Chapter 2
CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA

In India, a large number of children are found working in various sectors, though the actual number of child labour is not known. The occupations in which children are working mostly are agriculture, domestic sector, transport sector, brick industry, hotels and stalls, construction sector, glass industry; lock industry, match stick and fire cracker industry etc. The working children are visible in rural areas more than urban areas. Poverty, illiteracy, economic instability, adult unemployment, uncertainty in labour sector and low living standards of the families are the main cause of child labour problem in India. There are some other reasons which pushed the poor children into labour market. There are many industries strategically located in the poor areas to attract the poverty stricken people, especially, the children with minimum wages. Other than that, employers are also keen to employ children because of their cheaper wages, higher efficiency of working ability, and uncomplaining nature. These children are forced to do work for supplementing the income of their families because their parents feel that the income earned by their children is essential for maintenance of their family. Hence, child labour is considered as one of the socio-economic problems in India. These poor children are subjected to long hours of work. The practice of child labour effects the physical and mental growth of children. This chapter highlights the magnitude, structural conditions, nature and impacts of child labour in India.

I. The Magnitude of Child Labour

Bhaswati Das and Dipendra Nath Das (2006) attempted to analyse the situation of child labour in India during the period 1991-2001, using census data. They have tried to identify the change, to analyse the components of change and to indicate possible implications of this change during the period when India initiated its economic reforms process along with certain social reforms. Their work provides the information by sex, residence and work type of the child labour. The children are also grouped as main workers and marginal workers. According to the Census of India, main workers are those who work for a major part of the year (more than 181 days), whereas marginal workers are those who work for less than 181 days. The information is further classified by literacy status of the main child workers by age, marginal workers seeking or available work. However, information which is comparable over the two census reports is used in this analysis. They have analysed the growth rate of child labour in 1981, 1991 and 2001. The analysis of the trend in child labour clearly indicates that during the decade 1981-1991 there was a decline both in absolute

number of child workers and also in child work participation rate. However, between 1991 and 2001 there is an increase in, both, the number of child labourers and in child work participation rate. The work participation of the children has been analysed by their age, sex, residence, nature of participation in terms of main and marginal workers. Children of 5-14 age groups were considered for analysing the phenomena of participation in economic activities as the children below age 5 were negligible. The child workers are classified into these two broad age groups.

The worry emerges from the age-composition of the child labourers where there is nearly 47% decline. There is, in fact, marginal increase among the worker category of younger cohort, though the older children (10-14) have shown a decline in their participation as marginal labour in the work force. The rise is observed for both male and female categories. They have also found that economic activity is quite a complex concept while analysed from the gender perspective. Most interestingly, while participation by the male younger child has shown a slight decline as main workers, the girls had shown an increase in the same category. Similarly, for the older children the decline in participation is more for the boys than it was recorded for girls. It implies that younger girls are taking part in visible economic activities instead of going to school. On the question of work participation rate of the young and older children by residence and sex, it is found that due to a more formal nature of economy, marginal workers among children were always less in urban areas than it is for rural areas, but there is substantial increase of child work participation as marginal workers for all the age groups, residence and sex during the decade. For literacy status of the main workers of 5-14 years' age-group available for 1991 and 2001, the optimistic interpretation reveals a substantial increase in literacy for both male and female children. Literacy among females in this specific group has become more than double in the decade 1991-2001 but there remains scope for dissatisfaction as 60 percent of the females of 5-14 age group of main workers are illiterate. Similarly, among the males of the same age and work status, 48 percent are reported illiterate in 2001.

This indicates a sheer violation of child rights where access to even minimum literacy is denied to the children. The situation reveals that universal primary education is a far cry if we cannot check the trend emerging from the analysis of information available from the population census. This will fulfill neither the constitutional commitment nor the commitment towards the Millennium Development Goal.

K Shiva Prasad and B Ramachandra Yogi (1993) have attempted to assess the magnitude of child labour problem of India on the basis of the data from Census 1981. They have discussed activity-wise and region-wise spread of

child labour and have indicated prescriptions for rectifying the problem. On the basis of the census, they find that the obnoxious practice of child labour could be largely traced to the socio-economic compulsions of the parents and guardians who opt for their children to be employed as child labour rather than sending them to school and also state that educational levels are gradually low, and illiteracy persists predominantly in the child labour. From this, two inferences can be drawn. First, the Indian psychology has not changed much to break the barriers in order to get the fruits of education. Secondly, the relatively higher educational levels in the case of male children may be largely due to the higher preferences accorded to educate the male children in the society. On the basis of the census data on the region-wise distribution of child labour, they have made the observation that the child labour forms as high as 7.75% of the total workers of Andhra Pradesh while percentage of child labour registers the lowest in the case of Lakshadweep (0.39%). Of the total number of child workers in India, 59.83% of male child workers live in rural areas while 6.60 percent of the total male workers live in urban areas. In the case of female child workers 31.31% of the total workers live in rural areas, 2.26% only live in urban areas. They also observed that the attitudes of parents, guardians and employers are responsible for child labour in India. Though the government is undertaking legislative measures to protect child labour in India these are not effectively implemented. They suggest that government should take major steps and extend free and compulsory education to eradicate child labour problem in India.

G K Lieten, Ravi Srivastava and Sukhdeo Thorat (2004) have edited a book which is a collection of articles on various dimensions of the child labour question in the South Asian context. Lieten attempts to revisit the problems of defining and measuring child labour, particularly in the context of less developed economies. Needless to add, the issues of measurement of child labour are intrinsically linked to the problem of defining 'work' in the partially commoditised and less developed economy and, hence, have an overwhelming significance for analytical clarity on the cases of child labour. While underestimation of the number of child labour may result in reduction of public attention on the issue, a high and upward bias in measurement may result in non-intervention on the ground that public policy might not have the capacity to solve such an overwhelming problem. In a situation of the enormity of the problem, at times, a gradualist approach was favoured, wherein the elimination of the hazardous and worst forms of child labour was given legislative priority over the more general forms of child labour.

Lieten argues that there has not only been an exaggeration of numbers of child labour in South Asia, particularly in India, but also by blowing up the worst cases of wretched child labour as the general condition of all working children,

the "advocacy statistics" that typically includes "nowhere children" as child labourers has created serious conceptual problems, linking the tendency to exaggerate the problems to a range of larger issues, including the attempt to sue child labour as a social clause in international trade negotiations, the unconscious forms of stereotyping and even of stigmatisation of the people of the third world by the western world and the marketing strategy of the NGOs. Lieten argues in favour of a more contextualised definition of child labour. Chaudhuri, Nyland and O'Romke examine the interrelationship between economic and demographic performance and the incidence of child labour in 14 Asian countries and conclude that a number of demographic, educational and economic factors are highly correlated. Country-specific factors were also found to be very important in having an impact on the prevalence of child labour. The authors rightly point out that "the synergy between state, family, civil society and market can generate the desired outcome if and only if the state performs its duty." Thorat and Sadhana report that the incidence of child labour has declined in rural India, although there continues to be some variations in its incidence at the state level. In their investigation into the determinants of child labour, they report that high level of rural non-farm employment, high agricultural wages and high per capita, real expenditure on education contributed to the reduction in the magnitude of child labour in rural areas.

In an insightful paper Cigno and Rosati, using data from HDR Survey by NCAER, have tried to analyse the interdependency of child labour with education, fertility rate and survival rate in rural India. They argue that child labour should not be viewed as an aberration, rather as 'the systematic household response to adverse economic environment'. On the basis of their empirical findings, they assert that "prohibiting work or insisting on school attendance would....have an ambiguous effect on the welfare of their parents....would end up with more human capital, but poorer health. The effect on the welfare of their parents....would clearly be negative." While the availability of schools and better health facilities in the neighbourhood tend to decrease the incidence of child labour, land redistribution would increase the probability of child-work in lower income households. Mother's education, on the other hand, does not have an unequivocally negative impact on child work, presumably, because of the trade-off between mother's employment and burden of domestic chores on the girl child. Malhotra, Sachdeva and Murthy find adult literacy to be negatively related with the incidence of child labour as well as that of 'nowhere children', but their state level analysis does not support a significant relation with poverty.

Berge, Anker and Khan, on the basis of a somewhat but illuminating field investigation into the child labour scenario in carpet, bangles and diamond industries, present evidences to argue that children do not provide irreplaceable skills nor is it true that employing children is more cost-effective or productive.

They have tried to explain the existence of child labour mainly through non-pecuniary factors such as lack of awareness among the children about their rights, employer's perception regarding the greater trust worthiness of child workers, better health and relatively lower levels of absenteeism among child workers. To some extent, child labour continues in these industries because it has been a part of a tradition that has not been adequately questioned or challenged. Another important point they make is that, contrary to widely shared perceptions, eliminating child labour would not necessarily result in a high degree of cost escalation. Hilding's study on the match industries in Sivakashi reinforces many of these arguments. He brings out that low productivity in agriculture, low wages in the match industries, household poverty and vulnerability as possible explanations of the prevailing of child labour in Sivakashi match industry. Mehrotra and Biggeri analyse the conditions of work and employment of child labour in home based manufacturing in India and Pakistan. In their conceptual framework they emphasise on the intergenerational transfer of poverty as a key determinant of the continued existence of child labour and their policy suggestions underscore the need to view the interrelated issues of household poverty, organisational structure of the informal economy and the incidence of child work in an integrated framework.

Another set of papers by Varma, Mehendale, Bissel, Wagir and D'Mello focuses on the strategies of intervention to reduce the incidence of child labour, both, by state and non-state actors at the national and international levels. While Varma brings out the limited success of the various state-induced initiatives in reducing child labour in India, Mehendale highlights the supportive structures that are required to make the legal strategies effective. Bissel, on the basis of case studies from Bangladesh, point out both the necessity as well as problems associated with providing economic incentives to child workers to bring them to school. Providing better schools and a friendlier learning environment might help, but in some extreme cases poverty would continue to be major impediment. Rekha Wagir's contribution provides an interesting comparison between the intervention strategies followed by four NGOs in India. The inter-understandings and the set of interventions adopted by the NGOs, highlighted by her, serve as an important reminder to re-examine both operational aspects of existing theories and theoretical foundations of grassroots interventions. D'Mello points out that in industries that are part of a global commodity chain there is considerable presence on underdeveloped country, exporters to reduce costs, which in turn leads the subcontractors to employ child labour. He highlights the need for punitive action against firms employing child labour, which of course requires coordination at the international level.

The lessons from the success stories of Sri Lanka and Kerala in reducing the incidence of child labour as pointed out by the editors in introduction are that strong political commitment is a basic precondition for effective policy intervention while the links between abject poverty, underdevelopment and child labour are too real to be ignored, these should not be a pretext for non-intervention and tolerance of child labour. With increasing global concern on the rights of the child there has been pressure on the practice of the employing child labour. The editors rightly pointed out that although there is hardly any disagreement over the underdesirabilities of child labour to increase protection in developed countries it is resented by many. The book raises several important questions on the popular notions regarding the determinants of child labour and the possible ways to fight it.

D S Bahra (2008) focuses on the major dimensions and issues of child labour, international movements etc. and unlawful practices of child labour. He raises his voice against child sexual abuse, children's abduction for slavery in Africa etc. Describing the trafficking in children he states that the trafficking includes recruiting a child from his/her home to work in another place for commercial sexual exploitation, and exploitative labour practice or the removal of body parts. Here, he also mentions that World's Forms of Child Labour Convention 1999 (Convention No. 182) of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) provides that use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution is one of the worst forms of child labour. He also very elaborately describes the needs of the child care.

Anoop K Satpathy (2009) in analysis of data from the Labour Force Survey of NSSO (61st round) for the year 2004-05, finds that about 15 percent of total children in India, amounting to approximately 41 million, are neither at school nor in labour force. Proportion of children mixing schooling with work is very small, only to the extent of half a percent of total number of children. Altogether approximately 82 percent children attend school exclusively. Further, there are 3.33 percent of total number of children who are in the labour force amounting to approximately 9 million children. Out of this, about 7.68 million children are workers and do not attend schools and the rest 1.37 million are both workers and attend schools. Interestingly, in India, the number of child force is declining year by year. India's child workforce during 2004-05 is estimated at little over nine million as against twenty one and half million in 1983. During this period, the number of child labourers has declined by 12.48 million. Considerable fall in child work force is observed among boys rather than girls. In effect, since the gender difference that existed between the boys and girls (adverse against boys) during the early 1980s has almost dissipated in recent years, the difference has come down from 2.57million to roughly 0.45 million. However, urban child employment has either remained constant or

shown a tendency to rise. Furthermore, child workforce in the age group 5-9 has recorded sharp decline than in the 10-14 age group. Much of India's child labourers is concentrated in agriculture and allied activities accounting for over two-third of employment, followed by manufacturing wherein 16.5 percent are found engaged in production of commodities. Trade, hotels and restaurants account for a significant share of child workers who are essentially involved in informal jobs which deny them employment and social security. Whether in farm or manufacturing unit, child labourers are extensively engaged on casual basis where they are denied a decent wage. Lastly, among the states, Uttar Pradesh appears to account for a larger share of total child labourers, which is close to one-fourth of all child workforces in India, followed by Andhra Pradesh with 13 percent. The next two important states in this context are Maharastra and West Bengal who account for nine and eight percent of India's child labourers respectively.

M Prasad Rao (1993) on the basis of census data presented the picture of child labour in Andhra Pradesh. The study indicates that the percentage of female child labour is quite high in Andhra Pradesh and in Telengana region, for the backwardness it is still higher. Both, in rural and urban areas female child workers in percent of total female workers exceed the corresponding percentage for males in all districts. The child labour force participation rates are observed to be higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas in all districts of Andhra Pradesh and male child labour participation both in rural and urban areas in all the districts is greater than that of females.

Preet Rustagi (2009) highlights the potential for understanding children's work participation more comprehensively through the adoption of Time Use Survey (TUS) techniques. She deals with the work profile of children across age cohorts, by sex and state as derived from the detailed survey. The household survey data and the TUS are both utilised to capture the children's work profile. The author has taken four states; namely, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Chattisgarh because these states report high incidences of child labour and "nowhere children", which provides a wide canvas for analysis. The survey reveals that mere girls are involved in the economic activities, both, paid and unpaid than boys. The estimation of these states shows that many more girls than boys are involved in not only unpaid work but also paid work, irrespective of time they put in. In her work she finds that girls exceed the boys in all categories in terms of the work they undertake – among the out-of-school children, among the dropouts and among the child workers, especially when these figures are analysed through time use statistics. Such information can aid in gender sensitisation process and the formulation of appropriate policy interventions as well and, therefore, necessitates policy attention. According to Rustagi, efforts to eliminate child labour and enhance

the human capital endowment of the future labour forces by ensuring a greater number of years of schooling in order to improve their adult labour participation cannot be fructified unless the use of children in various activities is minimised. Retention of children in school is critical. In author's view, this requires improvements in the levels of schooling quality, in terms of physical infrastructure, curriculum, teachers and so on. The findings of this study also highlight the problem of dropouts. A majority of the children who have dropped out of school are found to be working. The children who work in economic or household maintenance activities are compelled to squeeze the time available for relaxation, play, rest and overall development.

T Lakshmansamy (1993) has analysed the determinants of the hours of work of children and its implications for household fertility decisions, using a household survey data of rural areas in Tamil Nadu, collected in 1985. The study demonstrates that children do make productive contribution to their family's well-being in the form of, both, non-market work and market work as traditionally defined. The study also shows that male children are working for longer hours than female children. Age of children is a significant determinant of the hours of work of children. Families with own business use more of their children's time in own business activities than in market activities. The economic and educational status of the family reduces the hours of work of children. In general, it can be concluded that the forces that are operating in the rural areas of India favour positively to the economic contribution of children and this has a positive impact on parent's facility decisions.

So, the studies attempted to focus on the regionwise, sectorwise and genderwise magnitude of child labour in India.

II. The Structural Conditions of Child Labour

K S Srikantan (1991) has showed the strong association of illiteracy with child work participation and the competing demands made on the children's time. He suggested long term measures like productive employment generation and improving female education to reduce the work participation of children, rather than resorting to specific direct measures designed to reduce child labour immediately.

Indradeo Sharma, Bipin Kumar and K B Padmadeo (1993), analysing the problem in historical perspective, have highlighted sectoral and spatial dimensions of the problem. According to them, child labour problem is positively correlated with the level of poverty. They view that the child labour problem is essentially a case of underdevelopment, economic as well as social. Among the causes, they have identified that for child labour problem, poverty ranks first in

India. From the point of view of employer, children provide cheap and convenient as well as uncomplaining labour force. They can be made to do any work, for any time and for any wages. The writers also find that industrial units are surviving because of the supply of cheap child labour. Finally, children are made to work by way of learning the job. It means that children are more receptive and body organs are more pliable and adjustable at an early age. An imprint acquired in childhood is not easily erased. Hence, craftsmen and artisans ensure that their children start acquiring skills early. The same holds good in the field of cultivation and this logic is also invoked in the case of domestic works. In brief, they state that child labour is a global phenomenon and is quite pervasive over time and space. However, it is more concentrated in poor developing countries as compared to rich and developed countries of the world. Despite all public pronouncements against the evil of child labour, India is having the largest number of child workers in the world today.

Leena Singh (1993) points out that poverty is the main cause of child labour problem in India and gives an overview of the situation of working children in India along with broad guidelines for policy. She finds some typical features of child labour in India such as (a) the number of children working as child labour is growing, (b) a large majority of children are working as unpaid workers in farm and non-farm activities in rural areas, (c) most of the children at work are illiterate since they are initiated to the work quite early in life, (d) a majority (80%) of the child labourers are boys, (e) children are made to work in such hazardous occupations where conditions of work are deplorable and (f) the houses of child labourers are congested and over-crowded with hardly any ventilation or sanitary facilities. The entire basti's water-logging, dirt and unhygienic condition along with insects and flies are the causes of serious and regular illness like typhoid, malaria, hepatitis etc. among the children. Apart from poverty, absence of provision for compulsory education and migration are the major causes of child labour problem in India. She suggests that the basic strategy concerning child labour should be to gradually reduce child labour and eliminate it through improving and enforcing legislation, promoting school enrolment, raising public awareness, supporting community activities and targeting hazardous environment.

Rakesh Sharma (2006) opined that child labour should be declared as the economic problem. He identifies various evils of child labour. The reasons behind recruiting child labour are the economic instability, unemployment problem, uncertainty in labour sector and low level of life styles. According to him, earlier child labourers were found only in the paddy-field, but after establishment of various industries, child labourer are also found in industrial sectors. Our constitution has provided various laws against child labour. He suggests that, to eliminate child labour problems, the families should be provided

food security first. The government should be conscious about the rehabilitation of these poor children. Elimination of child labour is very necessary for the development of India. According to him, the government and the citizens of India, both, must solve the child labour problem in a very sympathetic way.

Sourav Pandey (2006) is of the view that child labour in India is now one of the major issues which decelerate the development of India. He identifies some reasons which are responsible for child labour, they are economic conditions, unemployment problem etc. According to him, rehabilitation and schooling is very important for the poor class of people. Another important thing that has been noticed in this article is that 35% children are agriculturalist, 44.17% children are agricultural labourers and 20.83% children are engaged in other various activities in the plough-field. This is very alarming information for the developing country like India. According to Pandey, if media, government, citizens, parents and the community take this major problem seriously then only the problem of child labour can be eradicated from our society.

Vimla Farooqui (1993) has given important information that in India more than forty four million children are forced to work, some from the early age of 7 or 8 years, this includes a large number of girls. These children are generally employed in unorganised industries. Small girls who help in the household work in their own houses, many of them are also found as domestic servants in other families. These girl children are also employed in agricultural sectors and several small scale industries on very meagre wages and long hours of work. They are often ill-treated, abused and even physically beaten by the employers or their agents. Since no facilities are provided to give them education or training to improve their skills she has suggested that trade unions, women's organisations and social welfare organisations must raise a united powerful voice to protect children from this abuse.

S C Singh (2007) finds that gender is a crucial determinant of whether a child engages in labour. While child labour is an infringement of the rights of all children – boys and girls, girls often start working at an earlier age than boys, especially the rural areas where most working children are found. Girls also tend to do more work at home than boys. As a result of adherence to traditional gender roles, many girls are denied their right to education, or may suffer the triple burden of housework, school work and work outside home, paid or unpaid. Domestic work is the least regulated of all occupations. Working in the privacy of individual homes, child and adult domestic workers are often invisible to the outside world and thus particularly vulnerable to violence, exploitation and abuse. Bangladesh, India and Pakistan account for a disproportionate share of the world's child labour problem. Extreme poverty and

cultural factors have forced tens of millions of children in the region, including 7 millions in Bangladesh alone, to work in fields, homes and hazardous factories. However, the most visible are the minority employed in the profitable garment and other export-oriented industries. Most of them have never attended schools. There is a larger child labour force in India than anywhere else in the world. These children are exploited economically and often physically, including sexually. They are forced to do heavy work, work overtime, are often deprived on food, schooling and rest, and work in unhealthy and unsafe conditions. Push factors include poverty, lack of schools, infrastructure in schools, absence of teachers, no female teachers, no classes beyond primary schools-particularly in remote villages and no obvious link between school education and daily life.

According to him, domestic work becomes even more dangerous when children are trafficked into another town or country to take up service, especially when they do not speak the local language. There is a close correlation between gender and the reason for trafficking, with girls being trafficked, mainly domestic services and commercial sexual exploitation. The Child Labour Act now states that action can be taken against anyone who employs children less than 14 years in domestic work, at homes or in hotels.

In rural areas, boys and girls play key roles in family farming and through their economic activities generate income that improves rural livelihood for the poor. Children's work in agriculture has positive impacts and needs to be seen in context of different economic and livelihood realities of developing countries. However, the threshold at which children's work become hazardous and exploitative is often fluid. Child labour, in particular its worst hazardous forms (including slavery, trafficking, debt bondage and other forms of forced labour, forced recruitment of children for use in armed conflict, prostitution and pornography, and illicit activities), need to be seen in the larger context of development since its reduction depends on improved household incomes, economic empowerment and infrastructure development for education and health.

India has the second highest national total (5.1 million) of persons living with HIV/AIDS. 200,000 are children less than 15 years have lost one or both parents to the illness. Children who are HIV positive, or whose caregivers are, have been denied access to school or treated badly. Often they have to dropout to take care of home or a family member, or because they are unable to pay school fees. Despite the fact that elementary education has become a fundamental right since a change to the constitution in 2002, official counts say 35 million children are still being deprived of their right to education. In other words, 19 of every 100 children are out of school. Of those who do attend, 53 will drop out before completing, and 66 percent of those who drop out are girls. The average year a

girl spends in school is 1.8 as compared to 5.5 for boys. He has also focused on the fact that fundamental needs of girls who have been child labourer have not been very well documented, understood and addressed. The education system has been severely destroyed and disrupted; by such conflict school routes are unsafe, school buildings are being occupied by army and paramilitary forces and there are increasing reports of children being used as tools by fighting forces. In this book, he has identified the major objectives and triumphs in the area of recognising children as bursting focus of human rights and getting rid of impunity for gender crimes.

D L Narayana (1993) has highlighted the poor plight of women in general and female child labour in particular in the third world countries. He has effectively focused on the gross neglect of women and female children in the developed countries. Due to gender discrimination, female children and women get less of food, health care and education. Education for children is of utmost importance. According to him, female literacy complements male literacy and wields higher multiplier effect on human development. For him, compulsory schooling of girls is a prime requisite for the social development in the third world. Utilisation of girls for a pittance without schooling amounts to mortgaging of social development and perpetuation, sweating and exploitation without adequate returns. Employment of boys and girls are fraught with several abuses probably the position of girl children is more unfavourable. He is of the view that children's education is a vital step in the direction of arresting gender discrimination and promotion of human development in the third world countries.

Meera Verma and Neeta Verma (1993) examining the incidence of female child labour in India, touch upon certain aspects of female child labour in India. The causes responsible for the prevalence of female child labour, growth rate of female child labour, comparison between the growth rates of male and female child labour, composition of female child labour as main and marginal workers and also by industrial categories, state-wise incidence of female child labour etc. They have analysed that several economic and social factors are responsible for the prevalence of large scale female child workers in India. Poverty is probably the most important cause for the prevalence of child worker especially female child labour in India. Other reasons which force a female child to become a labour are the death of father or mother or both parents, by size of family, ill-habituated fathers etc. Old tradition, social customs and prejudices are also responsible for this injustice to female children.

They have also found that during 1971-81 growth rate of female workers (44.99%) was much higher than that of male workers (22.12%). In the same manner the growth rate of female child labour (32.23%) was much higher than that of the male child labour (-3.15%). It is also remarkable that the growth rate

of female child labour (32.23%) was much higher than the growth rate of female child population (17.77%). This work shows the statewise growth rate of female child labour during 1971-81 was as high as 132.62%. Of the total female child workers 35.15% are cultivators and 50.18% are agricultural labourers. Household industry is employing 4.49% of the total female child labourers. Livestock, fishing forestry etc. employ 3.17% of total female child labourers. Large scale manufacturing employs 3.04% of the total female workers. Construction, trade and commerce, transport and communication employ a very small fraction of female child labour, i.e., less than 1% of female child labour is found in each category. Other services which include a wide variety of activities employ 2.5% of the total female child workers. Primary sector employs 88.5% of female child workers, secondary sector employs 8.4% of the female child labour and tertiary sector employs 3.1% of the female child labourers. They also find that of total female child labour, about 95% are rural workers and 5.15% are urban workers. The state of Andhra Pradesh has the highest incidence of female child labour, i.e., 7.29% and the state of Punjab has the lowest incidence of female child labour, i.e., 0.25%. Hence, the prevalence of female child labour is an index of underdevelopment of Indian society. According to this, a strong political will power and dedicated welfare activities are necessary to check this evil practice.

Kumudini Sinha (1993) has analysed the problem of female child labour and its causes with special reference to Bihar. She clearly shows that female child gets discriminatory treatment in the family and is forced to take many toilsome jobs and becomes first casualty in terms of nutrition, education etc.

B N Shukla and Bimla Shukla (1993) have analysed the conditions of the child labour in informal sector. According to ILO report 1981, informal sector may be defined as "to consist of small scale units engaged in the production and distribution of goods and services with the primary objectives of generating employment and incomes to their participants notwithstanding the constraints on capital, both, physical and human and know-how." They realise that there are certain factors which enable children to seek employment in the informal sector. These factors include (a) absence of any statutory minimum age for employment, (b) easy entry, (c) less competition among job seekers, (d) absence of any minimum requirement of education or training, (e) easy nature of work, (f) provision of food, shelter or clothing in the city by the employer, (g) absence of any minimum wage requirement and (h) easy entry and easy exit. By analysing these factors, they find four major types of children engaged in the informal sector; namely, children belonging to poor families undertaking jobs to supplement their parents' income, children who have none to support them, children who are sent to urban areas by their parents in rural areas for earning a living, and children who run away from their families.

According to them, with regard to working conditions of the children in the informal sector, five areas seem to be significant. First, children in the informal sector not only receive lower wages but that also not regularly and in cash. Secondly, their hours of work are much longer. Thirdly, they are victims of a very rough behaviour by their master and co-workers. Fourthly, they do not enjoy a stable employment relationship. Lastly, they do not enjoy any welfare facility, social security or even leave or holiday. In totality, employment conditions of children in the informal sector are worst in comparison to the formal sector. The condition of the child labour in informal sector is miserable and government is not taking proper initiatives for educating the child labour for their upliftment.

Sahab Singh's study (2000) concentrating on the children employed in the unorganised sector in or around Delhi, dissects the history, the genesis of and the causes of child labour. The study concludes that this practice denies children's education, good health and opportunities for their all-round development. NGOs and private schools can plan non-formal education classes in the evening as it seems to be the most convenient time for these children. Most of the children and parents interviewed were interested in vocational training. Both, parents and children, feel that in present day education is not relevant and does not equip a child to earn his livelihood. Mobile health trains could make regular weekly trips to the areas where working children population is heavily concentrated. The scheme must also ensure relevant referral back up to services. Night shelters exclusively for children must spread all over the city, especially in areas where there are large numbers of street and working children. To ensure that these shelters do not become places of anti-social activities, they must be managed by social workers round the clock. Every zone of police station must have a social worker. The banks must organise programmes for the child labourers. Bank official should meet employers and self-employed children to encourage them to bank with them. Working children should be given the facility of travel concession in buses just as any other school going child enjoys. The employers and NGOs can recommend their eligibility.

S Murthy (1993) has studied the causes and conditions of child labour in unorganised sector on the basis of a case study of 100 working children in Ujjain city of Madhya Pradesh. Poverty of masses, sudden death of father or mother, big size of family, ill-habituated father spending too much on liquor, illegal children etc. are the prime causes for child labour. Children as workers are engaged in variety of activities and most of the girls are working in households.

D V Ramana (1993) presents the grim story of bonded child labourers in carpet industry of Uttar Pradesh. Based on the newspaper accounts concerning

raid of a few villages, the paper is an eye opener for all. The child labour servitude in the carpet industry of Mirzapur region is most reprehensive and deplorable one. Employers use questionable methods of recruiting children by enticing, kidnapping and by false promises giving rosy picture of employment. They buy the children by paying petty amount to parents or guardians. The agents of employees trap children and forward them to the places of employment. Employers extract labour of children for long hours under constant force of stick and fear of cruelty. Probably the children get only subsistence for survival without wage payment. Long hours of work with low or no wages means gross exploitation of children. Children, parents and guardians are enduring great sorrow and suffering on account of the harsh and cruel treatment meted out to them by employers. While raids are freeing some children, employers are enslaving more children, probably, because of high labour turnover of children due to deplorable conditions of work and living. According to him, eradication of poverty is the only ultimate solution to the abolition of child servitude. In the meanwhile legal protection has to be enforced and extended to the different sectors not yet covered by the Act. Humanitarian outlook on the part of the employers will go a long way to improve the lot of child workers. Ramana is also of the view that fostering favourable social environment for child development in its different ramifications is a task of national leadership and national development.

Murli Dhar Vemuri and UKKV Shastry (1991) have written that the proportion of scheduled caste population and female literacy explain the prevalence of child labour across the regions of rural India. The study points out that the modern methods of farming do not necessarily lead to a reduction of the incidence of child labour. They suggest that providing attractive alternative to employment for children and improving the conditions under which adult women work can reduce child labour.

Among other studies that have examined child labour in rural India, the econometric analysis by Rosenweiz and Evenson (1977) is of considerable interest. Supplementing the 1961 census data with other data, they found that, of the districts of India, adult male and female education is negatively related to percent of male children engaged in cultivation, herding or as hired labour. In those districts, where the adult female wage is higher, the proportion of female child workers is lower but the degree of urbanisation has an opposite effect. Land size and productivity have influenced child labour positively.

In a similar study using 1969-1971 rural survey data Rosenweiz (1981) has shown that the percentage of population designated as Scheduled Castes is significantly and negatively associated with both the male and female child workers. Increase in the adult male wage and the presence of development

programme in the district tended to lower the work activities respectively of male and female children.

Micro data on the activities of children collected by Kanbargi and Kulkarni (1985) from rural households in Karnataka state revealed that the number of hour's children and women work are positively linked but school attendance and average rainfall in the village exert a negative influence. Although their studies identify some of the factors that explain child labour, they take advantage of another available data set to analyse child labour by its components. In other words, child labour is separately investigated for children who are below and above 10 years of age. The reason for this is that the nature of children's work in rural areas varies with the age of children (Cain 1977, Nag *et al.* 1980). Young boys, unlike adolescents engaged in agricultural activities, do not perform cumbersome tasks that require a great amount of physical strength. The situation is similar for girls, as they mature they begin to participate in activities such as weeding, husking etc. Moreover, the difference in the work done by children that belong to landless and landed households is emphasised. Cain (1977 : 217-219) mentions that "among males aged 10 years and older, those from landless households, do considerably more work than those from the landed classes" and "poor females do considerably more directly productive work than females in the more well-to-do households".

Barkat-E-Khuda's research (1991) based on the data collected from a village in Bangladesh shows that children in the village started participating in light and less skilful and serious activities. The analysis shows a negative association between economic status and the amount of child labour. The author suggests that raising the standard of living of rural people and ensuring easy access to schooling would lead to a reduction in child labour.

Jodha and Singh (1991) have brought out certain important features of child labour in dry regions of Maharastra, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan. The study points out that child labour in dry areas is an integral part of a peasant's adaptive strategy to make fuller use of a hostile productive environment. The productive period in a dry region is ranging between three and four months. During this period, everyone in the household, including children attending school have to participate. The impact of this is reflected in the declining school attendance during this period. The study found that a higher proportion of children belonging to the better households attended school and the proportion who worked as child labour was very low. The situation of the children of rural poor was in complete contrast to this. The author suggests technological and institutional interventions directed towards bringing stability and the growth of dry land agriculture for reducing child labour.

A K Singh and Namita Nigam (1994) are of the view that child labour is a social evil and it should be eliminated. According to them, child labour is a fairly widespread phenomenon in India, as in other developing countries, even though its precise magnitude may not be known. The major fact is that a huge percentage of employers, even the highly educated and elite persons, find it profitable to employ a child labour for low wage. The parents also found it necessary to send their child to work instead of sending them to the school.

They also observe that a lot of time of children spent in doing household works like cleaning, cooking, taking care of their siblings and such domestic work is not devoid of economic importance. Again, in their words, children are also participating extensively in productive activities of traditional agriculture and household manufacturing, without wages. Their main concentration is on child labour in rural area. With growing landlessness and proletarianisation of the peasantry, the number of children who work as hired agricultural labour also increase due to economic distress. In their study, they discussed very systematically about the percentage of child labour, their growth, wage rates, employment, correlations of child labour, according to the 1981 census report, the Twenty Seventh Round of NSS (1972-73) and Rural Labour Enquiry, 1974-75. They find that child participation does not appear to be very high contrary to general perception, though the absolute number of child labour is very large. Secondly, child labour is largely confined to agriculture and to some extent to urban informal sector. Thirdly, there are significant inter-state variations in the incidence of child labour, which can be largely explained in terms of demand-supply framework. Therefore, they have understood that for eliminating the problem of child labour a strong step should be taken. This would require a flexible and imaginative approach in which education and work can be combined through suitably changing school hours, organising mobile teaching terms and making education more relevant to their needs.

M S Subramanian (1993) examined cross-section data to find out some important determinants of work force participation among rural children in India. For the year 1978, Andhra Pradesh has the highest work participation rate (11.09) and Kerala is found with the lowest work participation rate, which stands at 0.92. Poverty and illiteracy have positive correlation with child labour. The emerging conclusion of his regression analysis is that the work participation rate among these rural children can be brought down by reducing the poverty ratio among the rural masses of our country and taking steps to increase the percentage of school going children in rural areas of our country.

Maya Prasad (1993) finds that a significant feature of the child labour in Indian agriculture is extremely low wages and terrible working conditions. State regulation of child labour in Indian agriculture has been either non-existent or

ineffective. She has also highlighted the concentration of child workers in poorer states like Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan. According to her, child labour is a socio-economic problem and unless the problem of poverty is tackled in a big way, the problem will persist in our country.

K B Singh and P N Singh (1993) have analysed the problem of child labour in rainfed agriculture in Munger district, Bihar. On the basis of survey they have brought out sharply that due to rainfed nature of agriculture, employment opportunities are limited and so poverty reigns supreme, leading to heavy incidence of child labour. There is high incidence of child labour in the case of low and scheduled caste families but upper caste people, in spite of their weak economic condition, prefer to keep their child out of wage employment. Their children remain idle and become irresponsible young persons. According to them, proper water management strategy and growth of agro-processing industries would improve the situation.

G K Lieten (2006) raises his voice against the evil of child labour. The issue of child labour continues to be a major concern for policy makers, politicians and child rights activists across the globe. Even as the International Organisations such as the ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank protest against child labour and its repercussion on the whole global society. Most shamefully children stand as the most abused community today. As per ILO reports almost 5.7 children globally are trapped in forced and bonded labour: 246 million are victims of prostitution and of perilous work. A critical analysis examines child as a labour and child as a worker. In this edited volume, the concept of child labour has been contextualized across the different cultures. In fact, the articles in this book are drawn from varied fields of expertise which deal with issue of child labour in depth. The key argument of the book is to make a clear distinction between what are the child's rights to live and how the child lives in the actual world; through vivid representation of case studies drawn from Vietnam, India, Guinea, Bolevia and Brazil. Of the three parts of the book, the first part deals with issue of Child Rights according to ILO and UN conventions. In this part first two chapters by Jaap Doek and Sharon Detrick mapped out in details the two convention future plans of action for the complete abolition of child labour. Major protective plans and policies of ILO and CRC are discussed to protect the child from all types of exploitation. The second part of the book basically contextualised the issue of child labour in relation to the ongoing process of globalisation, poverty and child participation. In one chapter, Ingrid Stegeman has explored the problem of child labour in the context of globalisation. Ingrid has pointed out that child labour is a result of social and economic development. Going beyond poverty as the only explanatory factor of child labour, the author has pointed out that causes of child labour are the growing level of inequality, growth of informal sectors, commoditisation of goods and services and lure of

consumerism. Lieten, in his chapter on "Child Labour and Poverty", has analysed the problem of child labour by putting forward the Keynesian theory of demand factor and opposed the neo-classical theory of rational choice factor. Indeed the author had emphasised that it is very important to examine the pull forces rather than push forces behind the incidence of child labour in the present situation. The author has also gone to the extent of exploding the general myth that there is a strong correlation between poverty and child labour by citing the comparison of two states in India. In the next chapter, Preti Lalwijk has talked about child participation and its role in the empowerment process through the concept of "Child Parliament" and "Child Council". Preeti has also pointed out the active cooperation of NGOs in the process of child participation. The last part of the book focuses on the chapters dealing with case studies of labourers across the globe. Evaluating the implications of the economic reforms in Northern Vietnamese village, the author argues that the new economic policies have, on the one hand, marginalised the agenda of education for all and created the result of more school dropouts, and on the other hand, they have helped children's work become more commercialised, diversified and mobile. This had resulted in the uncertainty of education and favours the market economy of the children. Marteen Van in his case study of Bolivia has provided sociological insight into the issue of child labour. The author has examined the issue deeply and tried to see the problem from a structural point of view. He has proposed that structural solution of the needs is the real solution to the problem of child labour. Similarly, the last four chapters of the book focus the case studies of child labour different forms across the world giving a real picture of how the children live in the world of labour. Throughout the book, the editor has tried to elicit the issue of child labour in the context of globalisation, economic reforms, poverty, child participation and working children's approach to work across the globe. This book is not only a powerful critique of the neo-classical model of "rational choice factor", which continues to emphasise that push forces are utmost important for the cause of child labour, but also underlines the need for the examination of pull forces for the study of cause of child labour. However, this book has failed to address the issue in a holistic perspective. This book emphasises more on the conditions of child labour rather than on any panacea for the problem.

R Dhaksana Murthy (2007) is of the view that child labour is one of the oldest professions of the world and has remained as the most neglected phenomenon for the last few centuries. He believes that the main cause for the child labour in the developing countries is dire poverty. Poor parents being unable to maintain their children compel them to join the labour market for small pittance. Caste system, tradition, backwardness, size of the family, labour scarcity, wage structure, illiteracy, ignorance, absence of schooling facilities, loss of parents and neighbourhood effects also pave the way for participation of

children in economic activities. The causes and circumstances, which compel the children to sweat and suffer in the early stage of childhood, do much harm than benefit. It harms not only the present generation, but also the prospectively. Hence, it is considered as both economic and social problems. Prevention and elimination of child labour through various interventions, including ensuring education for children, require a greater commitment than any other developmental activity. The government of India has committed to contribute significantly towards the eradication of child labour project launched in the year 1988 is one of the novel strategies to challenge the mute acceptances of child labour as well the problem of illiteracy in the country. The project was started with an objective of preparing a model for eradication and rehabilitation of child labour mainly in hazardous employment. This model programme consists of key elements such as :

- Stepping up the enforcement of the prohibition of child labour;
- Provide employment for parents and children;
- Expanding formal and non-formal education;
- Promoting school enrolment through various incentives such as payment of stipend;
- Raising public awareness;
- Survey and evaluation.

The author has informed that the government of India started 13 location specific national child labour projects. Currently, 96 projects are functioning in the child endemic districts of the country. But he also points out the truth that the nexus prevalent between poverty and the problem of child labour puts a yolk on the implementation of the programme. The families of lower social strata insist their children to go for wage earning activities even after admitting them in the transit school. Moreover, in traditional and agrarian societies, sending the children for economic activities is a common practice due to poverty. Hence, the nexus is to be broken through the effective implementation of poverty eradication programme to increase the retention of children in the school. The eradication of child labour, otherwise, remains a distant dream.

Tim Dyson (1991) has critically examined several empirical studies conducted in the less developed countries to understand the relationship between child labour and fertility. He does not agree with the widely held view that parents in less developed countries are guided in their fertility decisions by the economic contribution of children. He argues that children being engaged in many useful tasks in peasant society in no way explaining high fertility. If anything, the direction of causation is probably in the reverse direction, i.e., high fertility means there are quite a few children in the households. And in any society less developed or more developed it is usual for children to be expected to

perform a variety of tasks. The less the number of competing obligations (such as school) and the greater the opportunity to work, the more the time spent on performing as such. Michael Vlassoff (1991) has also looked at whether child labour motivates higher fertility in the less developed countries and whether the poor peasants need child labour for their survival. Against a background of theoretical consideration, he has critically reviewed several empirical studies conducted in India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Indonesia, Tanzania, Mexico and the Philippines. He concludes that the available evidence that emerges from these empirical investigations is inadequate to prove that children are not positive assets in the rural areas of less developed countries and, therefore, child labour has a positive effect on fertility.

Farida Shah (1996) has mentioned child labour as the most alarming socio-economic problem of India. In her work of the Scheduled Tribe Child Labour of Udaipur district in Rajasthan, she reports that the district has the highest proportion of scheduled tribes' population in the state, i.e., 19.34% of the state's tribal population (Census of India 1981, series 18). Shah has attempted to identify the unorganised sectors, usually employing child labourers, and studied the basic characteristics of tribal child labourers; viz., sex, age, education level and dropout rate. Deplorable working conditions of child labourers have also been focused upon.

Ranjan Ray (2003) analyses the child's participation in the labour market and schooling, paying special attention to the interaction between the two. The study simultaneously estimates child labour hours and years of schooling, recognising, their endogenous data from Peru, Pakistan, Nepal and China. A number of policy conclusions are drawn. For example, it is shown that compulsory schooling or free school meal programmes provide effective means of reducing child labour hours.

Kanchan Mathur and Pradeep Bhargava (2006) conducted a study, based on the problem of child labour, particularly in the gem polishing industry in Jaipur and other areas of Rajasthan. Despite the Supreme Court's directions and efforts of the state government, this evil continues to exist and prevail in this area. The study reveals that the main cause for the existence of this problem is the concerned people's ignorance. Most of the parents of young children working in industries are simply unaware of the welfare measures that are being implemented for benefit of their children. Secondly, many of the parents do not consider anything wrong in making their children work from an early age. They are more concerned about the children's ability to be able to earn wages by becoming skilled, rather than about their academic education. School gets a low priority in their eyes. They also feel that if a child is thus gainfully occupied, it will keep him or her out of mischief.

R Giriraj (2000) has conducted a survey on the child labourers in hosiery units of Tirupur municipal area of Coimbatore district in Tamilnadu and has shown a significant rise in the employment and engagement of children in the numerous housing units located there, despite stringent legal prohibition. This study finds that people are forced to do this because of abject poverty. The employers, although equally guilty, cannot be blamed solely because the parents of children who sent them to work also bear equal responsibility. Lots of the children are not happy as either they have to face hardships or encounter problems despite all this, this practice still continues. He has suggested some remedial measures to overcome the problem of child labour. First, some alternative income generating programmes for parents should be taken up to prevent families from economic depression. Secondly, the school going children may be given scholarships along with nutritional meals to avoid dropouts. Thirdly, a hosiery unit should take the social responsibility to give the children, working in their units, compulsory elementary education. Fourthly, awareness may be created among the parents and employers about the abhorrent practice. Fifthly, tax deduction and other incentives may be given to those employers who can show that they have improved the working conditions of the children. And sixthly, social workers may be appointed to create awareness about different educational, health and other programmes.

Lee Tucker (2006) discusses about the prevelance of bonded child labour. According to the author, bonded labour is a variation on slavery. Poverty, caste system and lack of access to credit are some of the contributing factors for bonded child labour in India.

Suman Chauhan (2010) deals with the real situation of child labour in India. In her work author said that the direct impact of free trade on children may not be viewed, but it left its worsening effects in their basic health, nutrition and shelter. She points out some of the negative fallouts like children are deprived by forced and economic migration and rising numbers of children are engaged in part or full time labour.

D.C. Nanjunda (2009) in his work deals with the problem of child labour in Bangalore Urban District (City) in India. He mainly focuses on the anthropology of child labour where he illustrates the child labour problems by looking at the ways in which anthropologists have described socialization and in particular, children's roles and understanding it. He further says that since child labour is a socio-economic and socio-cultural problem, Malinowski's concept of Practical Anthropology, (which means the use of anthropological knowledge to probe into the problem and to stuffiest remedial measures) is of very much useful.

Sudip Chakraborty (2011) in his work brings to light the various realities of child labour in beedi rolling business. He conducted his survey in a poverty-stricken district in West Bengal. He also mentions that ILO defines work of tobacco processing as a "worst forms" of work. In his own words food security haunts the families of these child labourers. The food economy and its dynamics, therefore, come in the discourse on child labourers. Food insecurity as an obverse of household vulnerability is a new entrant in the discourse. The author strongly believes that there is a need of supply side intervention as well as demand side action to bring an end to this hazardous occupation of children.

Mishra (2001) has in his study revealed that in a transitional society, the case of child labour is also regarded as an economic practice because of the persistence of tradition-bound occupations and occupational mobility. But this society is also not free from the influence of modern science and technology development existing in the modern world and the use of child labour is also regarded as a social evil. If this society has a democratic form of government, the use of child labour as a social evil gets more currency there. Hence, the practice of child labour exists simultaneously both as an economic practice and as a social evil in a transitional society. The use of child labour, in fact, regarded as a social evil because of the abuse of child labour on a large scale.

Carl em Rosen (2001) in his study has observed that gradual evaluation of child labour is due to class consequences. While writing on existence of child labour in country like India he observes that child labour becomes visible after attaining the civilization. Immediately after the civilization, workers started to acquire skills in their respective professions and gradually it led to the formation of caste system in India. This caste system is responsible for the creation of haves and have nots among the people (rich and poor). Due to this, a new working force has emerged not only in India but also in the world in general, that is, the child labourers.

Jyotirmoyee Kar (2002) has proved that supply and demand concepts have been interrelated with the issue. She had approached the child work participation as of two types of conditional factors: one related to supply and the other to demand. Poverty and illiteracy, the two vital aspects of low development, have been identified as the prime factors influencing supply of child labour, while sector specific labour productivity is seen to be a strong determinant of its demand. It has been observed on the basis of macro-level data related to India that children's work participation can be reduced by uplifting the economic position of the family. Increased employment in the secondary, tertiary and service sectors, where labour productivity is higher, will prove fruitful in curtailing children's work participation, whereas an increased proportion of

marginal workers and those employed in the primary sector is seen to have an opposite effect.

Analysing the effects of the caste system in India in the context of child labour, Carre Oliver (2001) adds that the compartmentalisation of groups of people on the basis of a caste hierarchy with a well-defined traditional occupational role for each of the caste group has resulted in social inequalities. The upper class took more advantages of education, urbanisation, and industialisation. Among the lower caste groups, because of their economic dependency upon the upper caste groups, child labour is more prevalent among the weaker sections of the society.

Barnett and Richard (2001) have expressed their opinion on the psychological stress at family level of children. He says that poverty and income loss affect the socio- emotional climate of the home, which in turn influences children's psychological well being and behaviour. Studies of poor families and families that experienced large reductions in income indicate that the effects on children are mediated primarily by parents' psychological distress. Policy researchers not only debate how much good might come from raising poor families' income, some argue that welfare income has harmful affects also.

A primary field survey conducted by Darmesh (2001) in North Karnataka found that schooling and work are each encouraged in those households with several children, elder siblings encouraging the younger ones in school work and the greater the number of siblings, the greater the work intensity of each child. Educated adult members in a family improve the schooling rate and bring down the idleness rate. Schooling rates vary directly with caste hierarchy and he found it higher among the Hindus than among the rest of the religion.

Kotari (2000) writes the child labour issue is a complex one. A lot of visible and invisible factors have been associated with the problem. He says local cultural norms regarding child labour play a vital role in framing the policies. Researches should concentrate on local economic situation of the people, geography and gradual changing of society, and loosening of bonds among the family members. So researchers should try to get culturally and geographically specific data.

Thus, the studies tried to show that how the structural conditions like poverty, illiteracy, gender and caste wise discrimination increase the child labour problem in India.

III. The Nature of Child Labour

S K Tripathy (1989) has made a study in Bhubaneswar city, Orissa on child labour to detect its problem and to suggest remedy. An unpublished but complete study conducted by the Labour Director, Orissa, Bhubaneswar (1990) on the socio-economic conditions of child labour in Orissa has estimated the strength of child labour as 5.15 lakhs, including agrarian sector in the state. It has brought out that 45,200 child labourers were engaged in bidi rolling of whom 32,764 were girls in four blocks of the state. It also highlighted the miserable conditions of the child labour in the state, working for long hours with low wages and unpaid weekly most.

Neera Burra (1997) tried to focus on the plight of child labour in various hazardous industries in India, namely, glass industry, lock industry of Aligarh, gem industry of Jaipur, pottery industry of Khujra, brass ware industry. In her work she also discussed about the condition of female child labour and child in traditional crafts. She is of the view that child labour in India is rampant and state policies to protect children are poorly conceived and badly enforced.

Patil (1988) studied employment of boys and girls below 15 years who are forced to pick up jobs mostly in unorganised sector wherein they face problems like long hours of work, work in hazardous employment, low wages, work in unhealthy environment etc. His work has dealt with employment, working conditions, and wage rates of working children in Bangalore city and has suggested model legislation along with rehabilitation programmes.

Alakh N Sharma, Rajeev Sharma and Nikil Raj (2004) have surveyed the conditions of child labour in carpet industry in India. However, this survey originally commissioned by the ILO and taken up the institution for Human Development in New Delhi reveals that consumers may still have something to be concerned about. Thirty five villages were selected in the core and other areas of handmade carpet production in four Indian states. A comparison was made between areas that did not include labeling initiatives, and those that did. The four labeling initiatives investigated were Rugmark, Kaleen, Care and Fair and STEP. Discussions with a variety of people involved in the carpet trade (importers, exporters, inspectors, school teachers etc.) and focus groups with parents and weavers were carried out. A survey team conducted a structured loom survey. They visited work sites in each village selected and inspected looms, working conditions etc. Although the impact of the four labeling initiatives has created the right environment to tackle the issue of child labour, the success of this initiative is limited for these reasons of inadequate or no monitoring, the movement of child into other regions or occupations and lack of coordination between the labeling agencies, who appear to be in competition. The study

highlighted the concentration of labelling initiatives in single loom work sites, making no allowances for the high number of multiple loom worksites, the lack of funding, monitoring of other programmes by the labelling agencies to combat child labour such as schooling. The study revealed that labelling agencies had a narrow focus on loom only work. The use of child labour in other non-loom activities associated with carpet weaving such as preparation of wool/material and clearing of the work area was overlooked. Parents and employers were more aware of the child labour legislation banning them from employing children under the age of fourteen than the labelling programme at work in their village. On the bright side, a decrease in hired labour was found (although not child labour within the family).

Balwant Singh and Karren Singh (2009) attempt to address the demand side strategies of child labour in the traditional zardosi industry based on a primary survey. The detailed analysis reveals that child workers constitute a critical factor in determining the productivity and profitability due to nature of work in the industry. The principal objectives of their study were to (a) demonstrate the contribution of child labour to output and profitability, (b) compare their output and profitability with that of adult workers to ascertain productivity and (c) ascertain to a lesser extent, whether there are incentive on the part of the employers, not relating to productivity, which influences the employers of child labour. Their study of the zardosi workshops brings out interesting insights into the productivity and profitability of employing child labour and possible explanations for employing child labour from the demand side. The study identifies children's contribution to productivity throughout as well as profits. They understand that there is a need to ensure registration of all units, which will facilitate the enforcement of statutory legal provisions available to the workers, especially in addressing the participation of child labour in the workshops. They also find that profitability is many times higher than the costs and the units would still be viable without the presence of child labour in the work process. This implies that economic viability is not a valid argument for engaging children in these industries. They are of the view that the desire of the parents to engage their children in these activities, especially to 'learn the skill' of zardosi needs to be considered. So, they recommend that there is a need to develop one or two-year training programmes in zardosi, especially for illiterate and dropout children of the age of 14-15 years, as they would be able to benefit from such schemes. The enforcement of minimum wages and legislative provision related to working conditions employment security, etc. all need to be considered. Therefore, this study would be an attempt in the direction of complete abolition of child workers.

B N Mishra and P K Mishra (1993) have studied the problem of child labour in Cuttack city of Orissa. The objectives of the study were to survey

social, psychological and economic conditions of child labour in the Cuttack city; to study the different types of jobs they are doing, to observe the working conditions and the extent of exploitation by the employers. The study reveals that practice of child labour is rampant in the city, mostly in the unregulated industries or workshops and other unorganised sector works, rickshaw pulling, construction work etc. They have to work hard with considerably low wages. They have suggested that those who employ child labour should be dealt with firmly and punished. Change in education system and cooperation from employers and parents are very much essential for solving the problem.

K Kanakaiah, A Vinayak Reddy and K Venkat Narayana (1993) have examined child labour problem in informal sector by undertaking a study of tea stall workers in Karimnagar town in Andhra Pradesh. They have clearly brought to light that these children are subjected to long hours of work, have to bear the brunt of both customers and tea-stall owners, and have to work on pittance and for repaying old debts taken by parents. The most of the child labourers have not got any medical aid. The educational needs of the child workers in the tea stalls are totally neglected. Most of them belong to migrant children and they are mostly uncared. They are of the view that protection by law alone does not help the situation. Unless poverty is eradicated, any increase in expenditure towards primary education and enactment of any number of acts remains to be illusory.

Nadeem Mohsin (1993) has discussed in detail the different types of risks to which these unfortunate children are exposed such as tin, glass, bangle, fireworks, stone-work, match sticks industry and other hazardous works. They have to suffer badly on account of excessive heat, dust, unhealthy and cramped working environment and affected with many deadly diseases. He fervently appeals for undertaking suitable strategy for combating different kinds of risks and provide them human working conditions to save the unfortunate tender hands from physical disability and handicap.

Studies conducted by Tiwari (1997) Bhatti (1996), Bhangoo (1990), Mustafa and Sharma (1990), Vasudeva (1989) and Premi (1987) have touched the different aspects relating to workers of child labour in different industries and hazardous occupations and steps taken by them to reduce or eliminate child labour. But none of the study seems to have touched the areas like working of child labour in urban informal sector where large number of child labour is migrating in search of jobs in different types of occupations. Most of the child labour remains unreported and unnoticed to policymakers.

G P Mishra and D M Diwakar (1996) were asked by the Planning Commission to conduct a study on child labour in the glass industry of Ferozabad. The purpose of the interview with the child workers was to

understand their vision about the world around, and with the heads of the households was to comprehend the situations in which they preferred the employment of their children for paid wages to their schooling. They said that around 2.5 lakh workers are engaged in the glass industry at Ferozabad, where all kinds of glass products are manufactured. They have also analysed the role of employers and government agencies, the nature of employments and the labour relations, working conditions of child labour. They have said that bangles are manufactured at 1200^0C temperature, which is very dangerous. Accordingly to them, for working in these hazardous industries the child workers are decimated, became aged and crippled even before they could attain vibrant youthhood and manhood. The poverty-stricken families are compelled to put their children to work for meagre wages in the glass industry. All the official and unofficial agents concerning the employment of child labour have a shameless nexus with the vested interests, and so the children continue to work in pitiable conditions. They have the view that such a dual system of production and the conclusion between the owners and the government officials not only reproduces child labour but also retains it in sustained manner.

Sukhpal Singh (2008) examines eradicate the nature and extent of practice of child labour and gender dimension of labour used in hybrid cotton seed farming in the state of Gujarat. His motive is to find out the process of seed production and labour conditions, and then goes on to explore the labour supply and labour use in cotton seed production under contract. It is found that contract farm production is primarily carried out by female labour, and increasingly by young girls. There has been a variety of corporate responses to the problem of child labour, ranging from withdrawing operations from the affected counties, abruptly dismissing child workers, which severely affects people's lives, abandoning the factory based mode of production in favour of contracting work to home-based producers, to adopting a code of conduct for child labour, and, finally, acknowledging child labour as a problem and working to eliminate its practice. But Singh finds that in seed production in India, companies have, by and large, avoided taking responsibility for child labour and gender issues. He believes that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and governmental agencies need to monitor working conditions and wage rates in contract farming situations in order to prevent long hours of work, temporary employment, exposure to hazardous pesticides and below minimum wages. The employer should make provision for child care such as setting up of crèches and, both NGOs and the government should provide educational level of these children improves; they will be able to get out of these fields and escape poverty and exploitation. The literacy of both girls and women seems to have a bearing on the incidence of female child labour. According to Singh, the organisation of labour is another important measure to prevent or eliminate

some of the ills of the contract forms of system. Agencies like the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) could promote better labour standards and codes of conduct among agribusiness firms and farmers.

Kanbargi and Kulkarni (1991) have explained the interaction between child work, schooling and fertility in rural Karnataka. The study shows the nature and extent of work that children in rural Karnataka perform. The authors of the study have suggested that a policy which would provide better water and fuel facilities for village, clean and ready-to-cook food grains and arranging community tending of animals would make for a significant reduction in child labour because most of the children of younger ages are engaged in these activities. At the same time, making schooling in rural areas a more attractive proposition to rural families is also stressed by the authors.

Gopal Bhargava (2003) has an opinion that children are also engaged in traditional craftworks of the family. The intricate rules governing the existing market for the craft works produced by the children also makes possible exploitation and abuses. In case of family production there will be no wage or other kind of benefits to the children as they are parts of the economic activities of their family. Such kinds of labour force are found in almost all kinds of traditional societies engaged in forming arts and crafts.

In brief, the study discussed above reveal that though in India employment of child labour is banned, but the children are found working in all kinds of economic sectors, even in hazardous industries too.

IV. The Impact of Child Labour

Bhagwan Prasad Singh and Shukla Mohanty (1993) have presented the political economy of the child labourers and view the problem as the product of exploitative socio-economic structure and polity and regarded exploitative capitalist order responsible for perpetuation and aggravation of the problem. They have analysed how the practice harms the physical and intellectual growth of the child and how the low productivity and efficiency of child labour ultimately undermines the growth of the economy. According to them, policy and programmes designed for eradicating the problem of child labour have proved inadequate. So, the authors suggested some action plan like prohibition of children in hazardous work/occupation, rehabilitation of children removed from prohibited occupations and strengthening of income and employment generating schemes and programmes. They realised that there is no touch and vanish type of solution of the problem. An action plan has to be designed keeping in view short term and long term perspective. According to them, abolition of child labour

required effort (a) not only on legislation but proper enforcement, (b) the reducing of poverty and (c) provision of universal compulsory education. Parental and social awareness assumes utmost importance for combating this problem. Finally, there is an urgent need for attitudinal change, social awareness and aggressive campaign against the scourge of child labour.

S Jameel and A Kazmi (2002) conducted a study on child labour in four out of 32 districts of Rajasthan. According to them, the worst aspect of this situation is that nobody, least of all parents of children, are worried about their children's future. They are of the view that employment of child labour is a universal phenomenon – millions of children are made to sacrifice their health and tender emotions through forced work in hazardous industries and occupations. Trade unions are not playing useful role in prevention and elimination of child labour because child labour is found mostly in unorganised sector only. Hence, their attitude requires adequate change. NGOs can be more effective in the areas like advocacy, organising work, implementing small local projects etc. Government and NGOs should function within the framework of partnership. Only in this way, their working may bring some good results in combating child labour. Besides these, they also suggest some remedial measures also such as the education should be legally compulsory for all. Establishment of attractive educational institution is necessary so that every child is in a position to have easy access to these institutions. Education upto 14 years without any discrimination based on sex and caste should be given free of cost. Social security programmes of aid to families with dependent children to suitably compensate parents for the loss they suffer because of withdrawal of their children from work should be started. There is an imperative need to integrate all child labour laws together and create a comprehensive child labour code of India so that the dream of eradication of child labour is accomplished on uniform basis throughout the length and breadth of our country. Child labour elimination requires cooperation from parents, children, private agencies, voluntary agencies, industrialists, administrations, etc. All our efforts should be made to attack the problem of poverty from all sides by sincerely implementing all developmental programmes. The provision of family planning must be implemented strictly so that earning of adult wage earners would suffice for the needs of the family. Special attention must be given to the girls, considering more incidence of dropouts among girls. They suggest that the government should work in cooperation with the NGOs to eliminate child labour.

Umesh Chandra Agarwal (2006) has tried to point out the impact of the child labour in India. According to him, child labour should be regarded as the burden to the economy of a country. It is totally a curse for the children of the developing country like India. Government should handle the employers of the child labourers very strictly as implementation of the rules to eliminate the child

labour is much more important than amending new rules. The government should take proper step for the rehabilitation and educating these disadvantaged children for eliminating the child labour from India. Then, if the citizens oppose to buy the goods made by children or to take advantage from the child workers, it will be easier for a country to abolish the problem of child labour forever.

Brajesh Kumar Tiwari (2006) presenting the impacts of child labour informs that 20-25% of total child labour in the world alone are working in India. He says that where UN considers the children below 18 years as child labour, the Indian constitution has considered children from 5-14 age as child labour. He also analyses different laws prohibiting the child labour in India. To eliminate child labour problem, the government should provide employment opportunities to the parents of the child labour. Social organisations must spread the consciousness against child labour. Free education system should be adopted by the government. Law prohibiting the child labour should be strictly followed. He concludes by saying that if people become conscious, then only the evil effects of child labour can be abolished.

Rajesh Jain (2006) informs that children are bound to leave their studies and take the big responsibility on their tiny shoulders. Though child labour is prohibited, children are firmly found even in hazardous industries. Poverty is the major reason for the uprising problem of child labour. She suggested some remedial measures to eliminate child labour from India such as (a) government should provide better employment opportunity for the adults, (b) government should provide the minimum working, health and education facilities, (c) the family of child labour has to be benefited by the developmental programmes, (d) Reservation should be provided for the child labour in unorganised sector, (e) government or the NGOs should provide minimum requirements for the child labourers like food, cloth and shelter, (f) the persons who disobey the law prohibiting child labour should be severely punished, (g) media like television and newspapers should a wage against child labour problem.

Srikantan *et al* (1978) have studied child work participation in the integrated development of a command area. Their investigation shows that among the younger generation males, aged 5 to 19 years, the percentage of literates as much higher for dependents than earners in the three study groups used. This suggests that early work participation perhaps prevents (regular) attendance at school and leads to more illiteracy. Similar differences were observed for girls. Again, compared to the older generation, the younger generation had less literacy among earners and more literacy among dependents. This indicates the competition between work participation and schooling and, so, dependents youths are more literate than adults of the same sex, whereas among earners the contrary is true. The relationship between education and work

participation of children is similar. These differentials tend to confirm the competing demands made on children by work participation and schooling on both, boys and girls, especially in the poorer families.

Sarif (1991), in a study of four clusters of four villages in Karnataka, has examined child labour and child schooling relations. He shows that children start working from a very young age and that caste membership has a significant impact on child schooling. Children among scheduled castes have the lowest school attendance rate as compared to children of any other castes in the village. Based on his observations, Sharif argues that with increasing contraception in the rural areas, fertility has started declining and in the absence of labour-saving agricultural technology, fewer children would have to bear the greater burden of household and other work. This may lead to a decline in school enrolments and literacy levels in the coming years.

Sudhir Kumar (1993) has stressed the desirability of imparting education and has shown how lack of education harms proper growth of child. According to him, it is ironic that preponderance of women in home industries in the unorganised sector ensures the continuance of child labour because children, even from an early age, learn to help their mothers. The high incidence of child labour has repercussions on preschool education. He points out that child's access to education and his success at school depend on certain biological and psychological factors. In this respect, it cannot be said too often that the hunger and malnutrition rife in certain regions of the world can do irreversible harm to the child's developing brain and thus jeopardise his chance of benefiting from the education which is offered to him. His study covers fourteen major states of India; viz., Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharastra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. With correlation analysis, he has proved that the proportion of child labour is the least in Kerala where literacy rate is the highest; Andhra Pradesh has low literacy, but the highest proportion of child labour in India. To check the problem of child labour, he suggests that, the fertility check has to be assured through adoption of family planning and proper medical facilities better and adequate schooling facilities have to be provided to ensure and compulsory education to all children up to at least 14 years of age and employment opportunities have to be generated to make sure that essential necessities of the people are fulfilled.

B B Mandal (1990) in his study on the children in the state of Bihar focused on the underdevelopment of children in rural India and action programmes for child development. In this book the problem of child labour has been also discussed. He tries to show the miserable condition of the children not only at the state level but also at micro level of a village and a district. According

to him, these destitute children are caught in the vicious circle of poverty, ignorance and illiteracy. The book also critically analyses the condition of the children and the institution in which they are working. He has suggested some remedies for eliminating child labour.

Arjun Shiva Kumar (2002) discussed the developmental prospects of child and different laws that prohibit the child labour, especially in Indian context. The author has discussed the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986, the Children (Pledging of Labour) Act (Govt. of India, 1933), the Employment of Children Act (Govt. of India, 1938), Factories Act (Govt. of India, 1948), Minimum Wages Act (Govt. of India, 1948), the Plantation Labour Act (Govt. of India, 1951), the Mines Act (Govt. of India, 1952), the Merchant Shipping Act, 1958, the Motor Transport Workers Act, 1961, the Apprentices Act 1961, the Atomic Energy Act, 1962, the Beedi and Cigarette Workers (Conditions of Employment) Act 1966 and State Shops and Establishment Acts. According to him, besides these acts, the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act 1970 and Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976 have considerably affected child labour in India. He realises that child labour legislations should be organised and unified as well as extended to occupation in the organised sector. The legislation should clearly make distinction between hazardous and non-hazardous occupations for the children. R B S Verma (1993) has examined different provisions contained in different acts for safeguarding the interests of child labour and protecting them from risks and hazards. According to him, despite several legislative enactments, India has the largest child work force in the world and they are subjected to different kind of activities unsuited to their health and well-being. He feels an urgent need for strong enforcement machinery and well-organised and unified child labour legislation and their extension to occupation in the unorganised sector also.

K R Pichholiya and B L Tripathi (1993) have suggested an action programme for the state of Gujarat. They advocate payment of compensation to the poor families in order to motivate them to send their children to school and to prevent child labour employment. The action plan will cost Rs. 93 crores per annum which is quite a reasonable sum for this noble cause and according to them it would be an improvement over the mid-day meal programme of the state. Sarajit Kumar Chatterji (1996) in his paper has talked about various Acts in India prohibiting the child labour force, with special reference to the Article 24 of the Constitution which prohibits the employment of children in factories etc. Children are exploited by adults either in workplace, through low wages and long hours, or outside by unscrupulous elements seeking to gain by forcing them into undesirable occupations. It is to be noted that the prohibition imposed by this Article is absolute and does not admit of any exception for the employment of a child in a factory or mine or in any hazardous employment, e.g., in a railway or a

port or a construction industry. It has been held that right of a child is enforceable even in the absence of implementing legislation and in a public interest proceedings. Article 24 however, does not prohibit, in general, employment of children outside the above three categories in any innocent or harmless job which is not hazardous. What is secured by Article 24 is the health and safety of the child. According to him, economic need is the main cause of child labour. Most of them come from poverty stricken families who take up any available employment irrespective of caste affiliations or skills. Apart from cheapness of the child labour, the amenability of children to discipline and their easy acceptance of deprivation make them easier to control. They are forced to live in servitude. They are found in various hazardous professions like carpet industry, glass factories, stone quarries and brick kilns. The author concludes his paper by saying that even if the total abolition of child labour is not possible it must be conceded that the legislation lack teeth and have been honoured more in the breach than in observance.

S Vijaya Kumar (2005) has highlighted the major issues related to child labour while examining the existing child labour scenario and the role of social patterns in addressing the problem. He states that about half of all children, 5 to 14 years (approximately 105 millions) are not enrolled in schools, yet, they do not appear in the official child labour force statistics. These children are called "nowhere children". As high correlation that nowhere children have with child labour, many analysts and relief workers believe that the figure 44 to 55 million working children is a more accurate. In 2000, the Chamber of Commerce and Industries (CCI) estimated child labour in the organised, unorganised and household sectors to be over 200 millions. He suggests some plans to eliminate child labour like (i) empowering the poor, particularly women in rural areas, (ii) ensuring food security to the poor, (iii) addressing social exclusions, (iv) improving education facilities and their accessibility, (v) sensitising society, (vi) concentrating on functional literacy with vocational skills, (vii) accountability among the government machinery, (viii) increasing corporate social responsibility (ix) strengthening legislations and (x) motivating media. He says that by implementing these action plans, a society may be freed from the evil of child labour.

Encyclopaedia of Social Change, Vol. V (Social Welfare for Social Change) (1996) focuses on the world wide efforts taken for the protection of child labour. Its 22nd chapter on "Globalisation of the Protection of Child Labours" (pp. 367-76) deals with efforts for global action, the contribution of ILO and Labour Conventions on the Rights of the Child 1989, World Declaration on the Survival Protection and Development of Children, Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, June, 1993. These are some worldwide actions taken for abolishing child labour and establishing child welfare. This chapter also refers to

Indian enactments regarding child labour, most of which in India is bonded child labour.

Suresh Chander (2004) nicely describes how the problem of child labour weakens social system. The problem of child labour has been an international one since long. It is the declaration of 1979 as International Year of the Child by the United Nations, which has exposed the magnitude of the problem in its varied dimensions. The problem of child labour emerges out of the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the Indian economy. Because of economic necessity and social conditions, children are forced to work. They work under conditions detrimental to their health, welfare and development. In India, to engage a child below the age of 14 years is a crime according to the existing legislative enactment of the country. But unfortunately, the practice of employing children below the age of 14 years has been in vogue and is observed to be highly prevalent, mainly in urban areas. These children are engaged by manufacturing establishment, shopkeepers and eating houses, contractors etc., although education is free at the primary level in the country. These children are deprived of the opportunity of receiving formal education at the school level.Child labour in informal sector is the focus of this book. This book is the doctoral thesis based on empirical study of Aligarh City of Western Uttar Pradesh. It examines the key aspects of the child labour in informal sector. It focuses especially on aspects of socio-economic characteristic of child labour, factors responsible for encouraging child labour, migratory characters of child labour and role of child labour in maintaining family status in society. An attempt has been made to examine various dimensions of the problem of child labour in informal sector from sociological angle. There are ten chapters in the book. Chapter 1 introduces the approaches to the problem of child labour and attempted their critical appraisal which in turn, provides the base for the need for a new approach. Chapter 2 deals with various definitions of child labour, where he offers a critical review of the studies made so far in India and highlights working characteristics about the child labour. Chapter 3 'Magnitude of Child Labour in India' and Chapter 4 'Child Labour in Some Informal Sectors', deal with magnitude of child labour at macro level and child labour in some informal sectors including lock industry in Aligarh, bangle industry in Ferozabad, gem polishing in Jaipur, state industry of Mokanpur, match industry of Sivkasi, etc. Chapter 5 'Issues and Problems of Informal Sector' highlights issues and problems related to informal sector, which includes concept of informal sector and concept of child labour. Chapter 6 'Profile of Uttar Pradesh and Aligarh District and Sampled Area' describes profile of Uttar Pradesh and its study area. Geographically, Uttar Pradesh is divided into three regions. It has more than one sixth of the total population of the country. Uttar Pradesh is predominantly an agricultural state with little more than 80 percent of the

population living in rural areas. Industrially, it is not a well developed state of the country. Chapter 7 'Dynamics of Child Labour in Informal Sector – Micro Analysis' and Chapter 8 'An Empirical Analysis of Child Labour' deals with dynamics of Child labouring informal sector based on micro empirical analysis. Chapter 9 'Government and Child Labour' describes government's role to eliminate problems of child labour and Chapter 10 'Summary and Conclusions' describes summary, conclusions and suggestions offered by him. He suggested the following measures to eliminate the problem of child labour:

1. The government has to take concrete steps to strictly prohibit the employment of children in the occupations which have been banned under Child Labour Act.
2. The government has to suitably amend the law, if need be, so that firm action could be taken against the employers who engage child labour under the prohibited category of works.
3. The government must activate the law enforcement machinery to see that all the legislative measures aimed at the welfare of the child labour are fully implemented in occupations, where employment of children is permitted.
4. Efforts should also be undertaken by the voluntary organisations to involve the local public and parents/guardians of child labour, so that they become aware of the efforts made by the government for the upliftment of child labour and
5. Free and compulsory education should be given a top priority as the only instrument for checking evil of child labour.
6. Besides, the government should also provide financial assistance in the form of grants-in-aids to the voluntary organisations for imparting non-formal education, health care, nutrition and vocational training to the child labour.

This book has made a substantial contribution to the understanding of the problem of child labour engaged in informal sector in India with the help of the case study method. It is argued that poverty and illiteracy in a family leads to child labour. The perception and experience of child labourers themselves and attitudes of their employers towards the problem of child labour have also been examined intensively in this book. Had the sample of the study been large, the problem of child labour could have been rather clear and more understandable. However, this book is quite informative, interesting and useful for those who are working in the field of child labour and policy making.

Mamta Rajawat (2004) tries to focus on the real scenario of child labour in India. She analyses the conditions of child labour in the post independence context. Her work is greatly concentrated on the various detailed definitions of 'child' under various laws. The author rightly points out on the matter that there are a number of gaps and omissions, conceptual, definitional and operational in the existing laws which continue to be exploited to the disadvantage of working

children and advantage of unscrupulous elements in industry and commerce. Her work also suggests some remedial measures for eliminating child labour from India.

Thus, the studies tried to analyse the impact of child labour in society as well as on children and suggested some remedial measures to eliminate child from the society.

To sum up, it can be said that the problem of child labour is prevalent in poverty stricken societies and in developing country like India it has become one of the major socio-economic challenges. The existence of child labour in any society shows the vicious circle of poverty and unemployment. The growth and development of any society/state/country is evaluated by the life style of people, where all the citizens enjoy all the basic necessities of life like food, shelter, clothing, education, health care, access to recreational activities etc. The studies which are discussed in this chapter clearly give an idea that socio-economic disparities, discrimination towards gender and castes are the prime causes of child labour in India. Therefore it is a crucial issue that needs not just the attention but the implementation of the child labour prohibition Act and humane treatment to all people of all sections of the society without making any discrimination based on caste, creed, sect and sex. Thus this neglected segment of the society may enjoy the basic human rights. Child Labour can be eliminated by implementing long term policies for poverty alleviation and adult employment.