7	50	16.7
400-450	9	11.7	8	13.8	12	17.9	9	10.5	3	25.0	41	13.7
450-500	8	10.4	2	3.4	5	7.5	4	4.6	-	-	19	6.3
500-550	4	5.2	2	3.4	-	-	9	10.5	-	-	15	5.0
550-600	4	5.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.3
600-650	5	6.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1.7
650-700	3	3.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.0
Total	77	100	58	100	67	100	86	100	12	100	300	100
Avg. Income(Rs)	369.20		318.10		350.40		333.10		320.80		342.80	
SD	150.75		98.46		78.88		106.16		80.25		113.75	
CV	40.83		30.95		22.52		31.87		25 01		33 18	

When childrens' contribution from household income was withdrawn (Table 3.15) a significant variation noted was that the majority of households from all caste communities did not belong to the same range of per capita income group. For instance, 32.5% of the Scheduled Caste households belonged to per capita income group of Rs.200-300, 39.7% of Scheduled Tribes belonged to Rs.300-400, 52.2% of Backward Class households belonged to Rs.350-450 and 48.8% of Muslim households belonged to Rs.250-350. The proportion of households that had highest per capita income of Rs.550 and above was 15.6% in Scheduled Castes. There were no

households in any other caste-community, which belonged to this per capita income group i.e., Rs.550 and above. The proportion of households with low per capita income of Rs.200 and below was highest in the Scheduled Tribes (13.8%) followed by Muslims (10.5%).

A comparison of household per capita income between Tables 3.14 and 3.15 revealed that, in the total of 300 households, the proportion of households with low per capita income of Rs.300 and below would increase from 5.9% to 36.3% if childrens' contribution were withdrawn. The decline in average per capita household income due to the withdrawal of childrens' contribution was the highest in the Scheduled Castes being Rs.160.30 (i.e., from Rs. 529.50 to 369.20) followed by the Scheduled Tribes being Rs.157.80 (i.e., from Rs. 475.90 to 318.10) and the lowest being in the Backward Classes, Rs.87.30 (i.e., from Rs. 437.70 to 350.40). A substantial increase in coefficient variation was also observed in the case of the Scheduled Caste households. Barring Backward Class households, for all other caste groups, there was an increase in the coefficient of variation which shows that income from child labour reduced the inconsistency, instability and variability in the distribution of per capita household income, thus emphasising the contribution from childrens' earnings.

3.12 Household Per Capita Income With Childrens' Contribution and Child Labour

It is important to analyse the per capita household income with and without child labour contribution and participation of children (girls and boys) in workforce. Tables 3.16 and 3.17 present the caste-wise per capita household income with childrens' contribution and children in workforce. As can be noted from Table 3.16 that proportion of girls belonging to high per capita household income of Rs.600 and above was the highest in the Scheduled Castes (14%), followed by Scheduled Tribes (10.6%). There were no girls from Backward Classes and Muslims belonging to this income group of households. On the other hand, the proportion of girls from low per capita income of Rs.300 and below, was the highest in the Backward Classes (20.6%)

Table 3.16
Household Per Capita Income With Child Labour Contribution and Girl Child Workers

Per capita income of households (Rs.)	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Backward Classes		Muslim Community		Other Castes		Total	
	No. of Girls	%	No. of Girls	%	No. of Girls	%	No. of Girls	%	No. of Girls	%	No. of Girls	%
150-200	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	11.3	-	-	8	3.8
200-250	2	3.1	-	-	-	-	4	5.6	-	-	6	2.8
250-300	2	3.1	-	-	7	20.6	2	2.8	-	-	11	5.2
300-350	2	3.1	5	13.2	7	20.6	6	8.5	1	16.7	21	9.9
350-400	11	17.2	10	26.3	5	14.7	15	21.1	-	-	41	19.2
400-450	15	23.4	7	18.4	9	26.5	19	26.8	2	33.3	52	24.4
450-500	3	4.7	5	13.2	4	11.8	9	12.7	1	16.7	22	10.3
500-550	10	15.6	2	5.3	1	2.9	6	8.5	2	33.3	21	9.9
550-600	10	15.6	5	13.2	1	2.9	2	2.8	-	-	18	8.4
600-650	2	3.1	2	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.9
650-700	2	3.1	2	5.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.9
700-750	3	4.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.4
750-800	2	3.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.9
Total	64	100	38	100	34	100	100	100	6	100	213	100
SD	125.69		101.77		78.93		118.70		69.22		116.57	
CV	26.03		22.42		20.80		36.24		15.38		27.32	
R	-0.12		-0.72		-0.77		+0.071		+0.51		-0.29	

followed by Muslim (19.7%) households. A Majority of girls were drawn from the households with per capita income of Rs.350-450. The proportion of girls belonging to this income group of households was 47.9% (in Muslims , 44.7% in STs,, 41.2% in BCs), and 40.6% in SCs..

It can be noted from Table 3.17, that the proportion of boys belonging to the households with high per capita income of Rs.600 and above was the highest in the Scheduled Castes (36.7%), followed by the Scheduled Tribes (28.9%) and it was the lowest in the Muslim Community (6.1%). The percentage of boys belonging to low per capita income of Rs.300 and below was 6.7% in the Scheduled Tribe households. There were no boys from any other community in this low-income group. The proportion of boy workers belonging to per capita household income of Rs.350-450 was 35% in the Scheduled Castes and 41.5% in the Muslim community. While in the Scheduled Tribes 26.7% of boy workers came from the per capita household income group of Rs.300-400, in the Backward Classes, 45.6% of boys belonged to the

Table 3.17
Household Per Capita Income With Child Labour Contribution and Boy Child Workers

Per capita income of households (Rs.)	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Backward Classes		Muslim Community		Other Castes		Total	
	No. of Boys	%	No. of Boys	%	No. of Boys	%	No. of Boys	%	No. of Boys	%	No. of Boys	%
250-300	-	-	3	6.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.3
300-350	3	5.0	7	15.6	-	-	3	3.7	1	16.7	14	5.9
350-400	11	18.3	5	11.0	9	19.6	15	18.3	2	33.3	42	17.5
400-450	10	16.7	3	6.7	10	21.7	19	23.2	-	-	42	17.5
450-500	2	3.3	2	4.4	11	23.9	15	18.3	2	33.3	32	13.4
500-550	7	12.0	4	8.9	6	13.0	13	15.9	1	16.7	31	13.0
550-600	5	8.3	8	17.8	4	8.7	12	14.6	-	-	29	12.1
600-650	3	5.0	2	4.4	2	4.3	5	6.1	-	-	12	5.0
650-700	2	3.3	7	15.5	2	4.3	-	-	-	-	11	4.6
700-750	8	13.3	4	8.9	2	4.3	-	-	-	-	14	5.9
750-800	6	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2.5
800-850	3	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.3
Total	60	100	45	100	46	100	82	100	6	100	239	100
SD	157.45		145.79		94.93		80.31		70.71		124.07	
CV	28.63		28.81		19.54		17.05		16.64		24.86	
R	-0.28		+0.09		-0.91		-0.08		0		-0.39	

households with per capita income of Rs.400-500. A comparison with the girl workers reveals that while 11.8% of girls were drawn from the per capita household income of Rs.300 and below against just 1.3% of boys, only 6.1% of the girls belonged to the high per capita income of Rs.600 and above against 19.3% of boys. In many of the households of various cast communities, it was found that the coefficient of correlation between participation of children in workforce and household per capita income is negative, where it is positive, the degree of magnitude is very negligible. This type of correlation reveals that childrens' participation in the labour market has an inverse relationship with the level of per capita income of households.

3.13 Household Per Capita Income without Childrens' Contribution and Child Labour

When childrens' income is withdrawn, the distribution of child workers moved down to low per capita income group of households. As per Table 3.18, the distribution of girl workers moved to Rs.100-500. The proportion of girls belonging to

high per capita household income of Rs.400 and above was the highest in the Scheduled Castes (21.9%) followed by that of the Backward Classes (5.9%). In the low per capita income group of Rs.200 and below, the percentage of girls was the highest in Backward Classes (17.7%) followed by that of Muslim households (15.5%). While the largest proportion of girls in Scheduled Castes households (i.e., 42.2%)

Table 3.18
Household Per Capita Income Without Child Labour Contribution and Girl Child Workers

Per capita income of households (Rs.)	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Backward Classes		Muslim Community		Other Castes		Total	
	No. of Girls	%	No. of Girls	%	No. of Girls	%	No. of Girls	%	No. of Girls	%	No. of Girls	%
100-150	2	3.1	2	5.2	4	11.8	9	12.7	-	-	17	8.0
150-200	6	9.4	2	5.2	2	5.9	2	2.8	-	-	12	5.6
200-250	17	26.6	9	23.7	2	5.9	6	8.4	3	50.0	37	17.4
250-300	10	15.6	10	26.3	11	32.4	19	26.8	1	16.7	51	23.9
300-350	8	12.5	10	26.3	7	20.6	23	32.4	1	16.7	49	23.0
350-400	7	10.9	5	13.2	6	17.6	7	9.9	1	16.7	26	12.2
400-450	9	14.1	-	-	2	5.9	5	7.0	-	-	16	7.5
450-500	5	7.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2.3
Total	64	100	38	100	34	100	71	100	6	100	213	100
SD	96.41		65.38		82.94		81.32		57.73		83.90	
CV	31.97		23.6		29.07		28.48		21.0		29.09	
R	+0.026		+0.56		+0.16		+0.15		-0.77		-0.17	

belonged to the per capita income of Rs.200-300, in the remaining caste communities, the largest proportion of girls (i.e., 59.2% in Muslims; 53% in BCs and 52.6% in STs) belonged to the per capita income of Rs. 250-350. There were no girls in the entire sample who hailed from households with per capita income of above Rs 500. It means that when childrens' income is withdrawn from the per capita income of households, child workers were pushed down from relatively more per capita income group of households to lower per capita income group of households. For instance, when the childrens' income was withdrawn, nearly 45.3% of girls in the Scheduled Castes were pushed down from households with per capita income of above Rs.500 (Table 3.16) to those having per capita income of Rs.500 and below. Similarly, in the Scheduled Tribes, about 60.7% of girls from households with a per capita income of above Rs.400 were pushed down to those of Rs.400 and below.

As per Table 3.19, the distribution of boy workers in different groups of per capita household incomes was relatively wider ranging from Rs.100 to Rs.700. The proportion of boys belonging to high per capita income of Rs.500 and above was the highest in the Scheduled Castes (26.7%) followed by Muslim (13.4%) households. There were no boys in the Backward Classes with a per capita household income of

Table 3.19
Household Per Capita Income without Child Labour Contribution and Boy Child Workers

Per capita income of households (Rs.)	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes		Backward Classes		Muslim Community		Other Castes		Total	
	No. of Boys	%	No. of Boys	%	No. of Boys	%	No. of Boys	%	No. of Boys	%	No. of Boys	%
100-150	-	-	2	4.4	-	-	2	2.4	-	-	4	1.7
150-200	3	5.0	2	4.4	-	-	2	2.4	-	-	7	2.9
200-250	9	15.0	3	6.7	2	4.3	2	2.4	1	16.7	17	7.1
250-300	8	13.3	8	17.8	5	10.9	18	21.9	-	-	39	16.3
300-350	5	8.3	8	17.8	7	15.2	20	24.4	1	16.7	41	17.2
350-400	3	5.0	6	13.3	17	37.0	10	12.2	1	16.7	37	15.5
400-450	5	8.3	8	17.8	10	21.7	9	11.0	3	50.0	35	14.6
450-500	11	18.3	4	8.9	5	10.9	8	9.8	-	-	28	11.7
500-550	4	6.7	4	8.9	-	-	11	13.4	-		19	7.9
550-600	4	6.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.7
600-650	5	8.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2.1
650-700	3	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1 3
Total	60	100	45	100	46	100	82	100	6	100	239	100
SD	147.75		104.68		63.76		99.71		73.12		110 93	
CV	36.33		29.96		17.15		27.57		19 94		29.77	
R	-0.24		+0.39		+0.41		+0.41		+0.68		-0 21	

above Rs.500. The proportion of boys in the low per capita income of Rs.200 and below, was the highest in Scheduled Tribes (8.8%) followed by the Muslim households (4.8%). A majority of the boys i.e., 35.6% in the Scheduled Tribes, 46.3% in the Muslim Community belonged to the per capita household income of Rs.250-350, while 58.7% boys in the Backward Classes belonged to Rs.350-450 and 28.3% in Scheduled Castes belonged to the per capita income of Rs.200-300. A comparison between girl and boy workers reveals that the proportion of girls belonging to poor households with a per capita income of Rs.200 and below was 13.6% against 4.6% of boys. There were no girls in the households with a per capita income of Rs.500 and above, and there were 13% of boys in this per capita income group. Even in the per

capita household income group of Rs.400-500, the proportion of girls was 9.8% against 26.3% of boys. This indicates that in low per capita income of households, more girls were in workforce than boys and on the other hand, in high per capita income of households, the proportion of boys in workforce was relatively more than that of girls. This was probably so because relatively more girls were drawn from small size of households, and more boys from big size of households.

Another finding was that the value of coefficient of correlation between many of the child workers hailing from different caste communities and various levels of per capita income of households is not uniform, i.e., for some households it is positive and for some other households it is negative. However, when considered the child workers as well as households in total, the coefficient is negative i.e., –0.29 for girl workers and –0.39 for boy workers in the households with child labour contribution, and –0.17 for girl workers and –0.21 for boy workers in the households without child labour contribution. It means that, even in the absence of child labour contribution to household income, the negative correlation continued to exist revealing that childrens' participation in work force was more from the households with low per capita income and vice versa.

It can be concluded that the children in Hyderabad slums were forced to enter the labour market due to irresponsible attitude of the parents in some cases and desire of the parents to supplement the family income in many other cases and in a few cases, it was due to the stagnation of schooling of the children. The poor status of the households of child labour was reflected, besides meager earnings, in the type of houses they lived, their standard of living and household environment. The households had no other source of income like land and any side business. However, the respondents were not inclined to disclose the actual ownership status of their dwelling places. Nevertheless, it was observed that while a majority of households lived in the encroached slum dwellings, others lived in the rented single room tenements at a very low rent. Since there was no other source of income except earnings through the daily work, the contribution of children towards the family income was a crucial and deciding factor in the management of households.

CHAPTER 4

EMPLOYMENT AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF CHILD LABOUR

4.0 Introduction

As revealed in the preceding chapters, child employment is a consequence of economic compulsions the poor families face and the economic advantage the employers find in hiring children. Both the factors often operate together complementing and supplementing each other. Understandably, the labour market for children is normally more unorganized than that of adults. It is particularly true for the children working in urban labour market where due to the expansion of urbanization, informal sector intensifies its presence in providing livelihood to a vast majority of urban poor. The poor economic status of the parents force the children to take up occupations which are exploitative in nature.

This chapter which is devoted to a study of the nature of employment and the working conditions of the child workers is divided into three sections. The first section (4.1) deals with the occupational specifications in the employment of child labour. The second section (4.2) examines the characteristics of child labour with reference to caste, gender, age and education. The third section (4.3) presents profiles of some of the girl child workers employed in different occupations in the study area.

4.1 Occupational Specifications of Child Labour

The child workers were engaged in wide ranging occupations in the sample slums of Hyderabad. While some occupations were caste-community specific, some others were male-female and skilled-unskilled specific. A detailed description of each and every trade/occupation helps understanding the specific characteristics involved in the working conditions of child labour.

4.1.1 Girl Child Workers

There are certain occupations which are female specific and such occupations are mostly traditional in relation to certain caste-community households. Those occupations are discussed below.

a. **Bangle-Making:** Hyderabad is famous for stone studded bangles. This industry gave the old city of Hyderabad a worldwide recognition. The concentration of bangle industry is relatively more in this area. Bangle- making is specific to the Muslim Community in the study area.

Bangle making involves four steps viz.

i. Preparing organic mould from the trees (i.e. from glue) and mixing it with desired colour;

ii. After colouring the glue, heating it to make into strips and setting it along the frame of the bangle (made of a metal like aluminium);

iii. Giving the bangle a perfect shape with the help of small furnace; and

iv. Finally, putting coloured stones into the bangle to obtain a required design on the bangle.

Obviously this is a skilled type of work and girl children are involved in all the steps of bangle making. Wages are paid on a piece-rate basis. One set contains 6 bangles and 10 such sets yield the workers Rs.15 to Rs.20 depending on the design of the bangles. Working full time a worker can hardly make 10 to 12 sets a day.

Bangle making is done both at a *Karkhana* (i.e., a workshop) as well as in households. The contractor provides materials and under his supervision girls make bangles. In some cases, materials were given to the female workers to do at home. The girls were not allowed to speak in the *Karkhana* about payment and it was from the workers who would make bangles at home that the payment particulars were obtained. The *Karkhana*s were generally situated in small and dusty rooms; they were not clean and very hot due to the ever-burning furnaces around the place. It was very

strenuous and arduous work. The girl child workers had to sit for long hours without any support at their backs near the furnace and had to strain their eyes.

b. ***Agarbatti*****-making:** *Agarbatti* making is done on a large scale in the old city of Hyderabad. It is one of the cheap sources of child labour. It is done both at *Karkhana* as well as at home-based *Karkhana*s.

This industry is also Muslim specific as no other caste-community in any of the sample slums found working on *Agarbatti* making. Materials used in making *Agarbattis* are twigs, fine saw dust, fine coal dust and gum. Contractors purchase these materials in wholesale. The sawdust and gum were made into a tough dough; coal dust, twigs and this dough are given to workers.

Agarbatti making is done in three steps, viz;

i. Cutting the bamboo sticks into thin pieces or twigs;
ii Putting dough and coal dust to the twigs by rolling it; and
iii. Finally putting fragrance into the *Agarbattis.*

Cutting of bamboo sticks is done on small wooden platforms, which are provided with a big blade. Children in the age group from 5 to 10 years are generally preferred for this work. In the second stage, children ranging from 9 to 14 years are preferred as it involves applying dough to the twigs by rolling the latter. The third stage is taken care of by the contractors as it is this stage that differentiates the product. Usually contractors take back the *Agarbattis* by weight in a small balance, 10 *Agarbatti* sticks must weigh 10 grms, and get them dipped in perfume for a couple of days, after which they are dried, packed and sold in the market.

Wages were paid on a piece–rate at Rs.10/- per Kg. of *Agarbattis*. Experienced workers can make between 2 to 3 Kgs. a day sitting to work from 8 am to 6 pm with a short interval for lunch. *Karkhana*s are very small and work places are not well lit in some cases. Many of the places were dark while the walls, the floor and the roof were all blackened with years of working and storing sacks of coal dust. It was because of

this reason that a separate place was choosen for making *Agarbattis*. Workers sit for long hours for making *Agarbattis* using coal dust, and therefore their hands, faces, clothes became blackened. Workers complained of having backpain, pain in shoulders, strain on the eyes and most important, respiratory problems.

c. ***Zari* Embroidery Work:** *Zari* work is an important skilled work among the famous articraft contributions of Hyderabad. It is one of the popular professions in which women and girls from the Muslim Community work in large numbers. It is a household industry. Materials used in *Zari* work are *Zari* threads, shiny threads, beads, pearls, stones and other shiny materials, needles and frames. The work requires specific skills which girls can learn at an early age. The girls fill the already carved-out designs with the *Zari* threads and also fill the *Zari* designed area with pearls, beads and other shiny materials with the help of specially made needles to make the required designs.

Contractors give the orders and materials to the workers and collect the finished product. Some workers buy the material and finish the product by orders directly from the shop owners. But shopkeepers are very particular about exact designs, and some times they even reject the embroidered cloth. Some other workers finish the product with the designs of their choice and sell the embroidered cloth to the shopkeepers. However, in such cases, workers face the problem of marketing. Therefore, normally the workers find dealing through the middlemen (i.e., the contractors) more convenient as they usually take the finished product without rejecting it, of course at lesser rates.

Workers are paid at a piece-rate, depending on the design of *Zari* embroidery. A simple design can be made in one day by an experienced worker for which she is paid Rs.30 to Rs.40. A sari embroidered throughout with *Zari* thread and pearls would be at least Rs.2500 to Rs.3000 in the market while the *Zari* worker is paid only Rs.400 to Rs.500. It takes her (i.e., the worker) a month to work alone and for two girls 15 days if they work together. The difference between the wages paid to the *Zari* workers and the price at which the *Zari* product is sold in the market is very wide and

this explains the nature of exploitation by the middlemen and shopkeepers in *Zari* embroidery industry.

A rectangular wooden stand (or frame) with a hole in its middle, is put in the middle of the room and cloth is fixed to the borders of the frame. Girls sit on the ground around the frame and work on the cloth. Since most of the families of the *Zari* workers were normally larger, poor and lived in small rooms with curtains drawn most of the time, there was hardly any space to move about. In most houses, the family had to adjust in one small room along with the frame. Usually there would be no adequate light and ventilation. The girls would strain their eyes to work on embroidery and complained of headache and eyesight.

d. Safety Pin Making: Hundreds of women and girls from the Muslim community, most of them being very poor and destitute, make the safety pins for a pittance of wages. It is a household industry. It is surprising to know that there are six stages in making safety pins and girls of school going age would do this work sitting on the ground whole day. The following are the six stages;

i. Sheets of tin were cut in the factory into pieces of a given size, each of which was later made into pinheads;

ii. These pieces of tin were given to girls to be folded into pin heads with the help of small hand operated machines provided by the contractors;

iii. In the factory, steel was rolled into thin needlepoint twigs in the required length;

iv. These twigs were given to workers to be twisted into pinpoints in U shape with the help of machines. For each process, different types of machines were provided;

v. The pinpoints were then fitted into the pinheads by girls and women. This was manual work. No machines were used to join pin-points and pin-heads together; and

vi. The fitted pinpoint was then pressed on one side of the pinhead with a small machine by the workers. The other side of the pinhead was left to enable the consumer to put in the pin-point, while in use. Material and machines are provided by the contractors.

The first and third stages were completed in the factory. The girls were employed in all the remaining four stages of production. They were paid on a piece-rate basis. The wage rate varied between Rs.3 to Rs.5 per Kg. in the different stages of production. A worker can hardly make 3 to 4 Kgs a day working full-time. (i.e., from morning to evening).

All the stages of safety pin production were quite difficult and arduous. The machines though small and simple to operate, cause great strain on the hands and the shoulders, which begin to ache after some time. By repeatedly doing the same process with hand-operated machines, workers become dull with the monotonous work and look as if they had severed links with the outside world. Their longing for education, outlook and knowledge are sealed for ever by their sheer necessity of keeping the family survive.

e. *Beedi* Making: *Beedi* making is an industry which, spread all over India, employs mostly women and girls. It feeds millions of poor families through the unorganized sector of the economy. It is a household industry and therefore convenient for women and girls to combine housework with rolling *Beedi*s. Previously, there were many girls of school going age who stayed at home to make *Beedi*s, but now some of the girls work on a part-time basis as they also go to school. Majority of girls from the communities of the Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes were found working in *Beedi* rolling in the study area.

The *Beedi* workers in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad were contract labourers. After a long and bitter struggle, they could get identity cards and as a result the nature of work became regular. The workers were provided with limited quantity of Tendu leaves, tobacco mixture, and thread to make 1000 *Beedi*s as per the model and size given by the contractors. The leaves were usually discoloured and badly torn making the workers fall short of leaves to make the required number of *Beedi*s (i.e., 1000). They were required to buy extra leaves to make 1000 *Beedi*s or have it cut from their wages. Contractors exploit workers in a number of ways like

rejecting *Beedis* made on the ground that they did not tally with the given model and declaring them sub-standard, and denying child workers identity cards stating that if they were on record, they would be in trouble in view of the prohibition of child labour and increased vigilance. Thus, girls roll *Beedis* and receive wages at the mercy of contractors.

Workers were paid on a piece-rate basis. The present wage rate was Rs.30 per 1000 *Beedis*. A girl can make around 1000 *Beedis* a day working full-time. Girls have to sit for long hours without any support at the back, roll *Beedis* and fill them with the mixture of tobacco powder. They are bound to inhale the intoxicated smell of the tobacco powder. Many girls complained about headache, pain in the fingers and respiratory problems.

f. Tailoring Work: It is one of the commonly visible trading sectors for women and children in the informal urban sector. Girls acquire the necessary skills in tailoring from the elder women engaged in this occupation, while some others undergo training in sewing centres set up by the Urban Community Development, a wing of Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad, as a part of Slum Improvement Programme. Girls from all the caste communities were found working in tailoring work in the study area.

The workers stitched various types of ware as ordered by the people living in the vicinity. They received remuneration at their home as per the prevailing rates of wares, which they stitched on the machines of their own. In some cases, girls were engaged by contractors for stitching certain types of wares on a large scale like petticoats, dresses used by nurses and patients in hospitals, garments for children ware, school uniforms etc. Sewing machines and materials cut in required fittings were provided to the workers at sewing centres. It was a fulltime work.

The workers were paid on piece-rate according to the type of ware they stitched. A ware with a simple cutting yielded less income as compared to the wares with complicated cuttings. A petticoat stitched at the sewing centre yielded Rs. 5 to the worker while the same ware stitched at home would yield around Rs.9 to 10.

However the employment at the centre was considered regular and less strenuous (as materials were provided with cuttings) as compared to the stitching at home. Girls at the tender age of 10 to 14 years were obliged to engage themselves in the tailoring work to supplement the inadequate family income. The work ran throughout the day as per the demand and the consequent availability of work. During the seasons of festivals and social functions, the demand would be more. By constantly stitching with sewing machines, the girls were subjected to back pain, pain in the legs and poor eyesight.

g. **Domestic Services:** Of all the services in India, there was not a more unregulated form of work than the services ambiguously known as 'domestic work'. There were no regulated hours of work for domestic servants. This work was preferably done in the mornings and evenings and as such girls made it convenient to combine this work with schooling and other household duties. This occupation was taken up by girls from the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes communities in the study area.

The duties of domestic servants covered a wide range of households work like sweeping the floor, cleaning the rooms, washing clothes, cleaning utensils, fetching water and milk, looking after children, cooking, gardening etc. During festivals and social functions, they did additional work for which extra payment was often made in kind. It was not a hazardous job. Yet, girls had to work often at the whims of the employers. Since the middleclass women were increasingly taking up the employment outside their home, the need of domestic servants was also increasing. While some women employers were kind and generous towards girl domestic servants in providing books, bags, dresses though used ones, giving them advances and granting paid holidays, some others were very strict demanding girl servants to arrange for substitutes during their absence.

The girls would reach the work place on foot, would do work at 2 or 3 houses in the same vicinity and come back for schooling and other household duties. Normally, the whole household chores were divided broadly as washing clothes and

cleaning vessels. Payment was generally made depending on the size of households and category of work. The payment varied between Rs.250 to Rs. 300 per month for cleaning and washing in a household of 3 to 4 members. In some households, girl workers would stay back looking after kids and other domestic work, till the employers returned home in the evening. In such cases, the payment varied between Rs.500 to Rs.600 per month including lunch every day.

4.1.2 Male Child Workers

There are certain male specific occupations where entry of girls is restricted. The nature and working conditions are such that employers prefer only boys and no girls are found working in the vicinity of the work place. Those occupations include the following categories of work.

a. **Manufacturing Work:** The manufacturing industry comprises a wide spectrum of activities involving skilled and unskilled labour at various levels of production. The part of manufacturing activities which demand labour for low wages and engage workers on informal conditions was the concern of the present enquiry. This occupation was predominantly a male concern. It included the manufacturing of leather products like bags, seats for vehicles and foot wear, labeling, packing, binding of various products, wooden and iron furniture. Male children from almost all the caste-communities i.e., SCs, STs, BCs and Muslims were found engaged in a variety of manufacturing activities from the sample households in the study area.

The nature of manufacturing work varied from one type of work to another. While in the wooden carpentry, boys were engaged in furniture making and making of wooden boxes, which are used for transportation of goods, in the leatherwork, boys were involved in stitching various types of leather products. The manufacturing of many of these products requires manual as well as machinery work and major part of manual work was performed by boy workers. They virtually performed the duty of helpers to the main workers. Employers of the enterprises would take the services of children in certain processes of manufacturing as they found it not only cheap but also

easily available. Some times, employers, therefore, engaged the children even on a part-time basis for a pittance of wages and allowed them go to school. In such cases, however, employers engaged those children whose families were fairly known to them.

Wages were paid on a monthly basis. The process of work the children were involved in, was the basis for the amount of payment. The children working part-time would get around Rs.200 - 300 per month. The children engaged in packing, labeling and binding work would be paid Rs.400 - 500 per month, whereas the children who lent assistance to the main workers at the machinery operations were paid about Rs.700 - 800 per month. The work was not hazardous but it generally demanded more concentration from the children.

b. Mechanic Work: This was a male specific occupation and formed a part of unorganized service sector. Boy workers included assistants in different types of repair work, automobiles, car repairing and cleaning, cycle and auto repairing, repair of electrical appliances, electronic goods etc. Their work comprised dismantling machinery, welding, cleaning, oiling and refilling them under the supervision of elder workers or employers. The children in this sector also performed other activities strictly pertaining to the establishments concerned, such as getting spare parts from outside. In this occupation also boys from all the caste-communities were found employed.

The nature of work in the welding part of mechanic servicing sector was hazardous and dangerous to the child workers whereas in the remaining processes of automobile servicing, it was not so dangerous. In the welding work, children had to closely look after joining and disjoining the parts of vehicles through welding where the oxyacetylene torch delivers a lot of powerful light which is harmful to the eye sight of the children. Any carelessness on the part of the boys would cause accidental burns. At some places, children were not provided with guarding shields (i.e., masks or suits) to protect themselves from fire and lighting. In the remaining processes, the

work of children included repairing vehicles, replacing their parts, washing, cleaning, oiling of vehicles etc.

The Children from the sample households would work in the mechanic shops from 8'O clock in the morning to 9'O clock in the evening and the payment they received varied from Rs.10 to Rs.20 per day depending on the nature of work done by the children and their seniority at the work place. At some places, it was found that children would get Re.1 as increment for each subsequent year in the work place. It was regarded as an incentive for the children to continue at the same place of work. In this occupation also, some employers were found allowing the boys to go to school on the strict condition that the boys should stay in the servicing centres from 3.30pm till late in the evening. The payment for such boys varied between Rs.150-180pm. In some mechanic units, boys were paid on monthly basis to the extent of Rs.400 - 500.

c. Petty Business Units: Petty Business units formed part of trading activities. They included provisional stores, clothes stores, eatable stalls, *dhabhas*, pan shops etc. in the study area. This occupation is also strictly male specific. The duties of the child workers in dhabhas consisted of sweeping the premises, dusting and cleaning chairs, benches, tables, cleaning vessels, fetching water and other necessary items from outside and also serving eatables to the customers. In *Kirana* (i.e., provisional) and other trading centres it was found that the children, apart from cleaning the premises also would sell the articles to the customers. In such cases, children were to have the necessary awareness about the quality and cost of the articles they dealt with, besides being sincere and obedient to the employers. A very disturbing feature in this sector was, therefore, that if any theft or missing of article occurred in a stall, it was normally the working children who were accused and punished. A number of cases were reported in the survey [illegible] that children had to suffer, including loss of employment, due to the wrath of employers for uncommitted mistakes. Therefore, the children working in this trade of activity were constantly guided and checked by the parents to be submissive and sincere at the work place.

Employers were hardly inclined to engage entirely a new child in their trade or business. They preferred to employ those children whose identity was endorsed by a third party known to both the workers and the employer. The children working in eatable stalls were provided with meals and tea while in other stalls they had to make their own arrangements in this regard. Wages were paid on a monthly basis. The work was neither hazardous nor strenuous and it generally required activeness at work and submissiveness to the employer.

4.1.3 Both Female and Male Child Workers

Some occupations were open to both female and male child workers. The details of those occupations are given below.

a. **Construction Industry:** This was an industry, which engaged both the boys and girls of a tender age for carrying head loads and for other unskilled activities at the work site. It was one of the largest sectors employing labour, particularly unskilled labour because of the highly labour intensive nature of its activities. The construction industry covered a wide diversity of work and operations. Besides construction of buildings for industrial, commercial and residential uses, it also undertook construction of roads, railway lines, irrigation canals, dams etc. The work involved lifting earth, cutting soil, carrying mortar, cement, stones, and water to the work site.

The employment of workers in the construction industry was always through contractors. Children were engaged in filtering sand and carrying water, bricks, mortar and other loads. Since the carrying \of head-loads requires strength and patience, the contractors preferred the children above the age of 10 years. The child workers in the present study belonged to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes communities. It was found that they had been working along with the other members of the family or the members living in the same locality.

It was a full-time activity spread over from 9.00am to 6.00pm and it varied in between depending on the stage of construction. The payment was normally made on a weekly basis. Though the nature of work done by children was the same i.e. carrying

head loads, handing over materials to the main workers at the work place, the payment made to them per day invariably differed for girls and boys, it was Rs.50 and Rs.60 respectively. Besides, at the end of days work, girls were made to do extra work like washing instruments, keeping them at their places and cleaning the site for which nothing was paid. Girls were taken for granted to do any type of manual work at the construction site and the contractors never bothered to see their work in any economic sense.

b. **Rag Picking:** In the hierarchy of employment that children were engaged in, in the urban informal sector, rag picking might be considered to occupy the lowest stage of employment just above begging. The rag collection starts in the morning and continues through the day. The main areas of collection were streets, lanes and bye-lanes, municipal garbage bins and even sewers which are most unhygienic. The collection of rag material includes waste paper, plastic bags and sachets, polythene sheets, covers, glass bottles, iron scrap, cardboard etc. Daily in the evening, the children along with other members of the family sort out the collected material into different categories like paper, plastic, glass, iron etc. It is indeed pathetic to see scores of families mostly women and children, sitting on the ground sorting out the obnoxious and broken material of various wares covered with dust and foul smell, thus exposing themselves to serious health hazards. A casual look at the physique and clothing of the children reveals the extent of poverty they live in and they become immune to the unhygienic environment due to sheer necessity. This occupation is open to both boys and girls and in the present study, the children engaged in rag picking belonged to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe households.

The materials of different wares were disposed off by weight to the dealers (at collection centres of waste materials) who later resell them to bigger rag merchants for recycling. The payment was made on the basis of the quality and quantity of the material collected and it usually varied from Rs.10 to Rs.25 per day. In the case of waste paper, the rate varied from Re.1 to Rs.1.50p per Kg, and for plastic waste material, the rate was generally Rs.2 to Rs.2.50 p. per Kg. On an average a child worker was able to collect 8 to 10 kgs of waste material per day working full-time.

4.2 Characteristics of Child Labour

This section deals with the characteristics of the child workers like caste, gender, skilled and unskilled specific occupations, in the sample households. An attempt is made to analyse age, educational levels and nature of work and working hours with reference to gender specific occupations of the sample child workers.

4.2.1 Occupational Pattern of Child Labour

Data relating to occupations of female workers and male workers are presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 respectively.

Table 4.1
Caste/Community and Occupational Distribution of Girl-Workers

Trade/ Occupation	Muslim Community		Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribes		Backward Classes		Other Castes		Total	
	No.of work-ers	%	No.of work-ers	%	No.of work-ers	%	No.of work-ers	%	No.of work-ers	%	No.of work-ers	%
Bangle Making	16 (100)	22.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16 (100)	7.5
Agarbatti Making	17 (100)	23.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17 (100)	8.0
Zari embroidery	12 (100)	16.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 (100)	5.6
Safety pin Making	14 (100)	19.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14 (100)	6.6
Beedi Making	6 (15.4)	8.5	12 (30.8)	18.8	3 (7.7)	7.9	14 (35.9)	41.2	4 (10.3)	66.7	39 (100)	18.3
Tailoring Work	6 (20.0)	8.5	11 (36.7)	17.2	3 (10.0)	7.9	8 (26.7)	23.5	2 (6.7)	33.3	30 (100)	14.1
Domestic Services	-	-	13 (41.9)	20.3	6 (19.3)	15.8	12 (38.7)	35.3	-	-	31 (100)	14.6
Construc-tion Work	-	-	16 (57.1)	25.0	12 (42.9)	31.6	-	-	-	-	28 (100)	13.1
Ragpicking	-	-	12 (46.2)	18.8	14 (53.8)	36.8	-	-	-	-	26 (100)	12.2
Total	71 (33.3)	100	64 (30.0)	100	38 (17.8)	100	34 (16.0)	100	6 (2.8)	100	213 (100)	100

In a total of nine occupations of girl workers, seven occupations except construction and rag picking were female specific and only two occupations viz., *Beedi* making and Tailoring work are open to girls belonging to all the caste

communities. In the case of other occupations, such universality was not observed. Certain occupations were exclusive especially for the Muslim Community, and they included Bangle making, *Agarbatti* making, *Zari* embroidery work and Safety pin making whereas some other occupations like domestic services, construction and rag picking were totally left out by them.

In the *Beedi* industry, a majority of girls (i.e., 35.9%) are drawn from the Backward Classes. Even from the total girls of Backward Classes, a majority of them (i.e., 41.2%) were concentrated in *Beedi* making industry. That is, *Beedi* making industry was largely taken up by girls from the Backward Class community. Similarly, Construction, Rag picking and Domestic Service occupations were predominantly undertaken by Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe girls.

Table 4.2
Caste/Community and Occupational Distribution of Boy-Workers

Trade/ Occupation	Muslim Community		Scheduled Caste		Scheduled Tribes		Backward Classes		Other Castes		Total	
	No. of work-ers	%	No. of work-ers	%	No. of work-ers	%	No. of work-ers	%	No. of work-ers	%	No. of work-ers	%
Manufac-Turing	34 (45.9)	41.5	16 (21.6)	26.6	4 (5.4)	8.9	18 (24.3)	39.1	2 (2.7)	33.3	74 (100)	31.0
Mechanic Industry	17 (30.4)	20.7	15 (26.8)	25.0	6 (10.7)	13.3	16 (28.6)	34.8	2 (3.6)	33.3	56 (100)	23.4
Petty Business Units	31 (68.9)	37.8	-		-		12 (26.7)	26.1	2 (4.4)	33.3	45 (100)	18.8
Construction Industry	-	-	19 (46.3)	31.7	22 (53.7)	48.9	-	-	-	-	41 (100)	17.2
Rag Picking	-	-	10 (43.5)	16.7	13 (56.5)	28.9	-	-	-	-	23 (100)	9.6
Total:	82 (34.3)	100	60 (25.1)	100	45 (18.8)	100	46 (19.2)	100	6 (2.5)	100	239 (100)	100

The occupations of boy workers are classified and presented in Table 4.2. Manufacturing, Mechanic and Petty Business industries are male specific and boys from all the caste communities are found engaged in manufacturing and mechanic industries. In the trading sector of petty business units, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe boys were not employed. The reason might be that as they belonged to the low strata of socially down trodden caste groups, employers perhaps did not

prefer them in their trading business units. In these occupations, a major proportion of boys are drawn from Muslim Community and Backward Classes. In manufacturing industry, 45.9% of Muslim boys and 24.3% of Backward Class boys are employed. In Petty business units, as high as 68.9% of boys belonged to the Muslim Community. In roadside Pan shops, Chat *Bhandars* and in the Petty Stalls, Muslim boys were largely engaged and therefore, their percentage in the total industry was 68.9%.

The occupations, which were not gender specific and open to both girls and boys, are construction and rag picking industries. It is ironical to find from the table that the arduous and socially low strata activities of construction and rag picking are left to the children from socially down trodden groups of Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes communities. Children from no other caste groups were found engaged in construction and rag picking industries in the study area. In both the occupations, boys from the Scheduled Tribes (i.e., 53.7% and 56.5% respectively) were more than those from the Scheduled Castes (i.e., 46.3% and 43.5% respectively). In the case of girls, however, in construction industry, while scheduled caste girls were more (i.e., 57.1%) than Scheduled Tribe girls (i.e., 42.9%), in rag picking industry, Schedule Tribe girls were more (i.e., 53.8%) than Scheduled Caste girls (i.e., 46.2%). It is therefore observed that as the rag picking is unskilled and low status of occupation, it can be construed that children from Scheduled Tribe Community were largely engaged in this industry.

4.2.2 Caste Specific Occupations

The various occupations of the child labour are grouped in accordance with their caste-specific nature and the details are presented in Table 4.3(a) and (b). The survey revealed that while some occupations were exclusive to some specific caste-communities, some other occupations were completely left out by some caste-groups. These two types of occupations are shown separately in the Table (a) and (b). As can be noted from Table 4.3(a), Bangle making, *Agarbatti* making, *Zari* embroidery and Safety pin making were exclusive occupations of the Muslim community in the study area. They are the age-old occupations and could be conveniently performed sitting

Table 4.3 (a)

Caste-specific Occupations of Child Labour

a) Exclusive Occupations of Caste/Community.

Muslims	Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes
Bangle making	Construction industry
Agarbatti making	Rag picking industry
Zari embroidery work	
Safety pin making	

Table 4.3 (b)

b) Excluded Occupations of Caste/Community.

Muslims	Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes	Backward Classes	Other Castes
Domestic services	Bangle making	Bangle making	Bangle making
Construction	*Agarbatti* making	*Agarbatti* making	*Agarbatti* making
Rag picking	*Zari* embroidery work	*Zari* embroidery work	*Zari* embroidery work
	Safety pin making	Safety pin making	Safety pin making
	Petty business units	Construction work	Domestic services
		Rag picking	Construction work
			Rag picking

inside the four walls of households. As the majority of Muslim women still practice the system of *'purdah'* (i.e., veil), these occupations might have become part of their lives for generations. No girls from any other caste-community had exclusive occupations as the Muslim girls had. Similarly, the construction and rag picking industries were exclusive occupations of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes children. In the hierarchy of caste system, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribe communities occupy the bottom level. Construction work and rag picking are arduous and socially have a low profile as occupations and they were invariably left to the children from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes communities. There were no exclusive occupations for Backward Class Communities as can be seen from Table 4.3(a).

There are certain occupations like domestic work, construction work and rag picking in which Muslim children never made a part of the child labour (Table 4.3b). Though the occupation of domestic services is a household one, Muslim families never inclined to send their daughters to work as servant maids. It might be for the practice of '*purdah*' system that the mobility of girl children was restricted. The occupations, which were exclusive for Muslims and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes communities, were excluded by the remaining caste-groups as revealed by Table 4.3(b).

4.2.3 Skilled / Un-skilled / Traditional Specific Occupations

For the purpose of the present study, all the occupations were categorised as skilled and un-skilled in respect of various Caste-communities and the data relating to this variable are presented in the Table 4.4. Tailoring is an occupation which requires training in cutting cloth material and handling the sewing machine. Therefore it was categorised as a skilled occupation. The girls from all the caste-groups were engaged in tailoring. In the occupations of *Beedi* making and domestic services, no special skills are needed, and therefore they were termed as unskilled occupations. However, for the households of the Backward Classes, *Beedi* making was not only an unskilled

but also a traditional occupation as some castes in the BC community had been doing *Beedi* making work for generations.

Table 4.4
Skilled / Un-skilled / Traditional Occupations of Child Labour

Trade / Occupation	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Backward Classes	Other Castes
Bangle Making	Skilled and Traditional	-	-	-	-
Agarbatti Making	Un-skilled and Traditional	-	-	-	-
Zari Embroidery	Skilled and Traditional	-	-	-	-
Safety pin Making	Un-skilled and Traditional	-	-	-	-
Beedi Making	-	Un-skilled	Un-skilled	Un-skilled and Traditional	Un-skilled
Tailoring	Skilled	Skilled	Skilled	Skilled	Skilled
Servant Maids	-	Un-skilled	Un-skilled	Un-skilled	-
Construction Work	-	Un-skilled and Traditional	Un-skilled and Traditional	-	-
Rag Picking	-	Un-skilled and Traditional	Un-skilled and Traditional	-	-
Manufac-turing	Skilled and Un-skilled	Skilled and Un-skilled	Skilled and Un-skilled	Skilled	Skilled
Mechanic Industry	Skilled	Skilled	Skilled	Skilled	Skilled
Petty Business Units	Skilled and Un-skilled	-	-	Skilled and Un-skilled	Skilled

All the exclusive occupations undertaken by the Muslim girls are traditional, and the women in the community had been doing work in these occupations for generations. The girls needed skills for studding a variety of stones, beads and other shiny materials to make designs on bangles. In the *Zari* embroidery also, they needed special skills to work on the embroidery so as to make a variety of designs. Both these occupations were, therefore, categorized as skilled and traditional. However, in the case of *Agarbatti* and Safety pin making, the materials and machines required were provided by the employers. After getting used to it, no skills are needed, it would only become a routine work. Thus they were categorized as unskilled occupations. Construction work and rag picking which were exclusive to the

Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes communities are unskilled and traditional occupations. Particularly rag picking was the age-old occupation of the Scheduled Tribes children in the sample households.

For the occupations of male children, the skilled or unskilled nature of work depended upon the kind of work in which they were engaged. In manufacturing industry, if boys were engaged in packaging, labeling and binding work, it would be unskilled operation. On the other hand, if boys were involved in carpentry work, leather work and steel furniture making either independently or as helpers to main workers, they required skills and as such these occupations were treated as skilled work. In petty business industry also, if boys were engaged in sweeping, dusting and cleaning the premises of business activity, it would be unskilled. However, in Kirana, Grain and Cloth stores, boys needed skills, as they were required to deal with the articles. It is because of this reason that manufacturing and petty business were treated both as skilled and unskilled occupations. For working as mechanics in any mechanical unit right from a small bicycle to a big automobile unit, the boys needed skills for servicing the vehicles. Hence it was termed as a skilled operation. The boy workers in the study area had no traditional occupations except construction work and rag picking.

4.2.4 Educational Background

The occupation-wise educational background of the child labour was analysed and the particulars of data in this respect are presented in Table 4.5. In tailoring which is a skilled operation all the girl workers were literate of whom 16.7 percent were attending school. Even in the unskilled occupations like domestic services and *Beedi* making, all the girls were literate. Nearly half of the girls in these occupations were dropouts from the primary level, while 15.4% of the *Beedi* workers and, 12.9% of the servant maids were able to attend schools. In the total school-going girls, 30% were engaged in the *Beedi* making industry. However in Bangle making and *Zari* embroidery where girls required specific skills, 31.3% and 16.7% of girls respectively were found illiterate. The girls would acquire the skills at a tender age of 6 or 7 years

Table 4.5
Gender – Specific Occupations and Educational Background of Child Labour

Sl. No.	Occupation		Illiterates	Attending School	Dropout		Total
					Primary Level	Middle Level	
A) Girl Child Workers							
1.	Bangle making		5 (31.3)	3 (18.8)	6 (37.5)	2 (12.5)	16 (100)
2.	*Agarbatti* making		5 (29.4)	-	8 (47.1)	4 (23.5)	17 (100)
3.	*Zari* embroidery		2 (16.7)	2 (16.7)	5 (41.7)	3 (25.0)	12 (100)
4.	Safety pin making		8 (57.1)	-	6 (42.9)	-	14 (100)
5.	*Beedi* making		-	6 (15.4)	20 (51.3)	13 (33.3)	39 (100)
6.	Tailoring		-	5 (16.7)	13 (43.3)	12 (38.7)	30 (100)
7.	Domestic services		-	4 (12.9)	15 (48.4)	12 (38.7)	31 (100)
Sub-Total			20 (12.6)	20 (12.6)	73 (45.9)	46 (28.9)	159 (100)
B) Boy Child Workers							
1.	Manufacturing industry		2 (2.7)	10 (13.5)	38 (51.4)	24 (32.4)	74 (100)
2.	Mechanic industry		-	9 (16.1)	22 (39.2)	25 (44.6)	56 (100)
3.	Petty business units		-	10 (22.2)	25 (55.6)	10 (22.2)	45 (100)
Sub-Total			2 (2.1)	29 (16.6)	85 (48.6)	59 (33.7)	175 (100)
C) Both Boy and Girl Child Workers							
1.	Construction industry	Boys	8 (19.5)		23 (56.1)	10 (24.4)	41 (100)
		Girls	8 (28.6)		20 (71.4)	-	28 (100)
		Total	16 (23.2)		43 (62.3)	10 (14.5)	69 (100)
2.	Rag picking industry	Boys	8 (34.8)		15 (65.2)	-	23 (100)
		Girls	12 (46.2)		14 (53.8)	-	26 (100)
		Total	20 (40.8)		29 (59.2)	-	49 (100)
Sub-Total		Boys	16 (25.0)		38 (59.4)	10 (15.6)	64 (100)
		Girls	20 (37.0)		34 (63.0)	-	54 (100)
		Total	36 (30.5)		72 (61.0)	10 (85)	118 (100)
Grand total			58 (12.8)	49 (10.8)	239 (52.9)	106 (23.5)	452 (100)

and continue to work in the industry at the cost of schooling. The minimum educational skills were not necessary for the performance of skilled operations in the informal sector. There were no school going girls in the *Agarbatti* and Safety pin industry, which were categorized as unskilled and traditional occupations of the Muslim community. More than half of the Safety pin workers (i.e., 57.1%) was illiterate and none in this industry could reach the middle level of education.

In the skilled occupations of male children, none of the boy worker were found illiterate. Almost all the mechanics as well as those working in petty business units were literate. Only 2.7 percent of boys in unskilled operations of manufacturing industry were illiterate. Of the male children, 13.5%, 16.1% and 22.2% respectively in manufacturing, mechanic and petty business units managed to attend schools. They were all part-time workers. While more than half of the boys in manufacturing (51.4%) and petty business industry (55.6%) were dropouts from the primary level, about 44.6% of mechanics were middle level dropouts. When asked for their aspirations, almost all the mechanics said that they wanted to establish their own mechanic units. In the unskilled and traditional occupations of construction and rag picking, none of the children were attending schools. The proportion of illiterate children in rag picking industry (i.e., 40.8%) was more than those in construction industry (i.e., 23.2%). 46.2% of rag picking girls as against 34.8% of boys, and 28.6% of construction girls as against 19.5% of boys were illiterate. In this category of employment, only the boy workers engaged in construction work had the opportunity to educate themselves upto the middle level (24.4%). In the total of 118 children, 61% were dropouts from the primary level itself.

4.2.5 Working Hours

The details of working hours in various occupations of child labour are shown in the Table 4.6. All the girls who were attending schools and also working in various industries were found working for 4 - 6 hours a day. Those who were compelled to share household chores along with work reported to be working for 6 - 8 hours and those who worked beyond 8 hours were full-time workers. In bangle making and *Zari*

Table 4.6
Occupation – Wise Working Hours of Child Labour

Sl. No.	Occupation		4-6 hrs.	6-8 hrs.	8-10 hrs.	10+	Total	Average hrs.	Mode hrs.
A) Girl Child Workers									
1.	Bangle making		3 (18.8)	7 (43.8)	6 (37.5)	-	16 (100)	7.4	7.6
2.	*Agarbatti* making		-	6 (35.3)	8 (47.1)	3 (17.6)	17 (100)	8.6	8.6
3.	*Zari* embroidery		2 (16.7)	5 (41.7)	5 (41.7)	-	12 (100)	7.5	8.0
4.	Safety pin making		-	6 (42.9)	4 (28.6)	4 (28.6)	14 (100)	8.7	6.0
5.	*Beedi* making		6 (15.4)	14 (35.9)	10 (25.6)	9 (23.1)	39 (100)	8.1	7.3
6.	Tailoring		5 (16.7)	16 (53.3)	9 (30.0)	-	30 (100)	7.3	7.2
7.	Domestic services		4 (12.9)	17 (54.8)	10 (32.3)	-	31 (100)	7.4	7.3
Sub-Total			20 (12.6)	71 (44.7)	52 (32.7)	16 (10.1)	159 (100)	7.8	7.5
B. Boy Child Workers									
1.	Manufacturing industry		10 (13.5)	-	34 (45.9)	30 (40.5)	74 (100)	9.2	9.8
2.	Mechanic industry		9 (16.1)	-	20 (35.7)	27 (48.2)	56 (100)	9.3	10.4
3.	Petty business units		10 (22.2)	-	14 (31.1)	21 (46.7)	45 (100)	9.0	10.5
Sub-Total			29 (16.6)	-	68 (38.9)	78 (44.6)	175 (100)	9.2	10.2
C) Both Boy and Girl Child Workers									
1.	Construction industry	Boys	-	7 (17.1)	34 (82.9)	-	41 (100)	8.6	8.9
		Girls	-	6 (21.4)	22 (78.6)	-	28 (100)	8.6	8.8
		Total	-	13 (18.8)	56 (81.2)	-	69 (100)	8.6	8.9
2.	Rag picking industry	Boys	-	7 (30.4)	16 (61.5)	-	23 (100)	8.4	8.7
		Girls	-	10 (38.5)	16 (61.5)	-	26 (100)	8.2	8.5
		Total	-	17 (34.7)	32 (65.3)	-	49 (100)	8.3	8.6
Sub-Total		Boys	-	14 (21.9)	50 (78.1)	-	64 (100)	8.5	8.8
		Girls	-	16 (29.6)	38 (70.4)	-	54 (100)	8.4	8.7
		Total	-	30 (25.4)	88 (74.6)	-	118 (100)	8.5	8.8
Grand Total			49	101	208	94	452	8.5	9.0

embroidery which are skilled occupations and have to be performed preferably during the day time, no girls were found working beyond 10 hours a day. Since these occupations required clear eyesight and concentration on design, workers needed rest in between and hence girls hardly worked beyond 8 hours a day. Therefore the average working hours in these industries are 7.4 and 7.5 respectively. In *Agarbatti* and Safety pin occupations which are unskilled and traditional occupations of Muslim girls, 64.7% of *Agarbatti* workers and 57.2% of Safety pin workers were full-time workers working for 8 hours and above and some girls even worked beyond 10 hours a day. In these occupations, girls were paid very little remuneration for their hard and strenuous work, and therefore they were forced to work even beyond 10 hours a day. It is because of this reason that the average working hours in these occupations were the longest being 8.6 and 8.7 hours respectively. In tailoring work, nine girls (i.e. 30%) were employed in sewing centres on a full-time basis. More than 50% of the girls in tailoring (i.e. 53.3%) and domestic services (i.e., 54.8%) shared other activities of the households and hence they worked for 6 - 8 hours a day. There were no girls working beyond 10 hours in these industries. The average working hours in tailoring occupation was the shortest 7.3.

In the case of male children, 16.6% of boys who were mostly part-time workers due to their attendance in schools were found working for 4 - 6 hours a day. All the remaining boys in manufacturing, mechanic and petty business industries were full-time workers. More than 40% of boys in these industries worked beyond 10 hours a day. The average working hours was the highest in mechanic industry (9.3) followed by manufacturing (9.2) and petty business units (9.0). The construction and rag picking occupations were such that children could neither attend schools nor could they continue in work after the sunset. These occupations were daylong operations and as such could hardly be performed on a part-time basis. The children who performed menial work like filtering sand, fetching water, curing worked for 6 - 8 hours and others who carried head loads worked for 8 - 10 hours a day. The average of working hours in these occupations was lowest being 8. 5.

4.2.6 Nature of work

The particulars of the nature of work performed by child workers in various activities are presented in Table 4.7. It can be noted from the table that there were no independent workers in bangle and *Zari* embroidery work as the girls worked either as helpers or as both independent workers and helpers. While the proportion of helpers in bangle making was more than that of in *Zari* embroidery, the proportion of those working both independently and as helpers was more in *Zari* embroidery than that of those engaged in bangle making. All the *Zari* workers some times acted as helpers and some other times worked independently with the designed materials provided by the contractors. In bangle making industry, those working in *Karkhanas* helped others sitting near the furnace (56.3%), while those making bangles at home worked independently with the materials provided, but they also would go to the *Karkhanas* to assist others in bangle making. All the *Agarbatti*, Safety pin and *Beedi* making girls were independent workers. Once the material was provided by the contractors, the responsibility to complete the pieces of wares lies on the girl workers. The nature of work did not require the girls to work as helpers. They worked independently and completed as many pieces as they could. The system of piece-rate wages compelled the girls to work for long hours and to produce more quantity of output. In tailoring, those working in sewing centres (i.e., 30%) performed independently when the required material was provided on a large scale. Nearly half (i.e., 49.7%) of the girls from these occupations putting together were independent workers.

The survey revealed that there were no independent boy workers in manufacturing, mechanic and petty business units. 70.9% of boys served as helpers and a majority of them were manufacturing and petty business workers. In the mechanic repair centres, some boys (i.e., 21.4%) worked as apprentices and the rest of the boys worked, some times independently and some other times assisting others in the enterprise as per the requirement of the situation. In the unskilled occupations of construction and rag picking, all the construction workers were treated as helpers, but those working in rag picking were categorised as independent workers, as the latter

Table 4.7
Gender – Specific Occupations and Nature of Work

Sl. No.	Occupation		Independent	Assistant/ helper	Both independent/ Helper	Learner	Total
A) Girl Child Workers							
1.	Bangle making		-	9 (56.3)	7 (43.7)	-	16 (100)
2.	*Agarbatti* making		17 (100)	-	-	-	17 (100)
3.	*Zari* embroidery		-	4 (33.3)	8 (66.7)	-	12 (100)
4.	Safety pin making		14 (100)	-	-	-	14 (100)
5.	*Beedi* making		39 (30.0)	-	-	-	39 (100)
6.	Tailoring		9 (30.0)	10 (33.3)	11 (36.7)	-	30 (100)
7.	Domestic services		-	31 (100)	-	-	31 (100)
Sub-Total			79 (49.7)	54 (34.0)	26 (16.3)	-	159 (100)
B) Boy Child Workers							
1.	Manufacturing industry		-	62 (83.8)	12 (16.2)	-	74 (100)
2.	Mechanic industry		-	30 (53.6)	14 (25.0)	12 (21.4)	56 (100)
3.	Petty business units		-	32 (71.1)	13 (28.9)	-	45 (100)
Sub-Total			-	124 (70.9)	39 (22.3)	12 (6.8)	175 (100)
C) Both Boy and Girl Child Workers							
1.	Construction industry	Boys	-	41 (100)	-	-	41 (100)
		Girls	-	28 (100)	-	-	28 (100)
		Total	-	69 (100)	-	-	69 (100)
2.	Rag picking industry	Boys	23 (100)		-	-	23 (100)
		Girls	26 (100)	-	-	-	26 (100)
		Total	49 (100)	-	-	-	49 (100)
Sub-Total		Boys	23 (35.9)	41 (64.1)	-	-	64 (100)
		Girls	26 (48.1)	28 (51.9)	-	-	54 (100)
		Total	49 (41.5)	59 (58.5)	-	-	118 (100)
Grand Total			128 (28.3)	247 (54.6)	65 (14.4)	12 (2.7)	452 (100)

did not help any others in the process of their activity. Thus rag picking was the only occupation where boys worked independently and received piece-rate earnings.

Nearly half of the girls (i.e., 49.7%) worked independently as against none of the boys, who worked independently. On the other hand, the proportion of boys who worked as assistants was 70.9% as against 34% of girls. It means that girls working independently and boys working as assistants or helpers are larger in number. The justification is that a majority of girls were engaged in the work of piece-rate wages and therefore they worked independently on the pieces of wares according to which they would receive remuneration. On the other hand, a majority of boys were engaged in the work for which they were paid monthly remuneration. They assisted others in the process of work in various enterprises. The table further reveals that there were some boys in the learning stage of work process (i.e. as apprentices) in the mechanic units, a phenomenon not found in the occupations of girl workers.

4.2.7 Willingness to Change Occupation

The survey also enquired about the willingness of the child labour to change their present occupations. The data relating to the response of the child workers are classified and presented in Table 4.8. As the table reveals, in the skilled and traditional occupations of bangle and *Zari* embroidery making, almost all the girls seemed to have been satisfied with their present job. All the *Zari* and 87.5% of Bangle workers constitute this category. Even in the unskilled and arduous occupations of *Agarbatti* and Safety pin making, there were hardly any girls willing to change their present occupation. About 80.6% of girls in these occupations said that they did not want to change, as they did not know anything else outside their clusters. The rest of 19.4% of girls expressed ignorance regarding change of occupation. In the tailoring work, all the girls who are engaged in the sewing centres (30%) did not want to change the job while others working at home wanted to change with the permission of their parents. In the *Beedi* making and domestic service occupations, about 90% of girls were not satisfied with their present jobs. If parents permitted, all of them wanted

Table 4.8
Gender – Specific Occupations and Change of Employment

Sl. No.	Occupation		Want to change	If parents permit	Do not want	No idea	Total
A) Girl Child Workers							
1.	Bangle making		-	-	14 (87.5)	2 (12.5)	16 (100)
2.	*Agarbatti* making		-	-	15 (88.2)	2 (11.8)	17 (100)
3.	*Zari* embroidery		-	-	12 (100)	-	12 (100)
4.	Safety pin making		-	-	10 (71.4)	4 (28.6)	14 (100)
5.	*Beedi* making		10 (25.6)	22 (56.4)	7 (17.9)	-	39 (100)
6.	Tailoring		8 (26.7)	13 (43.3)	9 (30.0)	-	30 (100)
7.	Domestic services		15 (48.4)	16 (51.6)	-	-	31 (100)
Sub-Total			33 (20.8)	51 (32.1)	67 (42.1)	8 (5.0)	159 (100)
B) Boy Child Workers							
1.	Manufacturing industry		41 (55.4)	18 (24.3)	15 (20.3)	-	74 (100)
2.	Mechanic industry		23 (41.1)	14 (25.0)	14 (25.0)	5 (8.9)	56 (100)
3.	Petty business units		17 (37.8)	12 (26.7)	16 (35.5)	-	45 (100)
Sub-Total			81 (46.3)	44 (25.1)	45 (25.7)	5 (2.9)	175 (100)
C) Both Boy and Girl Child Workers							
1.	Construction industry	Boys	15 (36.6)	11 (26.8)	15 (36.6)	-	41 (100)
		Girls	6 (21.4)	14 (50.0)	8 (28.6)	-	28 (100)
		Total	21 (30.4)	25 (36.2)	23 (33.3)	-	69 (100)
2.	Rag picking industry	Boys	-	10 (43.5)	8 (34.8)	5 (21.8)	23 (100)
		Girls	-	14 (53.8)	6 (23.1)	6 (23.1)	26 (100)
		Total	-	24 (49.0)	14 (28.6)	11 (22.4)	49 (100)
Sub-Total		Boys	15 (23.4)	21 (32.8)	23 (35.9)	5 (7.8)	64 (100)
		Girls	6 (11.1)	28 (51.9)	14 (25.9)	6 (11.1)	54 (100)
		Total	21 (17.8)	49 (41.5)	37 (31.4)	11 (9.3)	118 (100)
Grand Total			126 (27.9)	148 (32.7)	154 (34.1)	24 (5.3)	452 (100)

to switch over to more remunerative employment and a few of them wanted to go to schools.

The survey revealed that while 46.3% of boys preferred a change in their present employment, 25.1% wanted to change with the permission of their parents. A majority of them wanted to switch over to more remunerative employment and some others wanted to go to school. Some of the manufacturing, mechanic and petty business unit workers did not want to change the employment as they were also allowed by their employers to attend schools. In the construction industry, 66.7% of workers wanted to change as they felt their work more strenuous and monotonous, while the rest of 33.3% said that they did not want to change as the remuneration they received was much higher than that of any other industry. In the rag picking industry, nearly half of the children (49.0%) wanted to change over to more remunerative and less arduous work but only with the permission of their parents. The parents in no other industry seemed to have that much control over the earnings of their working children as those parents of the children engaged in rag picking.

While the proportion of girls wanting to change their present jobs was 20.8% as against 46.3% of boys, their proportion to change with the permission of parents was 32.1% as against 25.1% of the boys. The girls, in general, would not like to exercise their preference independently and thus depended upon parents. Even the percentage of girls who did not want to change the job (42.1%) was much higher than that of boys (25.7%). Some of the girls in Bangle making, *Agarbatti* and Safety pin making were so innocent that they could hardly express their willingness and felt as if they were satisfied with the present jobs. Therefore, it is necessity, lack of outlook and no other alternative at their disposal that made them satisfied with their present position of employment.

4.3 Profiles of Some Girls Child Workers

The data relating to the sample households revealed information about occupations, education levels, working conditions and wage rates of their child

workers. However, the status or position of each child worker in their respective households and family background that compelled them to take up paid job cannot be revealed in a tabular form, because it would require as many as 452 profiles which will be unmanageable for tabulation. In order to gain an accurate picture on Hyderabad slum dwellers, besides causes of child labour, it was therefore decided to present profiles of some girl child workers selected at random and drawn from the households of various municipal circles. The reason for considering the profiles of girl children was that not only because the present enquiry was in particular reference to the girl child, but also like women, it is the girl child who shares more family burden besides contributing her share to the household income. Therefore, it could be construed that the status of girl child reveals both the nature of entire child labour as well as the households.

4.3.1 Bangle Making – the Profile of a Full-time Girl Worker

Ayesha, a responsible and intelligent girl, working in a bangle-making *Karkhana*., spoke about her family background after work. Her two married sisters, elder to her, were deserted. One sister died recently, and her son stayed with them, because his father remarried and did not care for the boy.

Ayesha went to school and studied upto V class. As the family income had become inadequate to feed the entire family, she had to leave school and join the bangle making industry. In addition to that, her father was not a responsible person. He used to spend money on liquor and gambling.

The monthly income of the family was about Rs.3200 for 11 members to sustain themselves. They had a single room (own) with a bathroom adjacent to it where the entire family had to live in. They would get water from outside. Ayesha assisted her mother in domestic work including looking after siblings. Her two brothers working in a manufacturing industry would take pocket money ranging from Rs.20-50 from their earnings unlike Ayesha who would give her entire earnings to her mother. Nevertheless, she said that she did not need money to spend on herself. She

did not even want to rejoin school. If choice was given, she would allow her younger siblings to join and continue schooling.

Household Characteristics

1. Name of the child	:	Ferhat Ayesha (11 yrs)
2. Occupation	:	Bangle making
Monthly income	:	Rs. 300 to 350
3. Community	:	Muslim
4. Family size	:	11
5. Father's occupation	:	Rickshah pulling
Monthly income	:	Rs. 500 to 600
6. Mother's occupation	:	Bangle making
Monthly income	:	Rs. 400 to 500
7. Elder brothers (2)	:	Working in manufacturing units
Monthly income	:	Rs. 600 to 800 each
8. Elder sister (2)	:	Married
9. Elder sister (1)	:	Bangle making
Monthly income	:	Rs. 400 to 450
10. Younger brother (1)	:	Attending school
11. Younger sisters (2)	:	Small children (Below 5 Yrs)
12. Area	:	Rahmathnagar (Circle-I) (Own house).

4.3.2 Bangle Making – The Profile of a Part-time Worker

Asra Begum, a student in a private aided school worked in bangle making. In her family, all the members were literate. Her father borrowed an auto on hire for a rent of Rs.70 per day and plied it on roads. After rent for the auto was paid, his daily earnings ranged from Rs.10 to Rs.50.

Asra works in a home-based workshop after coming back from school. Since her father's income was inadequate to run the family, Asra and her younger sister, also a student in the same school where Asra studied, had to work in view of the economic necessities of the family. As they felt that teaching at Government schools was not good, they were studying in a private aided school by paying a school fee of Rs. 300 per annum per student.

Asra said that her mother was very co-operative in her studies. Except joining in the bangle making work after coming from school, Asra was not asked to share in any other work at home. She was able to cope up with both schooling as well as working but she felt bad, as she was not left with any free time to play or to go out. Yet, she seemed contended with her work, as she was able to earn money to support her studies. She worked from 3-30 p.m. to 6-30p.m. on school days and 10-00 a.m. to 5-00 p.m. on holidays. Asra felt that, if her family would earn subsistent level of income, she would leave work and concentrate on studies.

Household Characteristics

1. Name of the child	: Asran Begum (12 years) (Student of VI Class)
2. Occupation	: Bangle making
Monthly income	: Rs. 150 – 200
3. Community	: Muslim
4. Family Size	: 8
5. Father's occupation	: Auto driver (rented)
Monthly income	: Rs. 800 - 1000
6. Mother's occupation	: Bangle making
Monthly income	: Rs. 400 - 500
7. Elder brother	: Wage employment (mechanic)
Monthly income	: Rs. 500 - 600
8. Younger sister	: Bangle making (Student of IV Class)
Monthly income	: Rs. 150 - 200
9. Younger sister	
10. Younger brother	: *Balwadi* students
11. Younger brother	: Small child (Below 5 yrs)
12. Area	: Jagadish Huts (Circle-II) (Own house).

4.3.3 *Agarbatti* Making – The Profile of a Full-time Worker

Nasreen was one of the five members in the family including her mother who worked in *Agarbatti* making. All the children were dropouts due to the orthodox attitude of their father. Nasreen had studied upto VI Class. She could not continue studies, as her father did not allow girls to go out once they attained 14 yrs of age. That was the reason why her elder sister had been married at the age of 15.

Nasreen's father worked under a scrap dealer. He did not earn any regular income. He was paid on a daily basis, i.e., Rs.50 a day. Nasreen and the other members of the family working in the *Agarbatti Karkhana*, together would earn about Rs. 2000-2200 per month. As they were regular workers, the contractor would give them one dress as a bonus for every *Ramzan*. She said that she suffers from backache and body pains due to the nature of the work. She had to sit for long hours without support to her back and also bend over the wooden alter/platform while making small pieces of bamboo sticks. Owing to continuous bending, she would suffer from backache and body pains.

Household Characteristics

1.	Name of the child	: Nasreen (13 yrs)
2.	occupation	: *Agarbatti* making
	Monthly income	: Rs. 350 - 400
3.	Community	: Muslim
4.	Family Size	: 10
5.	Father's occupation	: Wage employment (works under a scrap dealer)
	Monthly income	: Rs. 800 - 1000
6.	Mother's occupation	: *Agarbatti* making
	Monthly income	: Rs. 450 - 500
7.	Elder sister (1)	: Married and left
8.	Elder sister (2)	
9.	Younger sister (1)	: *Agarbatti* making
	Monthly income	: Rs. 350 – 400 each
10.	Younger sister (1)	:
11.	Younger Brothers (2)	: *Balwadi* students
12.	Area	: Macca Masjid (Circle-II) (Own house)

4.3.4 *Zari* Embroidery – The Profile of a Part-time Worker

Farhana, a 12-year-old girl worked in a home based *Zari* embroidery workshop. Her mother was a heart patient. Her elder sister who worked in *Zari* embroidery was also unhealthy and always suffers from one ailment or the other. Her sister-in-law was a housekeeper and looks after Farhana's ailing mother. Farhana and her two younger sisters work on *Zari* embroidery in order to supplement their family income and also to meet their school expenses (Rs. 300 per annum).

Farhana's father worked in a mechanic shop and he took the responsibility of paying house rent (Rs.400 per month) from his earnings. He would spend the remaining of his earnings on himself. Her elder brother who worked in a cloth shop took care of the well being of the family. A good amount of monthly income of the family (approximately Rs.500–600) would be spent on medicines for her mother and sister. Since both the parents were not the main bread earners, Farhana's brother and sister-in-law would take decisions on family matters.

Farhana was studying VII Class in a private school. She would work after school hours i.e., from 3-30 p.m. to 7-00 p.m. The girl was healthy, intelligent and ambitious. She liked her work, as it was the source of income for her education. She also found recreation and relaxation in her *Zari* work. She knew making designs on *sarees* with *Zari* threads and filling it with shiny materials. She wanted to become a nurse when she grew up.

Household Characteristics

1. Name of the child	:	Ferhana Begum (12 Years) (Student VII class)
2. Occupation	:	*Zari* embroidery
Monthly income	:	Rs.300 – 350
3. Community	:	Muslim
4. Family size	:	10
5. Father's occupation	:	Mechanic
Monthly income	:	Rs.800 – 1000
6. Mother's occupation	:	Stays at home (a heart patient)
7. Elder brother (1)	:	Wage employee (X Class-dropout)
Monthly income	:	Rs.1500 – 1600
8. Elder sister-in-law	:	House keeping
9. Elder brother (1)	:	Wage employee (X Class – dropout)
Monthly income	:	Rs.1000 – 1200
10. Elder sister (1)	:	*Zari* work (VII Class - dropout)
Monthly income	:	Rs.500 – 600
11. Younger sisters (2)	:	*Zari* work (students)
Monthly income	:	Rs.200 – 250 each
12. Younger brother	:	Student (IV Class)
13. Area	:	Riyasathnagar (Circle-I) (Rented house)

4.3.5 Safety Pin Making – The Profile of a Full-time Worker

Akhtar Begum, her sisters and parents were illiterates. Her two younger brothers were attending school and two elder brothers were school dropouts.

Akhtar Begum was unhealthy, untidy, thin, pessimistic and innocent. Her family lived in a room with unhygienic conditions around the area. The owner of the room allowed the family to live there without collecting any rent as he had sympathized with the poor conditions of the family.

Akhtar's father was a *Hamali*. His income was irregular and seasonal. During on seasons, he would earn Rs.70-80 a day and off-seasons he would earn nothing. They had a sewing machine at home. Her mother and two elder sisters worked on it. They stitched the cloth wares for the local people as per the rates prevailing in the area and together would earn around Rs. 1000-1200 per month.

Akhtar and her younger sister made safety pins at home. They would start their work in the morning at 8.00 a.m. with hand operated machines and continue till 6 p.m. getting up only for lunch and other necessities in the middle. The work was strenuous, as they had to press the machine each time for every piece of a safety pin. By working repeatedly with the machines, the girls suffered from severe shoulder pains. In spite of body pains, Akhtar had turned almost into a machine. She was habituated to it and involved herself in the work such that she lost her happy and carefree childhood. She accepted poverty as a reality and supplemented the family income by working hard in making safety pins throughout the day. When asked about education, she said that she liked education, but under the given conditions of the family it was highly impossible and therefore she did not entertain any ambitions for future.

Household Characteristics

1. Name of the child	:	Akhtar Begum (11 Yrs)
2. Occupation	:	Safety pin making
Monthly income	:	Rs.250 – 300
3. Community	:	Muslim
4. Family size	:	10
5. Father's occupation	:	Hamali
Monthly income	:	Rs.1000 – 1200
6. Mother's occupation	:	Tailoring
7. Elder sisters (2)	:	
monthly income	:	Rs. 1000 – 1200 together
8. Elder brother (1)	:	Wage employment (V Class drop-out)
Monthly income	:	Rs.500 – 600
9. Elder brother (1)	:	Unemployed (V Class drop-out)
10.Younger brothers (2)	:	Students
11.Younger sister (1)	:	Safety pin making
Monthly income	:	Rs.200 – 250
12.Area	:	Tadbun (Circle-II)

4.3.6 *Beedi* Making – The Profile of a Part-time Worker

Santosha belongs to Backward Class community. Her parents migrated to the city from Nizamabad district long ago. Her father had worked in a spinning mill for 15 years and presently rendered unemployed as the spinning mill was closed down indefinitely. Now he refused to look for another job as he felt that he was fit only for spinning mill industry and no other job. In the process, he not only became a burden to the family but also an irresponsible father.

The main bread earner of the family was Santosha's elder brother, who worked in a manufacturing industry. After completing X Class, he had to join in the wage employment. He had an ambition of undergoing vocational training in I.T.I (Industrial Training Institute) and take up a technical job. Had their father not become unemployed, Santosha said that her elder brother would have pursued his studies and would have qualified in I.T.I.

Santhosha and her elder sister were obliged by family needs and spare evening time to work on rolling *Beedi*s, after coming home from school. She liked *Beedi* making as she could conveniently combine schooling with this occupation. She was an ambitious girl. She liked the teaching profession and wanted to become a teacher. Her mother who was a full time *Beedi* worker admitted that Santhosha compared with her elder daughter was an intelligent girl. She said she would strive for Santhosha's further studies and help her realise her ambition.

Household Characteristics

1. Name of the child	:	Santhosha (12 years) (Student of VII Class)
2. Occupation	:	*Beedi* making
Monthly income	:	Rs. 300 – 350
3. Community	:	Backward Classes
4. Family size	:	6
5. Father's occupation	:	Unemployed
6. Mother's occupation	:	*Beedi* making
Monthly income	:	Rs. 600 – 700
7. Elder brother (1)	:	Wage employment (X Class drop-out)
Monthly income	:	Rs. 1000 – 1200
8. Elder sister (1)	:	*Beedi* rolling (Student of IX Class)
Monthly income	:	Rs. 300 – 350
9. Younger brother (1)	:	Attending school (V Class)
10.Area	:	Rajmohalla (Circle-III) (Own house)

4.3.7 *Beedi* Making - The Profile of a Full-time Worker

Bhagya and her mother lived in a small room. They had migrated here long back from Nalgonda district in search of livelihood. Her father, Ramulu was an employee in a private firm. He had great hopes in his only daughter Bhagya and admitted her in a private school. Bhagya was an intelligent girl. But as the cruel destiny would have it Ramulu had died in an accident two years back leaving his daughter and wife behind without any support. His untimely death caused irreparable damage to Bhagya's life. She had to forget her ambition and became virtually a destitude. Her mother Lakshmamma, though wanted Bhagya to continue in school,

was helpless. Even Bhagya herself did not want to continue her studies leaving the entire burden on her mother.

Bhagya rolled *Beedi*s about 700-800 a day. Since she was a child, the contractor did not issue her an identity card due to which she could not become a regular employee in the industry. Her mother, of course was given one. Lakshmamma felt very sorry and bad for her daughter who was rolling *Beedi*s at the cost of her schooling.

The room rent was Rs.200-00 per month. Bhagya said that her mother could not compromise with her father's death for a long time and therefore she became very thin and looked like a chronic patient. Bhagya always accompanied her mother and would never leave her alone. Even under such desperate situation Bhagya did not give up hope. She was not pessimistic. She wanted to change the occupation to earn more money. She liked tailoring so that she could have her own sewing machine and stitch variety of wares that would fetch her more income. Her ambition was to earn money and provide her mother with as much comfort as possible.

Household Characteristics

1. Name of the child	:	Bhagya (12 yrs) (VI Class drop-out)
2. Occupation	:	*Beedi* rolling
Monthly income	:	Rs. 500 – 600
3. Community	:	Backward Class
4. Family size	:	2
5. Father	:	Not alive
6. Mother	:	*Beedi* rolling
Monthly income	:	Rs. 600 – 700
7. Sisters & brothers	:	Nil
8. Area	:	Upper Basti (Circle-IV) (Rented house)

4.3.8 Servant Maid - The Profile of a Full-time Worker

Yadamma was a school dropout. She had studied upto V Class. She had to leave school owing to financial problems. Her father was a casual labourer and had no regular income. Since he had no permanent source of income, he indulged in bad

activities and would waste his entire income. Not only that he never gave the family any money but some times he also took away money from his wife. This often would lead to tensions in the family.

They lived in a house rented at Rs.400 per month. Yadamma's elder brother, Venkat worked in a shop of a food grain merchant. He had studied upto X Class. Thus, major part of the family income was Venkat's contribution. Yadamma's younger brothers were studying in a private aided school. Her younger sister, who was a student in the same school, discontinued her studies and joined in the wage employment. Yadamma said that education for daughters was considered as a mere waste of both money and labour.

Yadamma worked in two houses and earned about Rs. 600 per month. The work was done usually in mornings and evenings. In the afternoons, she practiced stitching on a sewing machine in the neighbours' house. She liked tailoring work and wanted to leave the present occupation provided a sewing machine was allotted to her. She said that she made several attempts to obtain a sewing machine under the *Adarana* scheme but in vain.

Yadamma was an ambitious girl. She wanted to become self-employed and earn as much money as possible to educate her brothers. She expressed gratitude for her elder brother without whose income the family would have been in trouble. Therefore, she had a dream that her younger brothers should continue studies until they got jobs. For that purpose, she wanted to earn more money. This anxiety of Yadamma showed, how concerned and responsible she was for the family.

Household Characteristics

1. Name of the child	:	Yadamma (13 yrs) (V Class drop-out)
2. Occupation	:	Domestic Service
Monthly income	:	Rs.550 - 600
3. Community	:	Scheduled Castes
4. Family size	:	7

5. Father's occupation	:	Casual labour
Monthly income	:	Rs.400 - 500
6. Mother's occupation	:	Domestic Service
Monthly income	:	Rs.900 - 1000
7. Elder brother (1)	:	Wage employment (X Class dropout)
Monthly income	:	Rs.1200 – 1400
8. Younger sister (1)	:	Domestic Service
Monthly income	:	Rs.500 - 600
9. Younger brothers (2)	:	Attending school
10. Area	:	Ambedkarnagar (Circle-VII) (Rented house).

4.3.9 Rag Picking – The Profile of a Full Time Worker

Durgamma was the fourth child in a family of 11 children, three were dead before they completed one month after their birth. The family migrated to Hyderabad from Miryalguda (Nalgonda District) long ago. They belonged to the Scheduled Tribes. All the children as well as parents were illiterate. They did not give importance to education as they had believed that it was beyond their limits. In some cases, therefore though they could afford to admit their children in school, they never gave it a serious thought.

Durgamma said that they had taken up rag picking because it was not only their age-old occupation but it was the only work they could do. Having come from the tribal groups, the children were habituated to see themselves fit for socially low status occupations. The family was very poor. Yet, their parents did not do any work. They completely depended on the earnings of their children. All the six children together would earn Rs.3000 – 3200 per month and give it to their parents. They would start their work early in the morning at 6 a.m. and continue it till 6 p.m. They would go home in the noon for lunch. Some times they would buy some foodstuff and tea at the roadside hotels and also go to movies occasionally.

Durgamma said that she liked education. Previously, one teacher used to come and give slates, pencils and teach Telugu alphabets. Every day evening, she said, the children in the locality used to cheerfully welcome the teacher and study well.

Durgamma had learnt all Telugu alphabets and also some words. But the teacher suddenly stopped coming for reasons not known to Durgamma. Presently, the children just played in the evenings till 9.00 p.m. before they retired to bed.

Household Characteristics

1. Name of the child	:	Durgamma (11 years)
2. Occupation	:	Rag picking
Monthly income	:	Rs.400 - 500
3. Community	:	Scheduled Tribes
4. Family size	:	10
5. Fathers occupation	:	
6. Mother occupation	:	Non-workers
7. Elder brothers (2)		
8. Elder sister (1)	:	Rag picking
Monthly income	:	Rs.500 – 600 each
9. Younger sisters (2)	:	Rag picking
Monthly income	:	Rs.400 – 500 each
10.Younger sisters (2)	:	Small children (below 5 yrs)
11. Area	:	Venkateswaranagar (Circle-V) (Own house)

The above profiles of workers revealed the causes of child labour, living conditions of households and monthly earnings of each member in the households. While some girls were employed because they had to meet their school expenses apart from contributing to their family income, some others were employed because of financial necessity. The girls who were able to combine work with schooling were optimistic, wanted to pursue further studies and at the same time to supplement their family income. They seemed satisfied with their present occupations. Those who worked on full-time were not inclined to rejoin school and instead, wanted their younger brothers and sisters to continue schooling. In a majority of the cases, the size of the family was large and they lived in economic distress. In some households, where the fathers were stated to be irresponsible towards family well being, the elder brothers had taken up the responsibility of running the family. In the last profile of Durgamma, who was a rag picker, both the parents were non-workers. However, as the mother would obviously attended to household duties she could be called unpaid

family worker rather than a non-worker. Both the parents completely depended upon their children's earnings. Thus, it was a case of irresponsible behaviour.

Thus, the children were engaged in work due to economic necessity. Majority of girls were employed in household industries on piece-rate wages, continue to work for long hours to increase the production of pieces of wares to get visible wages. Profiles of girl workers revealed that those who were able to combine work with schooling were optimistic and wanted to pursue further studies besides supplementing family income. Therefore, it can be inferred that education is considered as the panacea for the alleviation and for the gradual elimination of child labour.

CHAPTER 5

WAGES, INCOME AND POVERTY OF CHILD LABOUR HOUSEHOLDS

5.0 Introduction

Illiteracy and economic backwardness coupled with massive under-employment and ignorance are the main reasons for the extensive prevalence of child labour. Children are employed, to supplement the inadequate family income in many cases and they also earn to maintain the family in many other cases. The wages paid to working children might be a pittance and very meager but they save the family from financial crisis and starvation. In this chapter, an attempt is made to understand the wage structure the employers follow for paying remuneration to child labour, the share of child labour in the income of their families and the incidence of poverty in the sample households.

5.1 Wage Structure

The statutory minimum wage rates which consists of a basic wage and cost of living allowance are announced by the authorities from time to time. The statutory board has identified a list of occupations for which minimum wage rates are fixed to be followed by the employers. However there are many other occupations which did not find a place in the list for the fixation of minimum wages. Bangle making, *Agarbatti* making, Safety-pin making, *Zari* embroidery, Domestic services are some of the occupations which were not identified by the Minimum Wages Act but cater to the needs of a vast majority of girl workers in the urban informal sector. Lack of recognition and not inclusion of these occupations in the list by the Wage Board might be due to the invisibility of the extent of employment the girl workers are involved in, as these occupations are related to strictly home-based industries. Even where the minimum wage rates are applicable, the child workers hardly know about the rates and the employers conveniently flout the rules to their advantage and pay wages much lower than the announced minimum wages. In fact, one of the reasons for the employers to engage children in certain occupations is that children are not only

submissive, humble and sincere in their work but also readily accept the meagre amount of wages without any resistance. Since the majority of girl workers were employed in the occupations of piece-rate wages, the practice of wage discrimination against them is not likely to be detected, though the ill-treatment of children by the employers in terms of abuses, strict vigilance (Bangle making), rejection of wares (embroidery, *Beedi* leaves), wrong count of wares (*Beedis*, *Agarbattis*) were widely practiced.

5.2 Statutory Minimum Wages and Actual Wages

In this context, it is relevant to make a comparison between the statutory minimum wages and actual wage rates followed by the employers for the occupations identified in the list of Daily Wages Act. The minimum wage rates are fixed separately for skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, and it is stated that where the nature of work is same, no discrimination in payment of minimum wages shall be made on the basis of sex (see Appendices 1,2 & 3). More importantly, the minimum basic rates of wages are linked to consumer price index, and therefore cost of living allowance would also have to be paid to workers along with daily wages. But the reality and practice revealed that none of the employers ever seemed to have bothered to get acquainted themselves with the prevailing norms of official daily wage rates. In the absence of strict enforcing authority, the employers went scot-free and paid wages much below the official wage rates.

As Table 5.1 shows, the employers in construction industry are supposed to pay monthly wages along with cost of living allowance to the workers. In practice, not only that they make payment on daily basis, but they also pay less wages for girls who carry head-loads and other unskilled work along with the boys at work site. If the daily wage is multiplied with 26 (normal average working days in a month), it would be higher than the official monthly wage rate. This absurd phenomenon could be attributed to intermittent, irregular and very casual nature of employment, besides the strenuous work. Employers in any industrial activity of the informal sector would not follow the statutory basic wages, rather they follow their own wage

rates by means of informal arrangement. In petty stalls like eatable Dhabhas, Kirana stores and Bewarage stalls children were paid much below the official minimum wage rates. No employee working in an eatable establishment dealing with foodstuffs knew that there was a hierarchy in the remuneration to the vessel cleaners, vegetable cutters and house-keepers. The children, doing all types of menial chores were paid an equal amount of wages at around Rs. 400 – 500 P.M. with increment of Rs.20 for each subsequent year.

Table 5.1

Actual and Statutory Minimum Wage Rates

Sl. No	Occupation	Actual Wage Rates		Statutory Wage Rates	
		Male (Rs)	Female (Rs)	Basic wage (Rs)	Cost of living *2 allowance for point increase (Rs)
1.	*Beedi* Rolling *1 (1000 *Beedi*s)	-	30-00	35-00	0.10 Paise
2.	Construction	60 (per day)	50 (per day)	(monthly) 675 - un skilled 880 -semi-skilled 1150 –skilled	 3.90 5.00 6.25
3.	Restaurants	400 (per month)	-	(Monthly) 750 –Cleaner 810 - Veg. Cutter 850 – House keeper 945 – Cook	 4.25 4.50 4.75 5.25

Source – Law of Minimum Wages Part – II minimum Rates of wages in A.P. Remanuj Das. Law Public (P)Ltd

*1. A.P.Gazatte. Labour, Employment, Training & Factories Department (Lab.II) 31.3.1999.p.2.

*2. The minimum basic rates of wages are linked to consumer price index for the industrial workers at 242 points(base year 1982=100). For any rise in consumer price index over and above this level, a cost of living allowance shall be paid as specified in the column and it shall be notified by the Commissioner of Labour for every six moths i.e. on 1st April and 1st October.

5.3 Wages Rates and Market Value

Usually market value of the product has a direct bearing upon wage rates. Hence, an attempt is made here to compare the market value of the products with the wage rates paid to the actual producers in the occupations, where workers received piece-rate wages. The maximum exploitation (Table 5.2) can be noticed in *Agarbatti*

and Safety-pin making industries where wage rate is fixed as per the production of 1 Kg of wares while the product was sold by number count in the market. While 1Kg of *Agarbattis* and 1 Kg of Safety pins at the work place yield very meagre wages of Rs. 10 and Rs. 5 respectively, the market value of the products varied between Rs.40-50 per a packet of 100 incense sticks (basing on brand name, fragrance, aroma etc), and Rs.2 per a bunch of 10 safety pins. Even in the Bangle making industry, girls under strict vigilance, sitting near the small furnace whole day made Bangles for which they were paid a pittance of Rs.15 to 20 for 10 sets of Bangles each set containing 6 Bangles. The market value for each set of 6 Bangles, basing on the design, was between Rs.40 to 50. Even after considering the material cost met by the employers, the difference between labour cost and product price was enormous.

For instance, in *Agarbatti*-making, for 1 Kg of *Agarbattis* (approximately 1000 sticks), a girl child was paid Rs.10. That is, for making 100 *Agarbatti* sticks, the piece-rate was Re.1. Whereas, the market value of a packet of 100 incense sticks is around Rs.40. After deducting the cost of raw material including labelling, packing etc. which is worked out approximately at Rs.10 per a packet, the employers' profit is around Rs.29 for a packet of 100 incense sticks. In the same way, in Bangle making industry, girls were paid a remuneration of Rs. 20 for making 10 sets of Bangles. That is, the piece-rate for one set of Bangles was Rs. 2. As already noted that the market value of each set of Bangles (which consists of 6 Bangles) varied between Rs 40 to 50. The cost of raw material required for making one set of Bangles, as observed at the work-site, would not be more than Rs. 5. Therefore, the employer's profit would be around Rs. 35 per a set of Bangles. Similarly, in *Beedi*-making, for rolling 1000 *Beedis*, a girl child was paid Rs.30. This worked out to 3 paise per *Beedi*. In contrast, the market value per *Beedi* works out to around 20 paise. Even when 5 paise per *Beedi* is the cost of the raw material, the employer is left with a maximum profit of 12 paise per *Beedi*.

The worst exploitation in the field of remuneration was found in safety pin making industry where young girls even at the tender age of 8 to 10 were paid a very paltry remuneration of Rs. 5 per 1Kg of wares (approximately 1000 pieces of safety

Table 5.2

Employment Category-wise Piece-rate Wages and Market Value of Products

Sl. No.	Category of employment	Piece-rate wages (Rs)	Market value of the product (Rs)
1.	Bangle making	15 to 20 (For 10 sets each set containing 6 bangles)	40 to 50 (Each set of bangles - rate varies basing on design)
2.	*Agarbatti* making	10 (For 1Kg of Agarbatti sticks)	40 to 50 (A packet of 100 insense sticks-rate varies basing on brand name)
3.	*Zari* embroidary	30 to 40 (A simple designed embroidery work) 400 to 500 (A rich designed embroidery Zari work)	1500 to 1800 (Based on quality of material) 2500 to 3000 (Based on quality of material)
4.	Safety pin making	5 (per 1Kg of safety pins)	2 (A bunch of 10 safety pins)
5.	*Beedi* making	30 (for 1000 beedis)	2 to 4 (A packet of 15 to 25 beedis-based on the brand name)
6.	Tailoring (Sewing centres)	5 (Petticoat) 10 (A frock of small size)	50 (Based on quality of material) 120 to 150 (Based on quality of material)

Source : Field survey

pins). The piece-rate for a bunch of 10 safety pins was worked out to be 5 paise and the market value was Rs. 2. It appears that production cost includes only the cost of raw material and not the labour cost. In other words, the labour cost was so low that it is almost negligible when considered the cost-benefit analysis. In every occupation mentioned in the table, the employers extracted as much labour as possible by engaging children at very low wages and earned huge profits at the cost of children's innocence and poverty.

5.4 Earnings of Child Workers

If market value and wages indicate the proportion of exploitation, the wages earned by the child workers would reveal their economic status. Hence data were collected on this variable. The monthly earnings of child workers in respect of their occupations are presented in Tables 5.3. Among all the occupations where girl workers were employed, Safety pins, Bangle making and *Agarbatti* making industries offered very low wages and average monthly income of girls in these industries worked out to Rs. 214.3, Rs.287.5 and Rs. 300 respectively. While none of the girls in *Agarbatti* and Safety pin making occupations earned more than Rs. 400 per month, some girls in *Zari* embroidery and Bangle making earned upto Rs. 600 per month. Though girls require specific skills to perform Bangle making and *Zari* embroidery work, their earnings were very low. For instance, 56.3% of the girls in Bangle making and 58.3% of girls in *Zari* embroidery could earn between Rs.200-400 and Rs.400-600 respectively. In *Beedi* making industry, more than one-fifth of the girls (23.1%) were able to earn a monthly income between Rs.600-800. The highest average paid occupation was Domestic services (Rs.506.5) where about 35.5% of the girls' income was between Rs.600-800.

In the case of boy workers, while 82.5% of the boys in manufacturing industry earned more than Rs.600 per month, there were no boys in Mechanic industry whose earnings exceeded Rs.600 per month. In petty business industry, 62.2% of boys were able to earn between Rs.600-800. The monthly incomes of child workers are calculated approximately on the basis of average daily production of wares and

Table 5.3

Occupation and Earnings of Child workers

Sl. No.	Occupation		Below * 200	200-400	400-600	600-800	800-1000	1000-1200	1200-1400	Total	Average Earnings
A. Girl Child Workers											
1.	Bangle making		4 (25.0)	9 (56.3)	3 (18.7)	--	--	--	--	16 (100)	287.50
2.	*Agarbatti* making		--	17 (100)	--	--	--	--	--	17 (100)	300.00
3.	*Zari* embroidary		2 (16.7)	3 (25.0)	7 (58.3)	--	--	--	--	12 (100)	385.30
4.	Safety pin making		6 (42.9)	8 (57.1)	--	--	--	--	--	14 (100)	214.30
5.	*Beed*i making		3 (7.7)	6 (15.4)	21 (53.8)	9 (23.1)	--	--	--	39 (100)	484.6
6.	Tailoring		2 (6.7)	10 (33.3)	13 (43.3)	5 (16.7)	--	--	--	30 (100)	440.0
7.	Domestic services		4 (12.9)	2 (6.5)	14 (45.2)	11 (35.5)	--	--	--	31 (100)	506.5
Sub-Total			21 (13.2)	55 (34.6)	58 (36.5)	25 (15.7)	--	--	--	159 (100)	409.4
B. Boy Child Workers											
1.	Manufacturing		2 (2.7)	8 (10.8)	3 (4.1)	50 (67.6)	11 (14.9)	--	--	74 (100)	662.2
2.	Mechanic work		9 (16.1)	10 (17.9)	37 (66.1)	--	--	--	--	56 (100)	400.00
3.	Petty Stalls		10 (22.2)	--	7 (15.6)	28 (62.2)	--	--	--	45 (100)	535.60
Sub-Total			21 (12.0)	18 (10.3)	47 (26.8)	78 (44.6)	11 (6.3)			175 (100)	545.7
C. Both Boy and Girl Child Workers:											
1.	Construction industry	Boys	-	-	-	-	-	15 (36.6)	26 (63.4)	41 (100)	1226.8
		Girls	-	-	-	-	-	25 (89.3)	3 (10.7)	28 (100)	1121.4
		Total	-	-	-	-	-	40 (58.0)	29 (42.0)	69 (100)	1184.1
2.	Rag Picking industry	Boys	-	12 (52.2)	11 (47.8)	-	-	-	-	23 (100)	395.7
		Girls	-	14 (53.8)	12 (46.2)	-	-	-	-	26 (100)	392.3
		Total	-	26 (53.1)	23 (46.9)	-	-	-	-	49 (100)	393.9
Sub-Total		Boys	-	12 (18.8)	11 (17.2)	-	-	15 (23.4)	26 (40.4)	64 (100)	928.1
		Girls	-	14 (25.9)	12 (22.2)	-	-	25 (46.3)	3 (5.6)	54 (100)	770.4
		Total	-	26 (22.0)	23 (19.5)	-	-	40 (33.9)	29 (24.6)	118 (100)	855.9
Grand Total			42 (9.3)	99 (21.9)	128 (28.3)	103 (22.8)	11 (2.4)	40 (8.8)	29 (6.4)	452 (100)	578.8

Source: Field Survey

* Monthly earnings per child worker

working days. In construction industry, however, though the daily wages were known, their monthly incomes were not calculated by multiplying with 26, but approximate monthly incomes were estimated based on the workers' response at the work site and keeping in view the causal and irregular nature of work, and not attending to work daily (since there was no regular contract between the employer and child workers). Accordingly, the average monthly incomes of boy and girl workers in this industry were Rs.1226.8 and Rs.1121.4 respectively. In Rag picking, the average monthly income of children worked out to Rs.394. Besides construction industry, the highest paid occupations for girls were servant maids (Rs.506.5) and *Beedi* making (Rs.484.6) and for boys, manufacturing (Rs.662.2) and petty business industry (Rs.535.6). The proportion of girls whose earnings were Rs.600 and above was 15.7% as against 50.9% of the boys, which was more than three times.

5.5 Contribution of Child Labour

The basic factor responsible for child labour was the poverty of the households. Hence, it was considered necessary to examine whether the economic contribution of the child workers to their families had brought any relief. The particulars of the contribution of child workers to household income are presented in Table 5.4. The purpose of calculating monthly earnings of child labour was to estimate their share of contribution to the household income. The shares of childrens' contribution varied with reference to the total amount of household income. In very poor families, the earnings of children from low paid occupations might have formed a substantial part of household income, while in relatively high income households, the earnings from better paid occupations might not be a substantial part of family income.

It can be observed from the table that contribution of girls from poorly paid occupations of *Agarbatti* and Safety pin making industries was very nominal at 9.7% and 6.4% respectively. Even the Bangle workers' average contribution (18.1%) could not reach one-fifth of the household income. So is the case with *Zari* embroidery workers whose average contribution was just 12.5%. However in *Beedi* making industry, 10.3% of girls, majority of whom belonged to the Backward Class

Table 5.4

Occupations and contribution of Child Labour to Household Income

Sl. No.	Occupation		Upto 10%	10-20%	20-30%	30-40%	40-50%	Total	Average contribu-tion
A. Girl Child Workers									
1.	Bangle making		3 (18.8)	5 (31.2)	8 (50.0)	-	-	16 (100)	18.1
2.	*Agarbatti* making		9 (52.9)	8 (47.1)	-	-	-	17 (100)	9.7
3.	*Zari* embroidary		3 (25.0)	9 (75.0)	-	-	-	12 (100)	12.5
4.	Safety pin making		12 (85.7)	2 (14.3)	-	-	-	14 (100)	6.4
5.	*Beed*i making		4 (10.3)	14 (35.9)	10 (25.6)	7 (17.9)	4 (10.3)	39 (100)	23.2
6.	Tailoring		10 (33.3)	11 (36.7)	5 (16.7)	4 (13.3)	-	30 (100)	16.0
7.	Domestic services		4 (12.9)	13 (41.9)	12 (38.7)	2 (6.5)	-	31 (100)	18.9
Sub-Total			45 (28.3)	62 (39.0)	35 (22.0)	13 (8.2)	4 (2.5)	159 (100)	16.8
B. Boy Child Workers									
1.	Manufacturing		5 (6.8)	18 (24.3)	32 (43.2)	16 (21.6)	3 (4.1)	74 (100)	24.2
2.	Mechanic work		22 (39.3)	27 (48.2)	7 (12.5)	-	-	56 (100)	12.30
3.	Petty stalls		10 (22.2)	30 (66.7)	5 (11.1)	-	-	45 (100)	13.90
Sub-Total			37 (21.1)	75 (42.9)	44 (25.1)	16 (9.1)	3 (1.7)	175 (100)	17.7
C. Both Boy and Girl Child Workers									
1.	Construction industry	Boys	-	10 (24.4)	23 (56.1)	8 (19.5)	-	41 (100)	24.5
		Girls	-	7 (25.0)	17 (60.7)	4 (14.3)	-	28 (100)	23.9
		Total	-	17 (24.6)	40 (58.0)	12 (17.4)	-	69 (100)	24.3
2.	Rag Picking industry	Boys	-	20 (87.0)	3 (13.0)	-	-	23 (100)	16.3
		Girls	8 (30.8)	13 (50.0)	5 (19.2)	-	-	26 (100)	13.8
		Total	8 (16.3)	33 (67.3)	8 (16.3)	-	-	49 (100)	15.0
Sub-Total		Boys	-	30 (46.9)	26 (40.6)	8 (12.5)	-	64 (100)	21.6
		Girls	8 (14.8)	20 (37.0)	22 (40.7)	4 (7.4)	-	54 (100)	19.1
		Total	8 (6.8)	50 (42.4)	48 (40.7)	12 (10.1)	-	118 (100)	20.4
Grand Total			90 (19.9)	187 (41.4)	127 (28.1)	41 (9.1)	7 (1.5)	452 (100)	18.1

Source: Field Survey

Community were able to contribute as high as 40-50% to their household income. In this community, as already observed that some of the menfolk were rendered unemployed and therefore womenfolk including girls resorted to *Beedi* making which is an age old occupation of *Padmashali* community in some parts of Hyderabad. Therefore nearly 28.2% of girls in this industry were contributing around 30% and above to their household income. In the occupation of Servant maids, though the average income of girls was recorded highest, their average contribution to household income was only 18.9%.

The average contribution of boy workers in manufacturing industry was 24.2%. The contribution of about 25.7% of boys in this industry was above 30%. However, none of the boys in mechanic and petty business industries were able to contribute more than 30% to their household income. Therefore, the average contribution of boys in these industries was 12.3% and 13.9% respectively. In construction industry, both the boys and girls whose average earnings was above Rs.1000, were able to contribute a share of about one-fourth to their family income. 19.5% of boys' and 14.3% of girls' contribution in this industry was above 30%. This industry enabled the children to contribute the largest share of household income as compared to that in all other occupations.

Caste, being another important variable, data relating to caste-wise contribution of the sample child workers to their family incomes were collected. The details of data in this respect are presented in Table 5.5. About thirty percent of households in Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes communities were receiving contribution from their children around 40% and above. More than 50% of households in these communities consisted of children's income between 20-40%. The average earnings of children in the total income of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes households was 33.6% and 32.8% respectively. In Backward class households, only 16.4% were receiving children's contribution around 40% and above, while as many as 71.8% of households consisted of the children's contribution upto 30%. Therefore, the average contribution of children in Backward class community was the lowest at 22.3%. In Muslim community, while 16.3% of households had the children' income of around

Table 5.5

Caste-wise Households and Share of Earnings by the Sample Child Labour

Caste / Community	Percentage share of child earnings							
	Upto 10%	10-20%	20-30%	30-40%	40-50%	50+	Total house-holds	Average percent-age of earnings
Scheduled Caste (households)	4 (5.2)	8 (10.4)	18 (23.3)	20 (26.0)	19 (24.6)	8 (10.4)	77 (100)	33.6
Scheduled Tribes (households)	--	9 (15.5)	19 (32.8)	12 (20.7)	12 (20.7)	6 (10.3)	58 (100)	32.8
Backward Classes (households)	15 (22.4)	20 (30.0)	13 (19.4)	8 (11.9)	9 (13.4)	2 (3.0)	67 (100)	22.3
Muslim Community (households)	7 (8.1)	15 (17.4)	36 (41.9)	14 (16.3)	10 (11.6)	4 (4.7)	86 (100)	27.0
Others (households)	--	4 (33.3)	2 (16.7)	6 (50.0)	--	--	12 (100)	26.7
Total	26 (8.7)	56 (18.7)	88 (29.3)	60 (20.0)	50 (16.7)	20 (6.7)	300 (100)	28.7

1. Total income of all the Hhds. = Rs.9,87,555
2. Total Income of children = Rs.2,77,499
   a. Income of Boys = Rs.1,59,980
   b. Income of girls = Rs.1,17,519
3. The proportion of Boys' and Girls' Earnings = 57.7:42.3
4. Percentage share of child = 28.1
   a. Percentage share of = 16.2
   b. Percentage share of = 11.9

Source: Field Survey

40% and above, 67.4% of households were receiving children' contribution upto 30%. The average earnings of children in Muslim households was 27.%. The average contribution of children in all the sample households was 28.7%.

The total income of all the sample households worked out to be Rs.9,87,555 in which children's contribution was 2,77,499. In terms of percentage, this contribution was 28.1 percent. The proportion of earnings of boys and girls in the total earnings of child workers was 57.7 percent and 42.3 percent respectively. The percentage share of boys' and girls' income in the total income of households was 16.2% and 11.9% respectively.

5.6 Household Poverty

The contribution of children enable the households to mitigate, to some extent, the poor living conditions of the family. In order to examine the household poverty and children's earnings, it was felt necessary to calculate household poverty on the basis of the poverty line so that it could be analysed as to how many households would fall below the poverty line when children's contribution was withdrawn from household income. Economists and various organisations had estimated poverty lines differently on the basis of the calorie intake required for minimum level of living (see Appendix 4). They have calculated poverty lines separately for rural and urban areas as the cost of living differed between the regions. The poverty line for urban Andhra Pradesh at 1996-97 prices, as given in the state-wise poverty lines was Rs.344.10. This was inflated by the consumer price index for industrial workers of Hyderabad for 1999-2000 and it worked out to be Rs.423.00.00 at 1999-2000 prices. This estimate of poverty line was used to find out the households and population who fell below the poverty line. Since most of these households were relatively low-income households, income was treated on par with expenditure. Per capita income was used proxy for per capita expenditure in identifying poverty of households.

Particulars relating to the caste-wise households and the children's contribution in the mitigation of household poverty are shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6
Household Poverty with and without children's contribution
Poverty line Rs.423.00

Caste/ Community	Total number of households	Number of Households Below Poverty Line			
		With Children's Income	% of Households	Without Children's Income	% of Households
Scheduled Caste	77	20	25..97	47	61.04
Scheduled Tribes	58	24	41.38	49	84.48
Backward Classes	67	25	37.31	57	85.07
Muslim Community	86	33	38.37	70	81.40
Others	12	6	50.0	10	83.33
Total	300	108	36.0	233	77.67

Source: Field Survey

As the table reveals, the percentage of households falling below poverty line was highest in the Scheduled Tribes (41.38%) followed by Muslims (38.37%), Backward Classes (37.31%) and Scheduled Castes (25.97%). However, when children's contribution was withdrawn from the household income, the community which was affected most was the Backward Classes because the percentage of households falling below poverty line in this community increased to 85.07 which was the highest among those of all the caste-communities. Next to Backward Classes, the corresponding increase among households which fell below the poverty line was 84.48% in Scheduled Tribes, 81.40% in Muslims and 61.04% in Scheduled Castes. In the total 300 households, due to the withdrawal of children's income, the proportion of households below the poverty line increased from 36% to 77.67% which was more than two times. Thus, a substantial increase in the percentage of households below the poverty line was observed in all the caste – community households.

5.7 Sample Population below Poverty Line

Table 5.7 shows both the proportions of households as well as the population in the respective households along with the incidence of poverty. Like households, even

the population below the poverty line was also highest in the Scheduled Tribes (45.01%) followed by Backward Classes (37.10%) and Muslim community (35.76%). Further, when children's contribution was withdrawn from household income, it was again the Backward Classes households that suffered most as the proportion of population below the poverty line in this community increased to 86.41%, the highest increase (i.e., by 49.31%) as compared to the corresponding situation in all other caste-communities. The lowest increase was recorded in the Scheduled Castes in both, households (i.e., by 35.07%) as well as in population (i.e., by 31.3%) after the withdrawal of their childrens' contribution from household income. On the whole, the proportion of households and population below the poverty line rose substantially when the income from child labour was not considered. The population below the poverty line would increase from 35.84% to 76.52% if childrens' contribution from household income was withdrawn. Therefore around 41.67% of households and 40.68% of population seemed to have crossed the poverty line by supplementing their income through child labour.

Table 5.7
Distribution of Households, Population and Incidence of Poverty
Poverty line = Rs. 423.00

Caste/ Community	No.of Households	Number of Households below poverty line		Total Population	Population below poverty line	
		With Children Income	Without Children Income		With Children Income	Without Children Income
Scheduled Caste	77 (25.67)	20 (25.97)	47 (61.04)	527 (25.05)	141 (26.76)	306 (58.06)
Scheduled Tribes	58 (19.33)	24 (41.38)	49 (84.48)	411 (19.53)	185 (45.01)	352 (85.64)
Backward Classes	67 (22.33)	25 (37.31)	57 (85.07)	434 (20.63)	161 (37.10)	375 (86.41)
Muslim Community	86 (28.67)	33 (38.37)	70 (81.40)	674 (32.03)	241 (35.76)	531 (78.78)
Others	12 (4.0)	6 (50.0)	10 (83.33)	58 (2.76)	26 (44.8)	46 (79.31)
Total	300 (100)	108 (36.0)	233 (77.67)	2104 (100)	754 (35.84)	1610 (76.52)

5.8 Per Capita Income of the Sample Households

The per capita income of both the entire households as well as the households below the poverty line was calculated and the details are presented in Table 5.8. The data of this kind was felt necessary for calculating per capita income to be required for households to cross poverty line and this data were presented in Table 5.9. As can be noted from the Table 5.8, the average per capita income of the people in the Scheduled Caste households was the highest (Rs. 529.50) followed by the Scheduled Tribes (Rs. 475.90), Muslims (Rs. 442.40) and Backward Classes (Rs. 437.70).

Tables 5.8
Distribution of Per Capita Income of the Households and Incidence of Poverty
Poverty line = Rs. 423.00

Caste/ Community	Per Capita Income of all the Households		Per Capita Income of the Households Below Poverty Line	
	With Children's Income	Without Children's Income	With Children's Income	Without Children's Income
Scheduled Caste	529.50	369.20	373.80	270.10
Scheduled Tribes	475.90	318.10	380.00	283.90
Backward Classes	437.70	350.40	378.30	335.50
Muslim Community	442.40	333.10	366.30	304.80
Others	437.50	320.80	355.80	294.60
Total	470.00	342.80	365.50	300.50

When their children's income was withdrawn, the average per capita income in Scheduled Caste households was reduced from Rs 529.50 to Rs 369.20 (i.e., by 160.30), in Scheduled Tribe households the decline was from Rs. 475.90 to Rs. 318.10 (i.e., by Rs 157.80), in Muslim households, it was declined from Rs. 442.40 to Rs 333.10 (i.e., by 109.30) and in Backward Class households, it was from Rs. 437.70 to Rs. 350.40 (i.e., by Rs 87.30). That is, the reduction in average per capita income of households was the highest in Scheduled Castes (i.e., Rs. 160.40) and the lowest in the

Backward Class (i.e., 87.30). Further, when the income from the child labour was not considered, the average per capita income of the households in all the caste-communities fell much below the poverty line. This shows the extent of poverty the people are living in.

In the case of households below the poverty line, the incidence of poverty was still greater if the children did not join the labour market. In the Scheduled Castes, the average per capita income of the households below poverty line was Rs.373.80 which declined to Rs.270.10. (i.e., by Rs 103.7), when children's income was not considered, in Scheduled Tribes, the decline was from Rs 380 to Rs 283.9 (i.e., by Rs 96.1), in Muslim households, it was from Rs 366.30 to Rs 304.80 (i.e., by Rs 61.5) and in Backward Class households, the decline was from Rs 378.30 to Rs 355.50 (i.e., by Rs 42.8). The decline in average per capita income of the households below poverty line was the highest in Scheduled Caste households and lowest in Backward Class households. This reveals that the childrens' contribution was the highest in Scheduled Caste households and the lowest in Backward Class households. Referring to the earlier table 5.7, however it could be observed that when childrens' contribution from the household income was withdrawn, the proportion of households below poverty line increased from 37.31% to 85.07% (i.e., by 47.76%) in Backward Classes and in Scheduled Castes, increase in the proportion of households was from 25.97 to 61.04 (i.e., by 35.07%). In other words, the increase in the proportion of households below poverty line due to the exclusion of childrens' contribution was highest in Backward Classes and lowest in Scheduled Castes among all the caste-communities. The inference is that though the childrens' contribution was the lowest in Backward Class households, it enabled the largest proportion of households to cross the poverty line while it was the other way round in the Scheduled Caste. households.

5.9 Per Capita Income Requirement

The children's contribution had certainly helped the households to lessen their poor living conditions. Despite the hard-earned incomes of the children, it was found that nearly 36% of households were below poverty line. This percentage would

increase to about 78% if children were withdrawn from labour market. In this context, it would be appropriate to calculate per capita income requirement, an amount of income by which household incomes would have to be raised so that they could afford to live without childrens' contribution. This estimated per capita incomes were calculated taking the amount of poverty line as the cut-off income and this data were presented in Table 5.9. As can be noted from the table, in Scheduled Castes, in the absence of childrens' contribution, a per capita income of Rs. 152.90 was needed for the households to cross the poverty line. Similarly, the per capita income required by Backward Class households, which were below poverty line, was Rs. 87.50. Since the childrens' contribution to Backward Class households was lowest, it was obvious that in the event of their withdrawal from labour market, the per capita income requirement for the households to cross the poverty line was also lowest. For all the 36% of households which were below poverty line with childrens' contribution, an average per capita income of Rs.57.50 was required, or if childrens' contribution was withdrawn, the total of about 78% of households that would eventually fall below poverty line would be in need of per capita income of around Rs. 122.50 to cross the poverty line.

Table 5.9
Household Poverty and Requirement of Per Capita Income
Poverty Line = Rs 423.00

Caste/ Community	Per Capita Income of all the Households		Per Capita Income of the Households Below Poverty Line		Per Capita Income Required to Enable the Households Cross the Poverty Line	
	With Childrens' Income	Without Childrens' income	With Childrens' Income	Without Childrens' income	With Childrens' Income	Without Childrens' income
Scheduled Castes	529.50	369.20	373.80	270.10	49.20	152.90
Scheduled Tribes	475.90	318.10	380.0	283.90	43.00	139.10
Backward Class	437.70	350.40	378.30	335.50	44.70	87.50
Muslims	442.40	333.10	366.30	304.80	56.70	118.20
Others	437.50	320.80	355.80	294.60	67.20	128.40
Total	470.00	342.80	365.50	300.50	57.50	122.50

The above analysis on household poverty indicated that child workers by contributing their meager earnings to household income were able to mitigate the intensity of poverty in their households. With the contribution of children's income, about 41.67% of households were able to cross the poverty line. If the children were withdrawn from labour marker, it was found that an approximate amount of per capita income of Rs. 122.50 must be added to the households to cross the poverty line.

5.10 Girls' Contribution and Household Poverty

Though the girls' contribution to household income was 11.9 percent in the total sample households (Table 5.5), their income in some of the households constituted substantial part and thus enabled them to cross the poverty line. In order to examine the role of girls' contribution in the alleviation of poverty, those households which had exclusively girl workers were taken into account. Accordingly, 188 households were found having at least one girl worker in each of the households.

Table 5.10
Contribution of Girl Workers and Household Poverty
Poverty line = Rs.423.00

Caste/ Community	Number of Households	Number of Households Below Poverty Line			
		With Girls' Income	% of Households	Without Girls' Income	% of Households
Scheduled Caste	58	15	25.9	36	62.1
Scheduled Tribes	33	11	33.3	19	57.6
Backward Classes	32	18	56.3	27	84.4
Muslim Community	59	28	47.5	39	66.1
Others	6	2	33.3	4	66.7
Total	188	74	39.4	125	66.5

Source: field Survey

The caste-wise details of households and those falling below poverty line with and without girl workers' contribution to household income are shown in table 5.10. As can be seen from the table, the percentage of poor households was the highest in Backward Classes (56.3%) followed by Muslims (47.5%), Scheduled Tribes (33.3%) and Scheduled Castes (25.9%). When girls' income was withdrawn from the household income, as many as 84.4% of households in Backward Classes would fall below the poverty line. The relative increase in the proportion of households below the poverty line was found highest in Scheduled Castes where the proportion of households increased by 36.2% (from 25.9% to 62.1%) and it was lowest in Muslim households where the proportion increased by 18.6% (from 47.5% to 66.1%). In the total of 188 households, 39.4 percent of households were below poverty line, which would increase to 66.5%, if girls' income was withdrawn from the household income. It means that nearly 27% of households were able to cross the poverty line by supplementing their income through girls' contribution.

5.11 Girl Workers' Households and Per Capita Income Requirement

The data on per capita income of the households, household poverty and minimum per capita income needed for the households to cross the poverty line were presented in Table 5.11. As per the table, it can be noted that the per capita income of the girl worker's households was highest in scheduled castes (i.e., Rs 502.40) and lowest in Backward Classes (i.e., Rs 419.80). When the girls' income was withdrawn, the decline in per capita income was highest in scheduled caste households, from Rs 502.40 to Rs 384.40 (i.e., by Rs 118) followed by Scheduled Tribe households from Rs 495.60 to Rs 380.0 (i.e., by Rs 115.6) and lowest in Muslim households from Rs 421.20 to Rs 360.50 (i.e., by Rs 60.7). When considered households below poverty line, the highest decline in per capita income due to the withdrawal of girls' income was recorded in Scheduled Castes from Rs 359.30 to Rs 210.60 (i.e., by Rs 148.70) followed by Scheduled Tribes from Rs 377.60 to Rs 229.50 (i.e., by Rs 148.1) and it was lowest in Muslims from Rs 342.80 to Rs 310 (i.e., by Rs 32.8). It means that the girls' contribution was the highest in Scheduled Caste households and lowest in Muslim households. The proportion of households that seemed to have crossed the

poverty line with the contribution of girls' income was highest in Scheduled Caste i.e., 36.2 percent (i.e., from 25.9% to 62.1%) and lowest in Muslims, i.e. 18.6 percent (i.e., from 47.5% to 66.1%) as already noted in table 5.10. The inference therefore was that where the girls' contribution was highest, a larger proportion of households were able to cross the poverty line and likewise, relatively less proportion of households could cross the poverty line where the girls' contribution was lowest.

Table 5.11
Girl Workers' Household Poverty and Requirement of Per Capita Income
Poverty Line = Rs 423.00

Caste/ Community	Per Capita Income of all the Households		Per Capita Income of the Households Below Poverty Line		Per Capita Income Required to Enable the Households Cross the Poverty Line	
	With Girls' Income	Without Girls' income	With Girls' Income	Without Girls' income	With Girls' Income	Without Girls' income
Scheduled Castes	502.40	384.40	359.30	210.60	63.7	212.4
Scheduled Tribes	495.60	380.00	377.60	229.50	45.4	193.5
Backward Class	419.80	321.80	363.90	288.60	59.1	134.4
Muslims	421.20	360.50	342.80	310.00	80.2	113.0
Others	429.00	341.90	300.00	278.90	123.0	144.1
Total	453.50	365.20	349.10	304.50	73.9	118.5

The data on per capita income requirement also revealed that if girls' income was withdrawn from household income, the per capita income needed by the households to cross the poverty line was highest in Scheduled Castes i.e., Rs 212.4 and lowest in Muslims i.e. Rs 113. The increase in per capita income requirement in Muslim households due to withdrawal of girls income was Rs 32.8 (i.e., from Rs 80.2 to Rs 113). In Muslim households, a majority of girls were engaged in poorly paid household occupations where the remuneration was paid on piece-rate basis. Since almost all the occupations of girl workers, except Construction and Rag picking industries were of home-based industries, most of the girl workers combined work with invisible household activities. Yet, their contribution to household income saved

many households from financial crisis. From the above analysis, it can be stated that with girls' contribution, around 27% of the households were able to cross the poverty line.

Thus, the above findings indicate the proportionate significance of the girl child labourers' contribution to income of the sample households in the study area.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.0 The problem of child labour

The present study was an attempt to examine the different dimensions of child labour in the city of Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh. It consists of six chapters including the conclusion. The first chapter, which is introductory in nature, has presented an overview of child labour. Across the globe, to a lesser or greater degree, visible or invisible, admittedly or otherwise, child labour exists. Child labour is not a new phenomenon to our age. What is new, however, is its perception as a social problem the world over. The child labour has been in prevalence in almost all periods of time, though varied in nature and dimension, depending on the existing socio-economic structure of society. As in the other third world countries, in India also prior to the rise of capitalism, children were primarily assigned the status of helpers and learners in family occupations under the supervision of adult members of the family. Their work place was an extension of the home and work relationship was informal. This conception, however, underwent a radical change with the advent of industrialization during the 18^{th} century. The economic forces unleashed by capitalism destroyed the family-based economy, and consequently a large number of labourers were displaced due to mechanization of agriculture. Farmers were alienated from their home based work place. Lack of alternative employment for adults led to a situation in which the child had to be introduced to the labour market.

The problem of child labour has become a worldwide phenomenon. Industrialization on a large-scale led to the employment of children in factories, workshops and other unregulated occupations. There was an unbroken stream of the rural poor migrating to urban centres in search of livelihood. The child had to work as an individual worker either under an employer or independently. The work environment endangered his/her physical health and led to exploitation. The hours of working started from morning to night and child's ability to grow and develop into a

mentally and physically sound adult was seriously restricted. The children were left free to accept certain occupations even at a tender age.

Thus, in the early phase of capitalist development, widespread child labour had made an important contribution to capita formation and industrial growth. Even now, if all forms of work are considered, the percentage of children working in industrialised countries can be surprisingly high. In the United Kingdom, for example, the most reliable estimates available show that between 15-26% of 11 years olds and between 36-66% of 15 years olds are working. In Central and Eastern Europe, the difficulty connected with the transition from a centrally planned to a market economy has led to a substantial increase in child labour. In industrialized countries such as the United Kingdom and the Unites States, the growth of service sector, rapid increase in the supply of part-time jobs and search for a more flexible work force have contributed to the expansion of the child labour market. The country-wise rates of economic activity among children of 10 to 14 years of age group as estimated by ILO in 1995 ranged from 2.9% in Iraq to 55.1% in Bhutan for Asian countries, 0.2% in Romania and Hungary to 1.8% in Portugal for European countries, 0.9% in Venezuela to 16.1% in Brazil for Latin American countries and for Africa, it varied across the nations from 5.6% in Morocco to 54.5% in Kenya.

Most of the child workers in developed countries however, attend schools. The assumption follows that, in the West the kind of work undertaken by the children is on the pocket money model. Yet, hazardous form of child labour can also be witnessed in some rich countries. However, the exploited children usually come from ethnic minorities or immigrant groups as with Gypsy and Albanian communities in Greece. In North Europe, child labor are mostly of African or Turkish origin, while in the United States and Canada, they are of Asian or Latin American origin and in Brazil they tend to be the descendants of slaves or children of indigenous people with no political clout, whereas in Argentina, many child labourers are Bolivian and Paraguayan in origin. The dominant cultural group may not wish its own children to do hazardous labour, but it is not so concerned if young children from racial, ethnic or economic minorities do it.

In India, the Britishers had not only introduced capitalism, but also let the prevailing village economy to be replaced by it. India was linked up with the ongoing industrial revolution in Europe with all its symptoms and effects. Consequently, the indigenous, self-sufficient Indian village, with its cottage handicrafts, gave way to opening up small and heavy industries, big business houses and centres. More and more workers were needed in textile industries, tea and coffee processing, finishing of raw material, indigo and jute plantation due to commercialization of agriculture. The Britishers, who looked down upon Indians as low paid workers soon found children more sincere and submissive than their elders. Making the best use of Indian childrens' simplicity and penury, they employed children in factories and chemical production centres for long hours (12-13 hrs) at a stretch, paying meager wages. Lord Rippon, the then Viceroy of India passed the resolution of 1st Factory Act in 1881 which laid down that children in the age of 7 to 12 years could not be made to work for more than nine hours a day. This explains the grim reality of the prevalence of child labour and its exploitative form during the pre-independence period.

The problem of child labour in India is of immense magnitude when one considers the number of children involved. But the accurate estimate of child labour, either from a quantitative or qualitative point of view is not possible. It is for this reason that the estimates of child labour provided by different sources differ significantly. Yet, the fact remains that child labour constituted a substantial proportion of India's labour force. Even China, which has the largest child population in the world, does not have such a big number of child workers as India.

According to 1971, 1981 and 1991 census of India, the number of working children accounted for 10.75 million, 13.64 million and 11.28 million respectively. The ILO estimated child labour at 15.10 million in 1975 and 23.17 million in 1996. The Baroda-based Operation Research Group estimated the number of working children at 44 million in 1983. However, the Planning Commission of India put the figure at 17.36 million in 1983. NSSO India estimated the figures at 17.6 and 13.5 million respectively during 1987-88 and 1993-94. It may however, be noted that the census estimates are generally considered as underestimates. For a large number of

children not covered by the enumerators, are outside the scope of the term 'work' as defined by census and their work is disguised and at times clandestine.

Child labour is a multi-dimensional problem. Therefore, a number of explanations were put forth for the cause of acceleration of child labour force. The most important reasons for this magnitude of the problem are economic compulsions their families face, lack of employment opportunities for the adult members in the families and preference of the employers to hire children to reduce the labour cost. Besides this, poverty, caste, traditions, size of the family, illiteracy, ignorance, lack of schooling facilities etc., are the inter-linked factors which exert their influence directly or indirectly on the child labour force. All these causative factors are, of course, in-built in India's socio-economic structure.

6.1 Girl Child Worker

About 42 percent of the Indian population is made up of children and nearly half of them are girls. And 40 percent of all girls are in the age of group of 0-14 years. Available statistics suggest that more boys than girls work. It should be borne in mind, however, that the number of working girls is often underestimated by statistical surveys as they fail to take into account, the work performed by girls in home-based industries. This invisibility has serious negative consequence in terms of the girls' status within the family, which in turn determines her role in the family and society.

The attitude of parents to their daughters is not merely a result of their inability to place an economic value on the latter's contribution to the family, but also the fact of giving of dowry at the time of marriage which makes the girl a positive burden to the family. One manifest consequence is that education is denied to the girl child. Therefore, the working female children have a relatively poor educational background compared to the boys. This is primarily because girls start working at an early age and poor families do not give much importance to the education of girls. Empirical studies suggest that girls are engaged in low-paid unskilled jobs which do not necessarily lead to skill formation. In the home-based industries, where the child is a

girl, she is prevented from going to school, leading to an inevitable cycle of no education, low skills and low earning capacity thereby perpetuating home based work for the girl child with its exploitative low wages.

The degree may vary, but the neglect of girl child and discrimination go hand in hand. It is a multi-tiered issue, existing at different levels, in rural and urban areas, inside and outside houses, during different stages in the girl child's life in different sets of circumstances and environments. A girl's childhood years are crowded with domestic chores and the self-image that society creates for her is one of servitude and dependence. She learns to be submissive and acquiescent-first as a daughter, and sister and then as a wife and mother. Deprived of her childhood, the young girl's prospects for all-round development are severely stunted.

To protect the rights of all children, girls and boys, the Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989 and ratified by India in 1992. The Convention recognized the exceptional vulnerability of children and asserted that childhood is entitled to special care and assistance. The seven SAARC countries collectively observed 1990 as the year of the Girl Child and in order to sustain the momentum initiated in this year, the decade of 1991-2000 was declared as the SAARC Decade of Girl Child.

A comparative analysis of the status of girl child in select SAARC countries revealed that Bhutan follows matriarchal system and therefore the birth of a daughter is as welcome as that of a son. This could be because, majorities of the Bhutanese are *Buddhists*. However, in southern Bhutan where Hinduism is the common religion, the people feel that a son is important to carry out the family traditions and religious duties. In the field of education, girls do not continue their studies, as their role in the family is far more dominating. Owing to manpower shortage in Bhutan, a girl's contribution in the household and farm work was more than welcome. Therefore, the education of girl child was restricted to the minimum level on account of her dominant role in the household chores.

In Sri Lanka, girls and boys have equal access to education. 96.5% of schools in Sri Lanka are co-educational and socio-cultural barriers to educational opportunities have been minimal. The girls are equal beneficiaries along with boys, of social policies while the parental attitude to education is positive. Health indicators such as infant mortality rate, maternity mortality rate and expectation of life at birth reflect the high priority given to the health care in Sri Lanka. Gender discrimination in health care is not found and the health of girls is taken care of as that of boys.

In Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh, the girl child is discriminated in the fields of education and health care. Parents in Pakistan do not consider education to girls as essential. In Bangladesh gender disparities are very much prevalent and girls suffer from less enrolment and high dropout rate from schools. In Nepal, around 40% of infant deaths occur in the first week of life. Most girls than boys die despite the fact that females are the hardiest of the species. The high female infant mortality rate in Nepal is the result of low socio-economic status given to girls in society.

6.2 Statistical Analysis of Child Labour

Chapter 2 has discussed the situation of child labour in India and in Andhra Pradesh from a statistical viewpoint. The 1991 Government of India census identified 11.28 million children as workers. Over nine million of them were main workers (involved in full time activities) and 2.2 million were marginal workers (not working on full time). While in the main workers, the girls share was 37.6 percent, in the marginal workers, they constituted as high as 76.1 percent. The share of India's working children varies from 14.7 percent for Andhra Pradesh to just 0.3 percent for Kerala. It means that one in each 6.8 child workers in India lives in Andhra Pradesh.

About 90 percent of child workers in India live in the rural areas. Over the census decade of 1981 and 1991, due to the expansion of urbanization, there was a rise in the male child workers in urban sector from 9.9 percent to 12.4 percent. However, the percentage of girl workers did not change in the same proportion. Urbanization could not attract the girl workers from the countryside. Rather the

opportunities provided by the process of urbanization could not reach the orbit of the rural girl workers. Due to the traditional conventions, superstitions, poverty, illiteracy, helping adults in the household chores and providing cheap labour to a variety of agricultural operations, the mobility of girl workers was restricted and they accounted for more than 92 percent in rural India. In 1991, around 82 percent of total girl workers (against 77% of boy workers) were engaged in agricultural sector and of them 52 percent were agricultural labours and 30 percent were cultivators. In the household industry also which employs labour consisting of a larger component of female workers, the percentage of girl workers was more than two times (4.6%) that of male child workers (2.1%) in 1991.

A report on basic education in India stated that educational achievements in India were highly uneven. For instance, literacy was about universal in urban Kerala, but practically unknown among the Scheduled Castes women in Rajasthan. As per the report, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh were the worst performers in this respect. As per the 1991 census, in Kerala 85% of rural girls and boys, and 87% of urban girls and boys were attending schools. The gender gap tended to be wide in rural areas. In rural Rajasthan, attendance rate of girls touched the lowest bottom at 17.6% as against the national average of 36.8% and it was the second lowest in urban Rajasthan (53.2%) after Uttar Pradesh (46.4%) against 63.1% of the national average. In Andhra Pradesh, the percentage of children's attendance was more or less equal to the national average, except in the case of rural girls whose percentage (i.e., 34.3%) was less than the national average (i.e., 36.8%).

Andhra Pradesh is the 5th largest State in the country. The population in AP (66.51 million in 1991) is 8 percent of the total population of the country. The child population considered to be part of labour force (5-14 years) was 16.65 million, which was again nearly 8 percent of the total child population (5-14 years) of the country. Within Andhra Pradesh, the percentage of children in total workers was the highest in Mahaboobnagar district (8.1%) and the lowest in Chitoor district (4.0%). In respect of the share of child workers in total work force in the rural areas of the State, the percentage of girls was the highest in Kurnool district (11.2%) and in urban areas, it

was the highest in Mahaboobnagar district (7.4%) as against the State average of 8.1% and 4.5% respectively. From an analysis of the concentration of child workers by region, it was found that among the districts above the State average, there were more coastal Andhara districts with the concentration of urban child workers while there were more Telangana districts with the concentration of rural child workers. The analysis of both rural and urban share of child workers showed four districts as areas of concern. They are Kurnool, Mahaboobnagar, Ananthapur and Guntur districts in that order.

An analysis of the gender wise composition of child workers across the districts of Andhra Pradesh revealed certain valuable information. The incidence of girl child labour was the highest in Andhra Pradesh where 9.4% of the total girl child population in the State, were workers, against the comparable all India average of 3.4 percent. In both, urban and rural areas of all the districts in the State the proportion of child workers to total workers was more in the case of girls than in the case of boys. In 1991, 94.2% of girl workers and 88.7% of boy workers were living in the rural areas of the State. In the total urban child workers of the State, the percentages of girls and boys were 33.3% and 66.7% respectively. The corresponding figures for rural child workers are 51% and 49%.

The concept of marginal worker introduced in 1981 census continued in the 1991 census also. For all practical purpose, however, the main activities of the people, i.e., those who termed as main workers were taken into consideration by the census. The measurement of economic activity of the people has been attempted in every census of the country. The percentage share of child workers in each industrial activity showed that while girl cultivators had declined from 33.1% in 1961 to 16.9% in 1991, girls as agricultural labourers had increased considerably from 41.7% to 66.4% during the period. In the case of boy workers, their percentage share of cultivators declined from 28% to 22.2% and that as agricultural labourers increased from 27.8% to 52.5% during the period. In the household industry, the share of girls in the workforce was 6.4% as against 1.8% of boys in 1991. The household industry,

as a source of employment to girl workers was not significant as compared to agricultural industry, which provided 83.3% of employment to girl workers, in 1991.

Whatever be the specific reasons for children not attending school in Andhra Pradesh, nearly 51% children in the age group of 5-14 years were not attending school. The 1991 census shows that their number was 8,463,553 in total. In this 82.4% (6,970,600) lived in the rural areas. Over 20% of these children were full-time workers. However, the marginal workers and non-workers who were not attending school were either actively or passively employed with or without wages. While there was no clear basis to include all of them who did not attend school as child labourers, they fell in the category of potential child labour.

Some child workers were able to combine work with schooling. It was difficult to enumerate as to how many child workers were engaged in unpaid activities at home. However, the census authorities could enumerate the child workers who were attending school. The percentage of such children in the total child workers was very low. In 1991, 2.05% the boy workers against 1.86% of girls and 1.89% of boy workers against 0.99% of girls in urban and rural areas respectively were able to attend schools. The percentage share of child workers attending school showed that 75.2% of main boys against 38.6% of girls in the urban areas and 53.4% against 52.6% of girls in the rural areas were able to combine school with work. In other words, among girls in urban areas more marginal workers (61.4%) and in rural areas more main workers (52.6%) were attending schools as in 1991. In the case of boys, main workers were more in both urban (75.2%) and rural (53.4%) areas who combined work with schooling.

6.3 Characteristics of Sample Child Labour Households

The present study was based on 300 sample households supplying child labour and it highlighted general characteristics of the households, employment, working conditions and earnings of child labour. Chapter 3 has presented a socio-economic profile of the sample population of child labour and their households.

In the total number of 300 households, 28.7%, 25.7%, 22.3%, 19.3% and 4% of households belonged to Muslim community, Scheduled Castes, Backward Classes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Castes in that order. The size of total household was 7.01. The percentage of children (6-14) in the total population was 41.1%. The proportion of girls to adult female population (41.4%) was more than that of boys (40.8%) and this tendency was observed in almost all the caste groups. In the total of 815 children, 452 were child workers. Thus, about 55.5% of children in the sample child population were found working. The work participation rate of girls was more than that of boys in all the caste groups except the Backward Classes households. The proportion of girl workers in total girl population was 56.8% as against 54.3% of boys.

The coefficient of correlation between the size of households and work participation of children is positive. But a comparison of work participation rates between boy and girl workers revealed that when the household size is small, more girls took part in the work force, and in contrast, boys' participation in workforce was more from the relatively big size of households. For instance, while 14% of girls were drawn from the household size of upto 4 against just 5.4% of boys, the proportion of girl workers from the household size of 9 to 11 was 20.7% against 31.8% of boys. It means that when the family size was small, more girls took up paid work as boys went to school. Only when it become financially difficult to manage a family of big size that the boys were sent to work.

In the total working children, a major proportion were full-time workers. 87.9% of boy workers and 57.3% of girl workers were full-time workers i.e., they did not combine work with any other activity. While 12.1% of boy workers and 9.4% of girl workers were attending schools, 33.3% of girl workers were combining household duties with work. In Backward Classes households, it was found that about 47% of girls were working on a part-time basis as they were entrusted with other household duties. An analysis of the activity status of non-workers revealed that 79.1% of boys and 40.7% of girls were full-time students. More than one-fourth (i.e., 25.9%) of girls

were part-time students as they combined household duties with schooling against just 3% of boys in this category.

The educational background of the sample child workers showed that the girls had relatively poor educational background as compared to that of boys. The percentage of illiterate girls (i.e., 18.8%) was two times that of illiterate boys (i.e., 7.5%). The proportion of dropout boy workers at primary and middle level of schooling was 52.3% and 28% against 53.5% and 18.3% girl workers respectively. Only 28% of boy workers and 18.3% of girl workers had a relatively better education as they could reach the middle level of schooling. The reasons for these children not attending school revealed that while the families of 24.8% of child workers were too poor to afford education, 31.5% of child workers were required to supplement their family income. The child workers who were not able to go to school due to heavy domestic work were exclusively girls (36.8%).

In the total of 300 households, only 15.3% (46 households) were headed by women. In many BC and Muslim community households, the main earners were women. Yet, the households were headed by men. That is heading a household was not the prerogative of the main earners of the household. A woman headed a household only in the absence of her male counterpart. In all the caste-community households, it was found that the proportion of girl workers in women-headed households was more than that of boy workers. The girls usually involved themselves in the workforce where households were headed by women, because the women, working hard for the upliftment of the family, would make girls work in the same line sending only the boys to school.

Of the total of 300 households, the occupation of fathers in largest proportion of households (i.e., 23.3%) was petty business and the largest mothers' occupation (i.e., 25.3%) was wage employment. The fathers of the children in 16 households (i.e., 5.3%) were unemployed (involuntarily) and in another 15 households (5%), the fathers were non-workers (voluntary) and many of them were drunkards, vagabonds and some others were wanderers. The mothers of the child workers in 48 households

(i.e., 16%) were unemployed. They were the highest in ST households (i.e., 24.1%) followed by BC households (i.e., 17.9%) and Muslim households (i.e., 14%). Since these mothers were unpaid for the work they performed for the family and were not doing any paid work outside the family, they were considered unemployed. However, they would work round the clock attending to a variety of households' duties. In this sense, an un-employed woman was completely different from an unemployed man in a family.

The contribution of children to the household income increased the per capita income of the households. When childrens' income was withdrawn, households were reduced to low per capita income. For example, there were 22.2% of Scheduled Castes households whose per capita income was Rs.700 and above. When their working childrens' income was withdrawn, this number was reduced to zero, as there were no households with a per capita income above Rs.700. The proportion of households with low per capita income of Rs.300 and below would increase from 5.95% to 36.3% when their working childrens' income was withdrawn. A substantial increase of the coefficient of variation showed that income from working children reduced inconsistency and instability in the distribution of per capita income among the households.

The study also analysed the monthly per capita income of the households and participation of children in workforce, in view of the fact that the participation of children in workforce generally depended upon the household per capita income. The analysis in this respect revealed that the proportion of girl workers belonging to less per capita household income was more than that of boy workers. When high per capita household income was considered, the proportion of boy workers was more than that of girls. For instance, 11.8% of girls were drawn from the low per capita income group of Rs.300 and less as against just 1.3% of boys. In the high per capita household income group of Rs.700 and above, there were only 2.3% of girls against 9.7% of boys. When the contribution from children was withdrawn, the proportion of girls from low per capita household income group of Rs.200 and less was 13.6% against 4.6% of boys. There were 13% of boy workers from high per capita

household income of Rs.500 and above, but none of the girl workers belonged to this income group of households. This indicated that when per capita household income was low more girls were found to have been in work force than boys and, on the other hand, in the high per capita income group of households, the proportion of boys in workforce was relatively more than that of girls. It was probably because girls were drawn from small size of households and boys from relatively big size of households.

6.4 Employment and Working Conditions of Sample Child Labour

The theme of chapter 4 constitutes a study of the employment and working conditions of the sample child labour. The analysis of the type of occupations the children were involved in, nature of work and structure of wages revealed that some occupations were not only gender specific but also caste specific. There were seven occupations exclusive for girl workers viz., Bangle making, *Agarbatti* making, *Zari* embroidery, Safety pin making, *Beedi* making, Tailoring and Domestic service where boy workers were strictly prohibited. Similarly three occupations were found to be exclusive for boys and they were Manufacturing, Mechanical and Petty business units where girls were not allowed to enter. But two occupations were open for both girls and boys, viz., Construction industry and Rag picking. While the first four occupations of girl workers i.e. Bangle, *Agarbatti*, *Zari* and Safety pin making were operations exclusive to Muslim community, construction and rag picking were the exclusives to SC & ST communities. For Muslim children, domestic services, construction and rag picking were alien services.

When these occupations were analysed in terms of skilled and unskilled differences, it was found that while Bangle making and *Zari* embroidery were skilled and traditional, *Agarbatti* and Safety pin making were unskilled but traditional occupations of Muslim community. These four occupations had been performed by Muslim women for generations. Similarly, Construction and Rag picking were considered as unskilled and traditional occupations of SC & ST communities. *Beedi*-making, an unskilled operation was an age-old occupation of some of the Backward Classes women. For the occupations of boy workers, skilled or unskilled criterion

depended upon the process of work in which the boys were engaged. Except mechanic work, the other two occupations (i.e., manufacturing and petty business units) involved both skilled and unskilled operations. In mechanic units, boys needed specific skills for servicing the vehicles. Boys were engaged in all types of operations. These three occupations were not the traditional occupations of any caste community.

Bangle making was done in Karkhanas situated in the middle of slum dwellings. Required materials were provided and girls would work on the bangles near the furnace to make a variety of designs under the strict supervision of contractors. One set contains 6 bangles and 10 such sets yield Rs.15 to 20 as per the design of bangles. *Agarbatti* making was also done in Karkhanas. Material would be provided by the contractors and they would not supervise the work. Girls would make *Agarbattis* under the supervision of elderly women, 1 Kg of *Agarbatti* would fetch Rs.10. Experienced workers could make between 2-3 Kgs a day. *Zari* work was done at houses. Material with design on the cloth was provided by the contractors. Basing on the design of *Zari* embroidery, the girls were paid. Safety pin making was done at homes with the material and machines provided by contractors. This occupation involved 6 stages. The wage rate varied between Rs.3 and Rs.5 per Kg of products in the different stages of production. A worker could hardly make 3 to 4 Kgs a day. *Beedi*-making was also done at homes with the material provided by the contractors. The wage rate was Rs.30 per 1000 *Beedi*s. In tailoring industry, some girls with their own machines used to stitch the wares at home by orders of the local people at the prevailing piece-rate. Some others were engaged in the sewing centres by contractors for stitching certain type of wares on a large-scale. Materials with cuttings and machines were provided by the contractors. This was a full-time work. Girls were paid on piece-rate depending on the type of ware they stitched. Servant maids were engaged in the nearby houses. The wage rate depended upon the household size and quantum of work. They received monthly wages.

The payment for boys in manufacturing, mechanic and petty business units was on a monthly basis. The wage rate depended upon the process of work the boys

performed. In construction industry, the payment for boys and girls was Rs.60 and Rs.50 a day respectively. In Rag picking occupation, wage rate depended upon the type of rag the children collected. It usually varied between Re.1 to Rs.3 per Kg. of waste material.

The educational background of the sample child labour engaged in these occupations revealed that the proportion of illiterate girls was the highest in Safety pin making (57.1%) followed by Bangle making (31.3%) and *Agarbatti* making (29.4%) industries. In Bangle making and *Zari* embroidery which required specific skills, some girls were found illiterate. It meant that even the minimum education was not necessary for performing skilled operations in the informal sector. There were no school going girls in *Agarbatti* and Safety pin industries. Since the wage rate was very less for the ware they produced, girls were forced to continue the work at the cost of schooling. All the girls in *Beedi* making, Tailoring and Domestic service occupations were literates. Some girls in these occupations had managed to attend schools. In the skilled operations of boy workers, all were literate. Only 2.7% of boys in the unskilled operations of manufacturing industry were illiterate. Further 23.2% of construction workers and 40.8% of rag pickers are illiterate.

All the school going child workers were found working for 4 to 6 hours a day. The average working hours in Bangle and *Zari* embroidery work for which girls needed sunlight was 7.4 and 7.5 hours respectively. The *Agarbatti* and Safety pin making where girls were paid little remuneration they would continue to work, some times, beyond ten hours a day. Therefore, the average working time in these industries was the largest being 8.6 and 8.7 respectively. The lowest average working hours was found in Tailoring at 7.3. In the case of boys, the average working hours in manufacturing, mechanic and petty stalls were 9 hours and above per day. The workers in construction and rag picking also worked only during daytime. Therefore average working hours in these industries is about 8.5 per day.

When asked about their preference to change of occupation, around 42% of girl workers said that they did not want to change the present occupation. These were

mostly Muslim girls. All the *Zari* workers (100%), 88.2% of *Agarbatti* workers, 87.5% of Bangle workers and 71.4% of Safety pin workers seemed to have been satisfied with their present job. The remaining girls in these industries expressed no idea, as they were too innocent to express their views. Poverty, illiteracy, lack of outlook and veiled system forced the Muslim girls to confine themselves to the households and to perform the work that their elderly women were dong for generations. 82% of girls in *Beedi* making, 70% in Tailoring and all the servant maids (100%) preferred a change in the job, but majority of them wanted to change it with the permission of their parents. Some girls preferred a better paid job while some others wanted to go to school.

It was found that 71.4% of boy workers in Manufacturing, Mechanic and Petty business units were not satisfied with their present occupation. A majority of them wanted to switch over to more remunerative employment and some others wanted to go to school. In construction industry, 66.7% of children wanted to change their occupation as they felt that the work was very strenuous and monotonous. The remaining 33.3% of workers seemed satisfied as they stated that though it was not regular work, the remuneration in this occupation was more than that in any other industry. In rag picking, nearly half of the workers (49%) expressed willingness to change as it was a less remunerative and more arduous type of work. Also they were afraid of their parents who exercised full control over their earnings. Many parents in rag picking occupation did not want their children to switch over to any other occupation, because it was their traditional occupation.

6.5 Poverty of Child Labour Households

Chapter 5 has dealt with wages, income and poverty of the sample households, which supplied child labour to different occupations in the informal sector. The Statutory Minimum Wage Rates have been fixed for certain occupations performed by the people in the informal sector. In the identified list of occupations for which minimum wages were fixed, only 3 out of 12 occupations chosen for study were included. They are *Beedi* making, Construction and work in Restaurants, which was a

part of petty stall units like dabhas and other eatable stalls for boys. In every occupation, along with statutory wages, employers were supposed to pay the cost of living allowance to the workers. But in practice, employers fix their own wage rate, which was in no way related to the statutory wage rate. For example, in restaurants, the boys (who clean, dust and serve the customers) were paid Rs.400-500 per month, whereas the statutory rate was Rs.750 for cleaner, Rs.810 for vegetable-cutter plus cost of living allowance. For other occupations, which are not identified but deserved to be included in the minimum wage list, the wage rate was very low and children were required to work for long hours to increase production to earn visible wages.

It was found in the study that there was huge exploitation of girl workers in some occupations. In *Agarbatti* and Safety pin making, wage rate was fixed for 1 Kg of products and products were sold by number count in the market. 1 Kg of *Agarbattis* at the work place yield just Rs. 10 to the girls. However the market value of the product varied between Rs. 40 – 50 for a packet of 100 incense sticks (depending on brand name, fragrance, aroma etc.). Similarly, for 1 Kg of Safety pins, girls were paid a very meager amount of Rs.5. Whereas in the market, a bunch of 10 Safety pins would cost Rs.2. Even in the Bangle making industry, girls under the strict vigilance, sitting near the furnace make bangles for which they were paid only Rs.15 to 20 for 10 sets of bangles. Each set of bangles contained 6 bangles. In the market, bangles were sold either as pairs or as sets. The market value for each set of 6 bangles depending on design was between Rs.40 to Rs.50. In *Zari* embroidery also exploitation was very much prevalent and girls were paid very little amount as compared to the value of *Zari* work in the market.

The monthly incomes of child workers were calculated approximately taking into account the average daily wage and number of days they worked in a month. The monthly earnings so calculated revealed that none of the girls in *Agarbatti* and Safety pin making occupations earned more than Rs.400 per month, while some girls in *Zari* embroidery (58.3%) and Bangle making (18.7%) could earn more than Rs.400 per month. The average monthly income of Safety pin making girls was just Rs.214.30 the lowest among all the occupations of girl workers. The highest average monthly

income was recorded in the occupation of Domestic services (Rs.506.5) where about 35.5% of girls income ranged between Rs.600 and 800.

In mechanic industry, none of the boys were getting more than Rs.600 per month. The average monthly income in this industry was Rs.400, the lowest among all the occupations of boy workers. In construction industry, the average monthly income was the highest being Rs.1226.8 for boys and Rs.1121.4 for girls. In rag picking, the average income of the children was worked out to be Rs.394.

The purpose of calculating the monthly incomes of the sample child workers was to estimate their share of contribution to the household income: None of the girls from poorly paid occupations of *Agarbatti*, Safety pin making and *Zari* embroidery could contribute more than 20% to the household income. The average contribution of girls in *Agarbatti* and Safety pin making was just 9.7% and 6.4% respectively. Even the Bangle workers' average contribution could not reach one-fifth of household income. However, in *Beedi* making industry, 10.3% of girls, a majority of whom belonged to Backward Classes were able to contribute as high as 40 to 50% to their household income. The average contribution of girls in this industry was 23.2%. The servant maids, whose average monthly income was the highest among all the occupations of girls, were able to contribute 18.9% to household income. The average contribution of boys in Mechanic industry was just 12.3% the lowest among all the occupations for boys including rag picking where the average contribution was 16.3%. The children in construction industry were able to contribute 24.3% to household income.

The analysis of caste-community households and share of child labour earnings revealed that average earnings of children was the highest in Scheduled Castes households (33.6%) followed by Scheduled Tribes households (32.8%). The Backward Classes households were getting childrens' contribution upto 22.3%, the lowest of all caste community households. The average contribution of childrens to all the sample households was 28.7 percent.

The contribution of children enabled the households to mitigate hardships to some extent. The poverty line was calculated at Rs.423.00 at 1999-2000 prices. The proportion of households below poverty line was the highest in Scheduled Tribes at 41.38%. But when childrens' contribution was withdrawn, the proportion of households, which fell below poverty line, was the highest in Backward Classes. For, in this community, when childrens contribution was withdrawn, the percentage of households below poverty line increased from 37.31 to 85.07. This meant that around 47.76 percent of households were able to cross the poverty line through the contribution of child labour. In Scheduled Castes, 35.07% of households (the lowest) were able to cross the poverty line with the help of child labour contribution. In all the 300 households, when childrens' income was withdrawn, the percentage of households that fell below poverty line increased from 36% to 77.67% which meant that 41.67% of households were able to cross the poverty line by supplementing their income with that of their working children.

The average per capita income of the people in the Scheduled Castes was highest being Rs.529.50, which declined to Rs.369.20, if their childrens' income was withdrawn. Similarly, the average per capita income of the Backward Class households, which was lowest at Rs.437.70, declined to Rs.350.40 when their childrens' income was withdrawn. The decline in average per capita income in Scheduled Castes was Rs.160.3 and that in Backward classes it was Rs.87.3. This explains that childrens' contribution was the highest in Scheduled Castes households and the lowest in Backward Classes households. However, as observed earlier that in Backward Classes community, the percentage of households that crossed poverty line with the help of income from child labour was highest. Therefore the inference was that though the child labour contribution was lowest in Backward Classes households, it enabled the largest proportion of households to cross the poverty line.

According to data on per capita income requirement, an average per capita income of Rs.49.20 was required for the Scheduled Caste households to be able to cross the poverty line. When the childrens' income was withdrawn, the requirement of per capita income would be Rs.152.90. For Backward Class household, the increase in

per capita income requirement was from Rs.44.70 to Rs.87.50 which meant that if children were not joined labour market, an average per capita income of Rs.87.50 must be added to poor households to enable them cross the poverty line.

For analyzing the girl childrens' contribution in reducing household poverty, the households, which had exclusively girl workers, were taken into account. A total of 188 households were found supplying girl workers. Of them the proportion of households below the poverty line was 39.4% which increased to 66.5% when their girls income was withdrawn. That is, 27.1% of households were able to cross the poverty line with the contribution of their girls. A similar analysis of the caste-wise household poverty showed that with the help of girls income, 36.2% of the Scheduled Castes households (the highest) and 18.6% of Muslim households (the lowest) were able to cross the poverty line. The average per capita income of the people was the highest in Scheduled castes at Rs.502.40, which declined to Rs.384.40, when their girls' income was withdrawn. The decline in average per capita income was the lowest in Muslim households when their girls' income was withdrawn. The average per capita income of the Muslim households decreased from Rs.421.20 to Rs.360.50. The girls' contribution was the highest in Scheduled caste households and the lowest in Muslim households.

The data on requirement of the per capita income of girl workers' households indicated that in Scheduled Caste households, average per capita income of Rs.63.7, or if the girls income was withdrawn, Rs212.40 of average per capita income must be added to poor households to help them cross the poverty line. In Muslim households the corresponding amounts of per capita income were Rs.80.2 and Rs.113.0. The increase in required per capita income was Rs.32.8. In Muslim households, girls were engaged in poorly paid household occupations where the remuneration was paid on piece-rate basis. Therefore, when compared to other caste/community households, girls' contribution was the lowest in Muslim households. Nevertheless, 18.6% of Muslim households were able to cross the poverty line with the help of their girls' contribution to the family income.

6.6 Observations and Suggestions

In view of the above discussion and findings, the following observations and suggestions are made for the consideration of all concerned with child labour. It was sheer necessity on the part of young children to supplement family income without which the family, in some cases, might have starved. In view of this state of affairs, it is suggested here that implementing the policy of elimination of child labour is neither feasible nor desirable as it is likely to do more harm than good to the poverty stricken parents who are forced to seek the help of their children to earn a living. Therefore for the gradual elimination of child labour, mainly two approaches must be adopted, viz.; (1) raise the income levels of poor parents by providing better paid alternative occupations to adult members of the family so that they can afford to live without depending on the earnings of their children, and (2) provide quality education (with all recreation facilities) at convenient places so that no child is deprived of basic education due to non-availability of schools at suitable timings. That is, raising the levels of household income, they should ensure that children, who are unfortunately driven to work must be able to pursue their studies, so that they may be able to learn while they earn.

There are number of constitutional provisions that advocate minimum daily wages, regulate working conditions and provide free and compulsory education to children upto 14 years. But their implementation is not strictly monitored. During the field survey it was found that some occupations like making of Bangles, *Agarbattis*, Safety pins and *Zari* embroidery work were not only very strenuous and arduous but the girl workers were also subjected to maximum exploitation in the matters of remuneration. The piece-rate wage was so low that girls were compelled to work for longer hours to increase production. Under such miserable conditions, it is difficult to make them realise the importance of education. The need of the hour is therefore apart from regulating working conditions, it is necessary to bring them under the purview of Statutory Minimum Wages Act and ensure the compliance of the Act. The employers in informal sector must be directed to maintain a register containing the names of child workers, their wages and facilities relating to working conditions.

They must be put under legal obligations to furnish these details to the Child Welfare Department and make it compulsory for these departments to supervise and monitor the units.

Among other occupations of girl workers, it was found that the services of domestic servants were invisible and the remuneration they receive was arbitrary. Though, in some cases, employers were kind in terms of granting paid holidays occasionally, lending advances and extra payment in the form of kind or cash for additional work, the practice of whims of the employers in the field of remuneration was very much prevalent. It is therefore suggested that NGOs (Non Government Organisations), Social Activists should initiate a process by which the scattered Domestic Servants are brought under one roof and form a registered association on the analogy of the Domestic Workers Association which is very active in Mumbai. The office bearers of this association should evolve a method for terms and conditions of the employment. The employers must be motivated for the enrolment of domestic servants in the schools. The working hours should be regulated so that Domestic Servants can devote adequate time for their studies and vocational training.

The Government should make it mandatory for all the producers of various commodities to mention on the product that this commodity is produced 'without child labour'. Trade unions should take child labour into their domain activities and expose those violating the laws and provision that protect the interest of children. A heavy fine and punishment should be imposed on both employers and parents, if they violate or evade child welfare measurements. Political parties should include the measures for solving child labour problem in their manifesto and strive for the achievement of this objective.

Quite often it is the feeling of sympathy rather than the desire to employ which weighs with employers in employing child workers. They also argue that employment of children increases the earnings of the family and therefore they can live in better conditions. Such arguments can not be advanced. Because, conservation of human resources should be everyone's responsibility. Just for the sake of more

profits, employers are not supposed to exploit children on whom the future of nation stands.

It is therefore suggested that employers in the informal sector who hire the services of children should be made responsible for the education of the child workers working in their units. Strict vigilance should be maintained and employers erring in this respect should be brought to book. Likewise, for enabling the working children to continue education, the Adult Education Programmes should be extended to these children also. These programmes may be renamed as Child Labour and Adult Education Programmes and the departments concerned with the implementation of the Adult Education Programmes should be entrusted with the responsibility of creating awareness among the children caught in trap of child labour, about the advantages of literacy. This does not require any additional personnel. The existing officers on these programmes should be able to undertake this responsibility. Once awareness is created, these unfortunate but enthusiastic children will automatically attend educational programmes which, in principle, are conducted in the evening time.

Education for children of various ages, different skills and qualities needs separate framework for implementation of the programmes. Unlike formal education, in this case a multi-pronged strategy is needed considering education, psychological rehabilitation and skill up-gradation. It is rightly said that if at all there is a blueprint for tackling the problem of child labour, it is education. Education has therefore been identified as the panacea, which will provide children with the means to initiate a change. Since the parents of working children do not understand the significance of education, it is necessary to develop education consciousness among their parents by effectively organising Adult Educational Programmes. The parents themselves are often unaware of health hazards their children face at certain work places and therefore it is necessary to educate them about such hazards with the help of Audio-Visual media.

Role of media is very important in sensitising people towards the benefits of education. There should be special programmes on television. These programmes

should have greater involvement of local people and interviews of such parents who withdraw their children from the labour force to prompt others to follow. More and more schools should be started for children as well as for adults. Spread of education will help in changing and broadening the outlook of the parents towards education of children. In this case, the active involvement of NGOs, with the cooperation of local people is necessary in evolving policies and programmes to educate the illiterate and innocent parents about the evils of child labour.

It is important to note that no country has eliminated child labour without making basic education compulsory for children. In realising this goal, the girl child must be given more importance. If a boy is educated, it helps him develop, but if a girl is educated, it helps her and her entire family to develop. A healthy and educated girl forms a strong edifice for building a strong society with a prosperous future.

Appendix 1

Tobbacco (including beedi making) manufactory

Sl.No.	Category of employees	Basic wage(Rs)	Cost of living allowance per point increase in Rs.
1.	For rolling 1000 beedies of big size Jadi beedies	36-00	0-10 p
2.	For rolling 1000 beedies of medium size	35-00	0-10 p
3.	For rolling 1000 sada beedies	34-00	0-10 p

1. Where the nature of work is the same, no discrimination in payment of minimum wages shall be made in the case of male and female workers in respect of their wages.

2. To arrive at monthly wages, the daily wages shall be multiplied by 26 vice-versa.

3. Where any cagegory of employee is actually in receipt of high rates of wages than the minium wages, she/he shall continue to be paid the same higher rates of wages.

Source: A.P.Gazatte - Labour, Employment, Training and Factories Department (Lab II), 31-3-1999, p.2

Appendix 2

Construction or maintenance of roads and building operations

Sl.No.	Category of employees	Basic wage(Rs)	Cost of living allowance per point increase in Rs.
1.	Skilled: 1st class mason, Carpenter, Painter, Mechanic, Stone dresser, Plumber, Welder, Electrician, Superviser.	1150	6.25
2.	Semi-skilled: 2nd class mason, Carpenter, 2nd class black smith, 2nd class painter, fitter for bending bars for reinforcement, Tinker, Sawer, Glassier, Brick moulder etc.	880	5.00
3.	Un-skilled: Mazdoor, Mukkadam, Peon, Sweaper, Scavenger, Watchman, Bhisthe, Security Guard.	675	3.90

Skilled: Skilled work is one which involves skill acquired though experience on the job or through training as an apprentice in a technical, vocational institute and the perfromance of which calls for inctiating accuracy and judgement.

Semi-skilled: Seme-skilled work is one which involves some degree of skill acquired through experience on the job and which is capable of being performed under supervision of guidance of a skilled employee and includes unskilled supervisory work.

Un-skilled: Un-skilled work is one which involves simple operations requiring little or no skill or experience on the job.

Source: Law of Minimum wages part-II minimum rates of wages in A.P. Ramanuja Das Law Publico (P) Ltd., Hyderabad. 1996.

Appendix 3

Hotels, Restaurants and Eating houses

Sl. No.	Category of employees	Basic wage (Rs)	Cost of living allowance (Rs)
1.	Category A: 1. Head cook 2. Head Baker 3. Sarak master.	1080	5.75
2.	Category B: 1. Cook 2. Baker 3. Cashier	945	5.25
3.	Category C: 1. Clerk 2. Stores-keeper 3. Grinder 4. Barman 5. House-keeper	850	4.75
4.	Category D: 1. Suppliers / Server / Waiter 2. Utencil cleaner 3. Vegetable cutter 4. Coffee / Tea maker	810	4.50
5.	Category E: 1. Helper in kitchen 2. Cleaner including table, vessel, floor sweaper 3. Mali 4. Security guard.	750	4.25

Source: Ibid

Appendix 4

Alternative Estimates of Poverty Lines in India

Sl. No.	Name / Organisation	Rural (Rs. Per month)	Urban (Rs. Per month)	Year
1.	Dandekar & Rath.	27	40.5	1968-69 Prices
2.	Planning Commission	49.1 77.0	56.6 88.0	1973-74 Prices 1979-80 Prices
3.	World Bank	55.2 89.0	68.6 112.2	1977-78 Prices 1983 Prices
4.	UNICEF & Ministry of Urban Affairs	266.27(India) 216.66(A.P)	353.44(India) 344.10(A.P)	1996-97 1996-97

Source for Sl.No.1,2,3; Datt & Sundaram (2000): IndianEconomy S.Chand & Company Ltd.,New Delhi, p.337 & 338.

for Sl. No.4; UNICEF & Ministry of Urban Affairs (1999): Swarna Jyothi Shahari Rojgar Yojana (SJSRY) - Regional Centre for Urban and Environmental Studies - Osmania University, Hyderabad. p.3.

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