

## CHAPTER VI

### INDIAN COUNCIL FOR CHILD WELFARE: A CASE STUDY

#### Section 1: The organisation

##### **History of ICCW:**

The Indian Council for Child Welfare (ICCW), Tamil Nadu was started in 1953 as a voluntary organisation registered under the Societies Registration Act. In Tamil Nadu, the ICCW covers five to six districts under its various programmes. During the initial period of its work, the ICCW had a focus on welfare programmes. However, since 1986, the focus has shifted to children's rights. It revised its constitution accordingly from 'welfare of children' to protection of the rights of the child. The ICCW now aims to involve the family and the community in this task of furthering the rights of the child.

The major objectives of the Council are:

1. To ensure for children their basic human rights to survival, physical, mental and social development and opportunities to grow to their full potential;
2. To work for the protection of children against neglect, abuse and exploitation;
3. To initiate, support or undertake any activity for the betterment of families and communities which will ultimately enhance the quality of life for children;
4. To initiate, undertake or aid directly or through its District Councils, or Institutional Members, Schemes for the furtherance of Child Welfare and Development in Tamil Nadu;
5. To promote dissemination of knowledge and information and to educate public opinion for Child Welfare/Development programmes on a scientific basis; and

6. To promote enactment of legislations and reforms in existing laws, relating to matters concerning children and their welfare and to work towards the implementation of its provisions.

The Council has several programmes for children namely, the mother and child welfare project at Usilampatti which aims at bringing down the incidence of female infanticide; project for street and working children at Madras city; Day care centres to help pre-school age children of working mothers of low socio-economic groups; sponsorships for children from economically weaker sections; counseling and guidance services for handicapped children; adoption; rehabilitation centre for the orthopaedically handicapped children and home for destitute boys. The present study focuses on the projects working towards elimination of child labour. These are the Child Labour Action Project at Srivilliputtur and the Child Labour Relief Project at Vellore.

**Context of work:**

The work of ICCW in Srivilliputtur focuses on the children working in the match industry. Match units are abundant in the Kamarajar district as the dry climate is suitable for the manufacture of match boxes. Young children from ages of 7 to 14 years are preferred for labour intensive processes like frame-filling, dipping and coating in hazardous chemicals, box-filling, box-making, labeling, mixing of chemicals and dyes with hands, packing loading, etc. Due to the scarcity of labour in Sivakasi<sup>1</sup> and rigidity of the licensing procedures match industry owners are forced to move to the peripheral areas so as to avoid transportation of children and to remote areas where there is surplus labour. However, in many cases, work such as packing, pasting and box-making are sub-contracted to families at home. The ICCW concentrates on children engaged in factory-based and home-based match work.

In Vellore, the ICCW works with children working in the beedi industry. The male adult of the household normally rolls the beedis and has a card issued to him which entitle him to various labour benefits. However, the women and the children of the family who also help in the process of beedi manufacture are not looked at as workers and are thus not entitled to receive any benefits. Over 90% of the workers are thus invisible workers as they do not exist in any records. Almost all the production is home based and operated through contractors and sub-contractors. The poor economic conditions of the families drive many families to borrow money from the contractors. In absence of any other asset, children are commonly pledged in return. The amount of money taken on loans is to be paid in lump sum and not in installments and the families are likely to be beaten up if they fail to repay the loan amount. The ICCW focuses on this group of bonded child labour.

#### **Ideology of ICCW:**

The ICCW believes that in a 'welfare' approach there is no element of self reliance and community participation leading to empowerment. Hence it believes that in order to bring in any significant change in the lives of the children, their rights have to be protected and respected. ICCW considers children's rights as part of the broad framework of human rights. In a group discussion conducted with the children in Srivilliputtur by the organisation it was found that the children valued their right to play, right to food and right to adequate rest and sleep to be the most important. Right to education came after these rights in its importance. However, the ICCW believes that the existence of child labour is a violation of children's right to education. It believes that child labour thrives not due to poverty but because of the social acceptance of the phenomenon. It is allowed to perpetuate because of vested interests of the socio-economic and politically strong groups. It also believes that as long as there is an opportunity for the children to work, parents put them to work. This is in

addition to the widespread belief that even after some years of schooling, children have to return to the same work.

**The Child Labour Action Project (CLAP), Srivilliputtur:**

The Child Labour Action Project was started in February 1993 under the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). It was envisaged to eradicate child labour from the match industry in Srivilliputtur since the Sivakasi, Virudanagar and the Sattur blocks were already covered by the National Child Labour Project (NCLP).

The long term objectives of CLAP are:

1. To sensitise various groups of the community through well designed awareness programmes to generate awareness against child labour;
2. To create public opinion against child labour through generating voluntary force by identifying and forming proper intermediate partner groups;
3. To evolve community structure to equip and to reinforce primary education to ensure 100% enrollment and retention to ensure Minimum Level of Literacy (MLL) to the children and change the attitude of parents towards primary education by social mobilisation;
4. To lay pressure on the government and enforcement department for proper implementation of child labour legislation and highlight the irregularities. To focus attention to ensure justice to the children;
5. To bring convergence of services to suggest and provide alternatives for parents of working children by providing minimum resource input to raise their level of income;
6. To disseminate information to the community through folk and traditional media, visual aids and electronic media to focus rights of the children laid by the Convention on the Rights of the Child and to train the community in child development methods; and

7. To provide vocational guidance programme for young and to provide needed skill training for better alternatives.

The immediate objectives of the CLAP are:

1. To provide ameliorative measures such as education, health care, nutrition supplements and recreation to 500 children working in the match industry;
2. To identify school drop-outs and mainstream them by planning suitable programmes to parents and children; and
3. To ensure 100% enrollment of children in school age and 100% retention in primary schools through vigilant supervision.

The CLAP programme covers eight villages namely, Athikulam, Indiranagar, Mamsapuram, Koonampatti, Noorsahipuram, Pattakulam, Vaithiyalingapuram and Vuloorpatty of the Srivilliputtur block covering a population of 40,000 under the 10 centres of the project and benefiting approximately 500 children.

#### **Child Labour Relief Centre (CLRC), Vellore:**

ICCW started its operations at Virudhampet in Katpadi block of North Arcot-Ambedkar district in 1986 with the objective of providing supportive services and relief to child workers. Besides providing direct support services to child labourers, it is also generating mass awareness on the issue.

Initially, ICCW started with providing relief to the working children in certain selected villages. The initial focus was on ameliorating the conditions of working children by providing non-formal education and recreation in the night schools with an intention of restoring at least a part of the children's lost childhood. It was difficult to draw the bonded children to these night schools as they were forced to work for long hours in the

evenings. This was overcome by persuading the parents and the employers to send the children for a couple of hours to the night schools.

In 1991, the ICCW realised two issues: firstly, the kind of supportive services that were provided did not change the conditions of working children largely. Though the programme provided some temporary relief to the working children, the issue of child labour elimination had been left untouched. Secondly, it was realised that the stereotypic welfare programmes<sup>2</sup> were being replicated without moving beyond the immediate reality. Thus it was decided to aim at the elimination of child labour instead of limiting itself to provision of services. Since then, the activities of the project included:

1. intervention through education by enrolling children in regular schools, prevention of school drop-outs, providing extra coaching to children who could not cope with the studies, career development schemes for the children for upward mobility, providing non-formal education for those children who were not in a position to go to schools and mainstreaming them in regular schools;
2. creating social awareness on the issue of child labour through various programmes;
3. redeeming children from bondage;
4. mobilising women's groups in thrift and credit societies;
5. drawing the attention of the government agencies, media and the public to the evils associated with child bondage.

The CLRC runs its centres in the following villages of Vellore: Virudhampet, Kalinjur, TK Puram, Vanjur, Senur, Jabrapet, Kasikuttai, Ajjipura, Karugampathur, Anpoodi, Paraimedu, Keelmanaroor and Chinnaallapuram.

The main emphasis of the Child Labour Relief Centres in the project areas is to provide space and time for the working children to enjoy their

childhood. At present five categories of children are attending these Centres: full-time bonded working children, full-time non-bonded working children, part-time bonded working children, part-time non-bonded working children and children who attend regular schools.

The approach of work and the strategies employed in both the project areas is similar in nature although the projects differ in terms of the environment of work, occupations addressed, funding organisations and the duration of work.

### **Approaches to Work:**

Both the projects stress on the preventive and ameliorative approaches with similar activities. The preventive approach consisted of:

1. Prevention of school drop-outs: The ICCW gets the information from the school teachers about the children who are potential drop-outs from the school. These children are later on helped by the organisation to continue their schooling by providing supportive services such as uniforms, books, notebooks and school bags. Supportive services are mainly extended to single parent families and to families who are in absolute poverty. Under the CLAP at Srivilliputtur, ICCW helped 156 children in 1993-94 and 277 children in 1994-95 so as to prevent them from dropping out of the school.

2. Supervised Home Work Study Centres (SHWSC): Instead of duplicating the work of the Government, the ICCW changed its strategy to extend help to the school going children, to prevent the children from being inducted into the work force, minimising school drop-outs, increasing the school retention and improving the overall system of education. As the children who are enrolled in the schools do not have study facilities and guidance at homes, they are often forced to work at home. Hence, the ICCW started Supervised Home Work Study Centres to provide coaching in studies to the children who are in the regular schools.

Seven SHWSC are working with book bank facilities in Srivilliputtur. The Centres are open from 5 to 9 p.m. and have a staff of one graduate and one non-graduate teacher. The former teaches class 6 to 10 and the latter teaches from Class 3 to 5. The main aim of these centres is to create a study atmosphere everyday for the school going children and providing educational books and guides. The working children attend these centres from 8 to 9 p.m. and undergo non-formal education, while the school going children attend the centre from 5 to 9 p.m. In Vallorpatty village of Srivilliputtur block, five children appeared for the SSLC examination of whom three passed in First Division and two in Second Division.

3. School enrollment: To achieve 100% enrollment of children who have completed 5 or 6 years and to prevent them from joining the workforce, the organisation started a campaign for the enrollment of all the children in that age-group in formal schools. A massive campaign was launched for this purpose by the ICCW. Meetings are held with the mothers of the children from the Balwadis run by Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) and they are motivated to send their children to schools. A majority of the children identified are admitted in primary schools, however in a few cases children are not enrolled due to several reasons such as absence of birth certificate, rigid attitudes of the parents and economic compulsions of the families.

4. Women's groups: Women's groups were formed to organise the women and strengthen their socio-economic conditions and decision making power in the family so that they can manage the economic affairs of the family efficiently and avoid children from being pledged. The members of the women's groups are mainly the mothers of the working children who also attend the evening centres. Each village has 2-3 women's groups. These were started in Vellore because the ICCW realised that the villagers were forced to go to the agents for borrowing money for lack of any other credit facilities. In return, they were forced to pledge the labour of their children. In order to initiate them into the practice of savings, the

women's group was started. The women have group savings with individual passbooks. Every week they are motivated to save Rs. 5 to 10. The women are free to decide the amount of their savings however, they are not allowed to withdraw money from their account. The same money is given to them as loans for an interest rate of 2% which is the income to the society. Each group is restricted to having only 20 members. The Government took over the women's groups as they could not give the pledged amount directly to the families in order to release the children from bondage. Therefore, the Government routed it amount to the women's groups through the DWCRA scheme. The women's group identify the need and the total number of children that are pledged in the village. The government subsequently provides assistance to the group which have to monitor the expenditures. The core group consisting of the Rural Welfare Officer, the Village Head Master and the Village Administrative Officer monitor the utilisation of the funds provided by the government. The women's group registered with the help of ICCW are known as 'Suyanidhi Udhavi Kullu' or Self Help Group. The government has co-opted the women's groups. These groups send the list of the local needs identified to the District Collector. The Rural Welfare Officer is responsible for monitoring the women's group at the village level. The group also avails of various government schemes such as IRDP, DWCRA etc. Recently the Council started a women's group consisting of 30 members in the CLAP, Srivilliputtur. This group has started with saving facilities. Loans are also given to the members at a low interest rate in times of financial crisis.

In addition to this, the CLRC in Vellore has the following activities as part of the preventive approach of work:

1. Preschool education: The ICCW runs 10 pre-school centres for children in the Vellore project area. The main purpose of this is to generate interest in schooling and education among the parents as well as the

children. Each crèche is restricted to 25 children unlike the Government crèches that take in 45 to 50 children.

2. Career Guidance programme: ICCW tries to break the vicious cycle of the children being pledged in the beedi industry by providing them an opportunity for education and career guidance. The main objectives of this programme are to provide proper guidance to build up children's employment career in occupations other than beedi industry and to motivate the children to undertake technical/vocational training courses. This is achieved by holding camps in the villages. As a follow-up of this programme children are also helped in getting placements in various technical and vocational courses.

3. Children's groups: Children's groups have been initiated by the ICCW in Jabrapet and TK Puram villages. These groups include school going children, drop-outs and working children below the age of 14 years. The main activities of the groups consist of generating awareness on child labour and fighting for their rights and their privileges.

The ameliorative approach consisted of:

1. Non-formal education (NFE): The project entered the villages of Srivilliputtur using NFE as an entry point. Ten NFE centres were started with a view to cover 50 children in each centre. The centres function for 2 to 3 hours per day. The NFE centres emphasize on the Minimum Levels of Literacy (MLL) for all children and is conducted through a well designed syllabus. Most of the children are trained with a view to place them in school. The children are divided in two groups based on their level of literacy. For the first category of children, alphabets and numeracy is taught while for the second group, a formal school syllabus is followed which includes maths, sciences and languages. Recreation is also a part of the daily time-table.

2. Mainstreaming: Eligible children are identified, birth certificates are obtained from the notary and placed in schools in following academic year. About 170 children have been withdrawn from work and placed in school by CLAP in Srivilliputtur. After the children are enrolled in schools, efforts are made to retain the children in the schools by providing certain educational support services. Under this scheme, children are assisted with fees, uniforms, text-books, notebooks and school bags. Mainstreamed children also undergo the NFE programme so as to help them to continue their schooling. The children from the NFE classes are prepared to appear for the open school examination.

3. Summer Schools: For extra coaching of the drop-out children who are to be mainstreamed, summer schools are organised. Of the 60 children who were trained in the summer schools, 40 were mainstreamed in 1995 by CLAP in Srivilliputtur.

4. Health check-ups: The ICCW has found that the health problems of working children are unattended, regular screening of the children for any illnesses, such as scabies, leprosy, fluorosis and psychosomatic disorders are conducted. The health check-ups are periodically organised with the help of local health institutions. Cases with acute health problems are referred for treatment at concessional rates. Children with minor ailments are referred to health centers and hospitals. Children are given spectacles and medicines free of cost. Besides this, health education programmes are carried out in all the centres on the various themes.

5. Supplementary Nutrition: As most of the children are under-nourished the organisation provides them with nutrition supplements to partly compensate the loss of nutrition.

6. Release of bonded children: Sixty children have been released from the amount deposited by the women in the revolving fund set up by the women's groups. In an intervention with the collaboration of the District

Collector, the agents agreed to release the bonded children when half of the total debt amount was repaid by the District Collector. However, the children were not released inspite of the payments made to the agents<sup>3</sup>. The method adopted by ICCW to release children who are in bondage has been to raise some funds from various donors to repay the pledge amount to the money-lender/employer. This method was adopted for two reasons: firstly, parents felt it legitimate and obligatory to repay the pledge amount while redeeming the pledged children and secondly, the parents also felt that there was no alternative source of credit in case of emergencies and redeeming children by force would antagonise the employers who would not help them in case of any emergencies in future. Thus, due to lack of any other credit agency, the organisation found it difficult to convince the parents to come out of their dependency on the employers. During bondage, the children receive only one-fourth of the regular wages and the rest is siphoned off by the employer as an implicit rate of interest. Once the children are released and allowed to work in the family as non-bonded worker, the children are able to earn more money which enable their parents to repay the money advances for releasing the children in easy installments. According to the social workers of the organisation, the recovery rate for the total amount advanced is 60%. Most of the children who are released continue to work as full-time workers in the beedi industry. A small percentage of the children are also out back in bondage by their parents in times of emergencies. The researcher was told that almost all the family members of these redeemed children were employed in beedi industry. Within the same families other children were also found to be under bondage.

**Strategies of Work:**

The strategies employed by the Council for work in the two project areas are broadly similar and are follows:

1. Need Identification: Surveys are conducted by the ICCW to understand the needs of the children and the reasons for children not attending school. An informal survey of this nature also helps to identify the number of working children in every village. Frequent personal contacts are also used to enlist the number of child labourers and to persuade the school drop-outs to re-enroll in the school.

2. Generating Awareness: Awareness programmes on the issue of child labour are conducted for the general public with the help of hoardings, wall paintings, posters, pamphlets, placards, and news items. Awareness camps are conducted even for the villagers and village leaders on child labour elimination. District level rallies were also conducted with other NGOs so as to draw the attention of the public to the evils of child labour.

3. Work with parents: Parents meetings are held every alternate month to discuss various issues pertaining to the education of the children. The ICCW has also been motivating the parents through frequent home visits and group meetings to send their children to school instead of employment.

4. Village-Level Committee: The ICCW's strategy does not include working with the employers of the children as it's experience suggests that their credibility in the villages is at stake when the employers are made adversaries. In addition, the children and their families also face hardships in the community as the employer very often has a very stronghold on the social, economic, cultural and political systems of the community. The ICCW would have a problem of sustaining in the villages if they were to go against the interests of the employer. Hence when the ICCW plans an entry in a village, the social workers meet the head of the village as well as the women of the village. The purposes and the activities of the project are explained and co-operation sought. In some villages of the Vellore project area, the ICCW is trying to initiate a Village level Committee consisting of the Panchayat leader, Youth Club

Convenor, President of the Women's group, village head master, balwadi teacher and ICCW child care worker. This committee is responsible for evolving a strategy for the elimination of child labour at the village level. In order to sustain its efforts in Srivilliputtur, the ICCW has taken a Nadar<sup>4</sup> on its District Committee so that adverse reactions from the match industry lobby against the activities of ICCW can be averted.

5. Collaborating with the Government: ICCW realises the limitations of an NGO in handling a task such as elimination of child labour and thus it believe in collaborating with the Government instead of taking an adversarial role. It has also sought collaboration with the Trade Unions as children working in the beedi sector has an impact on adult unemployment.

#### **Staffing:**

Traditionally, the Education Minister, Government of Tamil Nadu is the President of the Council. At each district, a District level Committee is constituted which consists a President, Vice-President, and ex-officio members who are drawn from the given District. The Project Committee is formed for each project. This is an honorary body which has the responsibility of project planning and monitoring. It consists of businessmen, philanthropists, headmasters, match industry owners, etc. The staff at the project consists of Project Officer who is a professional social worker and is directly responsible to the Committee and the State office of the ICCW. He is assisted by Assistant Project Officer in the day to day matters. An accountant looks after the finances of the project. Ten child care workers who are essentially field workers teach at the NFE centres and are also responsible for the health and nutrition programmes, community awareness, school enrollment and retention programmes and women's self help groups. The involvement of youth in identification of the drop-outs is on a voluntary basis. The Vellore project has a staff of two trained social workers, one education officer, one women's co-ordinator

and one cultural co-ordinator. One child care worker was appointed for every centre for ILO project. Each village has a centre and the centres are staffed with one graduate teacher and one non-graduate teacher each. Besides this, there are 10 balwadi teachers and ten helpers in the Balwadis that run in the Katpadi block. In most of the cases the teachers appointed by the ICCW are local villagers who have a rapport with the villagers. They are also able to supervise the progress of each child as they are familiar with the background of the children.

### **Funding:**

Most of the programmes of the Council are aided by grant-in-aid from the Ministries of Welfare, Government of India and Government of Tamil Nadu and the Department of Women and Child Development, Government of India, through the Indian Council for Child Welfare, New Delhi. However, to supplement the funds and grants given by the Government, the Council also receives financial assistance from agencies in India and abroad for supporting some innovative projects. The ICCW's programme in Vellore is supported by the French funding agency namely the Aid et Action for a period of five years. The Child Labour Action Project in Srivilliputtur is funded by the ILO-IPEC project.

### **Section II Profiles of the child beneficiaries:**

The researcher interviewed children from both the Projects run by ICCW at Vellore and Srivilliputtur. The data obtained reveal the following profiles of the children.

#### **Personal Profiles of the Children:**

Age: The average age of the children was 12.1 years. The oldest child interviewed was 15 years while the youngest child was 10 years old.

Sex: One-fourth of the children interviewed were boys whereas three-fourth were girls. This indicates the focus of the Council in dealing with girl child labourers.

Education: As many as 93% of the children had been enrolled in the school whereas only 7% of them had not been to school. The average years of schooling of the children was four and a half years. The children gave multiple reasons for dropping out of the schools: 50% of the children stated poverty as a reason for dropping out of school, 23% had left school as they were pushed into debt bondage, 5% had left school to join work for specific family requirement such as building a house, buying cattle etc., one child each had left school on account of sudden loss of family income and as there was no money for education. Eight percent of the children had left school on account of some illness in the family, another 8% due to the death of the principal bread earner, 15% had left school because their parents were not interested in educating them further while 5% of the children had dropped out as they were weak in studies. Thus, economic factors were primarily responsible for the children dropping out of school. The average number of years for which the children were drop-outs was one and a half years. The data obtained revealed that the proportion of Muslims studying up to primary level was higher (83%) than the Hindus studying till primary level (73%). The proportion of the boys studying up to primary level was also higher (80%) than the girls studying up to primary level (73%). It was also found that all the children who were eldest among their siblings had been enrolled in the schools while only 87.5% of the non-eldest children were enrolled in the school. However, an equal proportion of the eldest and the non-eldest children studied up to primary level.

Religion: As many as 85% of the children were Hindus whereas the remaining 15% were Muslims. It was also found that the beedi work was predominantly done by the Muslim children while the match work was predominantly done by the Hindu children.

Migration status: Among the children studied, only 2.5% of the children were migrants to the Council's project area. They had migrated along with the families due to economic compulsions.

Ordinal position: Forty percent of the children were the eldest children in their families while the remaining 60% were not the eldest children in their families.

### **Family Profiles:**

Family size: The average family size of the respondents was 5.35. Among the children studied, 20% belonged to family size of 2 to 4 members, 63% had 4 to 6 members in their families while 17% belonged to families with more than 6 members.

Family income: The average income of the families was Rs.1785 per month. 5% of the children had a family income of less than Rs.500 per month while over 15% had a family income from Rs.500 to 1000. 50% of the children came from families with an income of Rs. 1000 to 2000, 25% of the children came from families earning Rs.2000 to 3000 and 3% of the children came from families earning from Rs.3000 to 3500 per month.

Parental education: Half of the children studied had their fathers illiterate while 70% of the children had their mothers illiterate. Among the fathers who were literate, 30% had studied up to primary school while 75% had studied up to secondary level. Among the mothers who were literate, 25% had studied up to primary level while 75% of the children's mothers had studied up to secondary level. The mean years of fathers' schooling was three years whereas the mean years of mothers' schooling was two years.

### **Employment Profiles:**

Age at starting work: The average age at which the children had started work was 8.3 years and the average duration of work was 4 years. Among

the children studied, 20% had started working while they were below 6 years old, 28% had started working when they were of 6 to 8 years old, 40% had started working when they were 8 to 10 years old while 10% has began work when they were between 10 to 12 years old. Only one child had joined work at the age of 12 to 14 years. Almost one-fourth (23%) of the children had been working since less than a year, 40% had been working for 2 to 4 years, 15% of the children were working for 4 to 6 years, 18% of the children were working since the past 6 to 8 years and 5% of the children had been working since the past 8 to 10 years.

Reasons for working: The children gave multiple reasons for taking up employment: 48% of the children had taken up work due to acute poverty, 43% of the children were compelled to take up work because they were pledged to the employer and 25% of the children were forced to work by their parents. Specific financial needs such as building a house, purchase of cattle etc. had forced 15% of the children to work while 13% had taken up employment in order to supplement family income. A small percent (2%) of the children started working due to some illness in the family while 13% of the children were working because of the death of the principal bread earner in their families. This indicates that the children had entered employment mainly due to the economic compulsions of the families. As many as 63% of the children stated that if they stopped working, their family would face starvation; 20% of the respondents stated that would face difficulties in meeting family needs and 18% of the children stated that they would be beaten up by their parents if they stopped work.

Indebtedness: Among the children studied, 47% were pledged to the employer while 53% of the children were not indebted to the employer. Multiple reasons were given by children for being pledged. Of the pledged children, 37% stated that they were pledged due to acute poverty at home, 26% were pledged because of illness in the family, 21% were pledged after the death of the principal bread earner and another 21% of the children were pledged to meet specific family requirements such as

building a house, marriage in the family etc. The average amount of loan given was Rs.885 and it ranged between Rs. 650 and Rs. 5000. Among the children who were pledged, 37% of the children had received loans between Rs.500 to 1500, 53% of the children had received loans between Rs. 1500 to 2500 while 10% of the children had received loans of Rs.2500 to 3500. All the children who were indebted were found to be working in the beedi sector.

Change in the occupation/employer: It was found that 95% of the children had not changed their occupation while only 5% had changed their occupation. The children had changed their occupation on the advice of their parents or because they had not liked the work. An equal proportion of children engaged in beedi and match work had changed their occupation. None of the children engaged in the handloom industry had changed their occupation. An equal proportion of girls and boys had changed their occupation. It was also found that none of the Muslims had changed their occupation while all those who had changed were Hindus. An equal proportion of children who were indebted and those who were not had changed their occupation. All the children who were recruited through an agent and all those who had sought employment on their own had not changed their occupation whereas 3% of those recruited through their parents and 25% of those recruited through their neighbours/friends had changed. None of the children belonging to the lowest family income group of Rs. 500 to 1500 had changed their occupation. All those who had changed their occupation had negative feelings towards their employment. One fourth of the children had changed the employer with whom they worked while three-fourth of the children had not changed their employer. Among those who had changed the employer, 60% of the children had changed the employer only once while 40% of the children had changed the employer twice. The reasons for changing the employer were as follows: 60% of the children had changed the employer due to the abusive treatment meted out by the employer while 30% had changed as they had taken loans from other employer. 10% of the children had

changed the employer as they did not get enough wages and 10% of the children had changed as the employer had stopped employing them. The data revealed that none of the children with the highest family income of Rs.2500 to 3500 had changed their employer. The proportion of those changing their employer was higher among children who were indebted (42%) than among those who were not indebted (10%). None of the children who were recruited changed their employer, while the proportion of changing the employer was highest among the children who had sought employment on their own. Among the children who had changed the employer 80% of the children were engaged in beedi work while 20% of the children were engaged in match and textile work.

Nature of work done: Half of the children studied were working in various processes of beedi making, 45% were engaged in match industry and 5% in handloom industry. Among the children engaged in beedi work, 21% of the children were engaged in all the processes of beedi manufacture, 4% were engaged only in sizing the beedi leaves, 35% were only engaged in rolling the beedis, and 39% were engaged in closing the tips of the beedis. Among the children engaged in the match industry, 80% of the children were engaged in filling the frames with the match sticks while 12% of the children were engaged in packing the match boxes. All the children engaged in the handloom industry were boys. An equal proportion of girls were engaged in beedi work and match work whereas the proportion of boys engaged in beedi work is higher (50%) than those engaged in beedi work (30%). The proportion of children working at home was higher in beedi work (67%) than in match work (33%). The proportion of those working outside their homes was highest in the match industry (52%) followed by beedi industry (40%) and textile industry (8%). The proportion of Hindus working in the match industry (50%) was higher than those in the beedi industry (44%), whereas the proportion of Muslims working in the beedi industry was higher (83%) than in the match industry (17%). The data also indicates that all the children who began work at an age of 5 to 7 years were engaged in beedi work while the proportion of

children who had began work between 11 to 13 years were engaged in match industry. The proportion of children who started work at 7 to 9 years was higher in the beedi industry (81%) than in the match industry (19%) while the proportion of children who began work between 9 to 11 years was higher among those who were engaged in the match industry (69%) than those engaged in beedi industry (19%). Thus the age at which children began work was lower among those engaged in beedi industry than those in match industry. All the children who were never enrolled in schools worked in the beedi sector. The proportion of children who had studied till primary level was higher among those engaged in beedi work (56%) than those among match work (44%). However, the proportion of children who had studied till Class 9 was higher among children engaged in match work (52%) than among those engaged in beedi work (38%). This indicates that the level of education among children engaged in the beedi work is poorer than among children engaged in match work. Even, with respect to the family income, the data reveals that the proportion of children with a family income of the lowest Rs. 500 to 1500 per month was higher among children engaged in beedi work (55%) than among those engaged in match work (36%). Following this, the proportion of children in family income of Rs.2500 to 3500 was higher among children engaged in match work (75%) than among those engaged in beedi work (12.5%). Thus the family income level of children engaged in beedi work is lower than that of children engaged in match work.

Mode of recruitment: Only 5% of the children were recruited through the agents/middlemen, 10% of the children were recruited through neighbours and another 10% of the children had sought employment on their own. However, 75% of the children were recruited through the contacts of their parents/family members.

Attitudes towards employment: A majority of 95% of the children studied had negative attitudes towards their status as working children while only 5% of the children had mixed feelings towards their employment. None of

the children liked being a working child. An almost equal proportion of children engaged in beedi work (95%) and match work (94%) felt negatively towards their employment. All the children engaged in textiles had negative attitudes towards their employment. All the children who had begun work before 9 years of age felt negatively about being employed. The proportion of boys experiencing mixed feelings towards employment was higher (10%) than that experienced by the girls (3%). All the children who had not been enrolled in the school and those who had studied above the primary level felt negative about being employed.

Training received: A majority (70%) of the children studied had received some kind of training while 30% had not received any training. Among those who had received the training, 32% of the children had got it from their parents/family members, 18% from the adult co-workers while 50% were trained by their employer. Almost all those children who were trained spent less than one year on training and the average duration was 2 months. The data revealed that 75% of the children engaged in beedi work received training of some kind, whereas only 61% of the children engaged in match work received some kind of training.

Odd jobs undertaken: Besides the tasks for which they are employed, 33% of the children had to do other odd jobs for the employer. Children were engaged in multiple jobs by the employer. A majority of 77% of the children had to run errands for the employer, 15% of the children had to do domestic work for the employer, another 15% of the children had to clean the workplace and 38% had to do personal work for the employer such as pressing feet, etc.

**Services received from the ICCW:**

The average duration of being a beneficiary was 19 months. About one-third (38%) of the children had been beneficiaries since one year, 55%

were beneficiaries since the past two years while 8% were beneficiaries for the past three years.

Among the children studied, 63% were receiving NFE services from the Council, 60% were receiving educational supportive services, 48% were mainstreamed in regular schools by the Council and 25% were released from bondage by the organisation. One third (33%) of the children stated that they received recreational facilities from the Council, 30% stated of receiving supplementary nutrition, 10% were provided family support and 5% were partially released from bondage through repayment of the partial loan amount. As many as 60% of the children wanted the Council to support their education, 10% wanted the Council to release them from bondage, 5% wanted loans from the ICCW for various family requirements and another 5% wanted the Council to arrange more recreational programmes.

All the children stated that they have been receiving education through NFE classes or regular schools as a result of the Council's intervention. About 15% of the children stated that they were released from bondage due to the ICCW's intervention, and another 15% stated that their employer had stopped abusing them. Ten percent of the children mentioned that they now received meals in the evenings while one child stated that she now had a chance to develop her personality. As many as 70% of the children stated that they now had an opportunity to enjoy their childhood at least for some time during the day. Over one-third (38%) of the children however mentioned that they were pressurised as they had to manage education as well as work and another 38% stated that they still had to meet the same targets at their workplace. Fifteen percent of the children stated that they were still being kept under bondage by their employer.

The children provided multiple responses when questioned about their future plans. Among the children studied, 45% wanted to study further,

15% saw themselves working in the same occupation as the present while 68% wanted to work in different occupations than the present one.

### **Section III Impact of the ICCW intervention on children:**

#### **Present status of the children:**

The present status of children can be presented in the following table:

Table 5. ICCW - Distribution of children according to their present status

Present Status of the Child	No. of Children	% of Total
Formal school only	2	5
Formal school and work	12	30
Formal school and household work	7	17.5
Formal school and bonded child	1	2.5
Work and NFE	12	30
Bonded child and NFE	6	15
Total	40	100

Among the children studied, 30% are presently undergoing full-time education in formal school in addition to being engaged as part-time workers after school hours. Another 30% of the children are engaged in full-time employment but attend NFE classes at the evening centres. Fifteen percent of the children are presently engaged as bonded labourers on a full-time basis while attending the evening classes run by the ICCW, 5% go to the formal school without engaging in any kind of employment and 2.5% are presently in bondage but attend the formal school on a full-time basis after which they re engaged in pledged labour. Among all the children 17.5% are engaged in formal school and also undertake domestic work after school hours.

Among the children who are working at home, 40% of the children are presently undergoing non-formal education, while only 24% of those

working outside were presently undergoing non-formal education. All those children who are presently in the formal schools worked outside their homes. This indicates that the emphasis of the mainstreaming activities of the ICCW has been on the children working outside their homes. All the children who worked in handloom industry are presently pursuing full-time education. The proportion of children who were combining formal education and part-time work is higher (38%) among children who are engaged in match industry than those who are engaged in beedi industry (25%). The proportion of children undergoing NFE is however higher among children engaged in beedi industry (35%) than those engaged in match industry (27%). Almost one-third (30%) of the children engaged in beedi work are bonded children undergoing NFE while none of those in match industry are currently in bonded labour and are pursuing NFE. The proportion of children pursuing formal education without engaging in any work is higher among children in match industry (33%) than in the beedi industry (5%). This indicates that the children engaged in the match industry have benefited greatly from the Council's activities in mainstreaming the children in formal schools while those from the beedi sector have been mainly benefited from the NFE activities of the Council. The proportion of children who are presently pursuing full-time education without engaging in labour is higher among boys (40%) than among girls (17%). However, the proportion of children who are combining formal schooling and part-time employment is higher among girls (33%) than among boys (20%). The proportion of girls (16.6%) in bonded labour and undergoing NFE is also higher than the proportion of boys (10%). The only child who is in the formal school and is also bonded is a girl. However the proportion of boys and girls undergoing NFE is equal. Though the girls have received education benefits after the ICCW's intervention, they continue to be engaged in the various economic activities unlike the boys. This indicates that the boys have benefited more from the educational activities of the Council than the girls.

A regression analysis was done to understand whether the present status of children going to the formal school without engaging in any employment can be determined by the independent variables of child's sex, ordinal position, father's education, mother's education, age of the child, indebtedness and the nature of work done. An F-ratio of 2.6 indicated that the independent variables significantly determine whether the child is presently in formal school and not engaged in any employment up to 36% (R Square=0.36) with 5% level of confidence. However, none of the variables under study have a significant t-ratio and do not help in determining the variance of the dependent variable.

To understand whether the present status of the child combining full-time education with part-time work can be determined by the independent variables such as child's sex, religion, age and father's education, a regression analysis was done. The F-ratio obtained was 1.24 which is statistically insignificant at 5% level of confidence indicating that the dependent variable is not determined by the independent variables in a significant manner and that there may be certain other variables that were not covered under the present study which could determine the dependent variable.

A regression analysis was done to understand whether the present status of the child engaging in full-time employment and undergoing NFE can be determined from the independent variables of child's education, religion, mother's education, age at starting work, duration of being employed and the nature of work done. The F-ratio obtained was 3.49 which was significant at 1% level of confidence and an R Square of 0.38. This indicates that the dependent variable is determined by the independent variables in combination up to 38%. The independent variables of child's religion with a t-ratio of 2.08 is significant at 5% level of confidence. This indicates that only child's religion as a variable significantly contributes to the dependent variable when the other variables are constant. The other independent variables such as child's education, mother's education, age

of starting work, duration of being employed and nature of work done are statistically insignificant and do not contribute to the dependent variable on their own.

A regression analysis was done to understand whether the present status of the child as a bonded child undergoing formal or non-formal education is determined by the independent variables of father's education, child's sex, religion, education, age of beginning work, duration of being a working child, duration of being a beneficiary, and the nature of work done. The F-ratio obtained was 2.68 which is significant at 5% level of confidence with an R Square of 0.40. This indicates that the dependent variable is determined by the set of independent variables in combination and the variance of the dependent variable is contributed up to 40% by the independent variables. The duration of being a beneficiary is statistically significant at 10% level of confidence with a t-ratio of 1.93 while the child's education and the nature of work done are significant at 5% level of confidence with t-ratio of -2.49 and 2.46 respectively. The other variables of father's education, child's sex, religion, age of beginning work and duration of being a working child are statistically insignificant and do not contribute significantly to the dependent variable on their own.

In order to understand the extent to which the children have moved on the child labour-child rights continuum, the scores of the children on the continuum were calculated in terms of their present status which reveals the following:

For the children who are presently in formal school and are also engaged in part-time work, the mean survival score was 3.8 out of 8 points in the past whereas the present mean survival score has reduced to 3.4 points. The mean protection score of the children in the past were 10 out of 14 points and the present mean protection scores are 9.2 points out of 14. The mean score on the development of the children in the past were 4.2 out of 5 while at present they are 1.2 out of 5. The past mean score on

participation were 3 out of 3 points. Even after the intervention of the Council, they have remained unchanged and are at a mean of 3 points presently. Thus the mean total score of the children have reduced from 21 in the past to 16.8 points out of 30 points at present. This can be attributed to the improvement in the development scores of the children due to the educational services provided by the Council.

For the children who are presently engaged in work on a full-time basis but also participate in the evening non-formal education centres of the ICCW, the scores are as follows: The mean survival score in the past was 4.5 points out of 8 points and it has remained unchanged after the intervention. The mean protection score of the children was 8.25 points and this has improved by only a single point with a mean score of 7.25 at present. The mean score on development in the past was 4.58 and this has reduced to 1.58 points out of 5 points at present. The mean participation score of the children has not changed after the intervention of the Council and has remained at 3 out of 3 points both before and after the intervention. Thus the mean total score of children has reduced from 20.3 to 16.3 points out of 30 points after the intervention. This can once again be attributed to the educational intervention of the ICCW which has lead to a significant reduction of the development scores of the children.

For the bonded child labourers who are pursuing NFE, the data reveals that the mean score of children on survival in the past was 5 out of 8 points and this had remained unchanged even after the intervention from the ICCW. The mean score of the children on protection has also remained unchanged at 9.83 out of 14 points after the intervention. The mean score on development has improved from 4.16 points to 3.16 points out of 5 after the intervention of the ICCW. The mean score on participation has remained unchanged at 3 points out of 3 points both before and after the intervention. Thus the total mean score of the children has marginally improved from 22 points to 21 points out of 30

points after the intervention of the Council indicating a marginal reduction in the extent of violation of rights of the child.

For the bonded child labourers who are pursuing formal education, the mean score on survival has remained unchanged at 7 out of 8, the mean protection score has also remained unchanged at 10 out of 14 points after the intervention of the Council. The mean development score has marginally improved from 4 points in the past to 2 points out of 5 points at present. The participation score have also remained unchanged at 3 points out of 3 points after the intervention. Thus the mean total score of the children have marginally improved from 24 points of the past to 22 points out of 30 points at present indicating a marginal reduction in the level of violation of rights of the child.

For children who are in a formal school and are engaged in domestic work, the data reveals that the mean survival score was 4.14 in the past while it is 2.28 out of 8 at present. The mean protection score has marginally increased from 5.57 points of the past to 5.85 points out of 14 points at present thereby indicating a slight increase in the violation of the protection rights of the child. The mean development score has improved from 4.28 in the past to 1 point out of 5 points at present. However, the mean participation score has remained unchanged at 3 points out of 3 points after the intervention. The mean total score of children has improved from 17 points to 12.13 points out of 30 points at present.

The mean score of the children who are presently in the formal school were 3 points out of 8 points on the survival, were 8.5 points out of 14 points on the protection, were 4 points out of 5 points on the development and were 3 out of 3 points on the participation. The mean total score of the children was 18.5 points out of 30 points.

The scores of the children on survival and protection indicates that the children who had relatively better scores in the past indicating those who

faced lesser violation of the rights have received the benefits of the formal education without having to engage in any work. The children with the next best scores on the survival and protection levels have benefited from the formal education while also having to undertake part time work. The children with the highest scores indicating the worst violation of survival and protection rights continue to work in exploitative conditions without having the opportunity to receive formal education. It is also seen that the intervention has not made any impact on the participation scores of all the children. The intervention has also not lead to any reduction in the violation of the survival and protection rights of a majority of the children. The only area where the impact is significant is the development rights of the child which are partially fulfilled due to the provision of education, recreation and personality development opportunities.

#### **Differences in the time spent on various activities:**

With regards to employment: The difference in the time spent by the children on employment after the intervention of the organisation can be presented as follows:

Table 6. ICCW - Difference in time spent on employment

Time spent on employment	Average number of hours
Prior to the intervention	12.32
After the intervention	5.65
Average reduction	6.67

The mean number of hours spent by the children on employment in the past was over 12 hours while the mean number of hours spent on employment presently by the children benefited by the programmes of ICCW is 5.65 hours. This decrease is largely due to the reallocation of the time to developmental activities by the children.

The differences in the hours of work spent by the children before and after the intervention was analysed with child's sex, ordinal position, duration of being a beneficiary and nature of work done as independent variables. The F-ratio obtained in the regression analysis was 1.09 which is statistically insignificant at 5% level of confidence indicating that the given set of independent variables do not significantly determine the difference in the hours spent on work by the children.

With regards to household work: The difference in the time spent on household work by children after the intervention of the organisation is presented in the following table:

Table 7. ICCW - Difference in the time spent on household work

Time spent on household work	Average number of hours
Prior to the intervention	1.7
After the intervention	1.6
Average reduction	0.1

The mean number of hours spent by children doing household work in the past was 1.7 hours per day while the mean hours spent on household work by the children presently are 1.6 hours. This indicates a marginal decrease in the hours spent on household work by the children after the intervention.

The differences in the hours of household work were analysed with family size, child's ordinal position, level of parental education, duration of being a beneficiary and indebtedness as independent variables. The regression analysis showed an F-ratio of 1.48 which is statistically insignificant at 5% level of confidence. It indicates that the given set of independent variables cannot significantly explain the differences in the household work.

With regards to developmental activities: The difference in the time spent by children on developmental activities after the intervention of the organisation is as follows:

Table 8. ICCW - Difference in the time spent on development

Time spent on development	Average number of hours
Prior to the intervention	0.22
After the intervention	6.7
Average increase	6.48

The mean number of hours spent by children in the past on developmental activities was 0.22 hours per day while it was a mean of 6.7 hours per day after the intervention of the ICCW. This improvement could be attributed to the mainstreaming of some children in the formal schools and the regular participation of the remaining children in the NFE centres.

The differences in the hours spent on developmental activities was analysed with child's sex, ordinal position, family income, level of child's education, and number of family members as independent variables. The regression analysis revealed an F-ratio of 3.03 which is statistically significant at 5% level of confidence and an R Square value of 0.30. This indicates that the difference in the hours spent on development can be determined by the independent variables in combination and the variance of the same is contributed only up to 30% by the independent variables in combination. The variable of ordinal position of the child with a t-ratio of 2.5 is statistically significant at 5% level of confidence. This indicates that only the ordinal position of the child as a variable significantly contributes to the differences in development when the other variables are constant. The other independent variables such as the child's sex, level of education, family income, number of family members do not significantly

influence the differences in the hours spent on developmental activities by the children.

### **Protection/Violation of Rights of the Child:**

The children's scores on the child labour-child rights continuum were calculated. The data revealed the following:

Survival Rights of the Children: The data reveals that the mean survival score of all the children<sup>5</sup> before the intervention was 4.3 points (standard deviation of 1.09) out of 8 points. The regression analysis with the children's survival scores of the past as the dependent variable and the ordinal position of the children, family size, family income, father's education, child's religion and nature of work done by the child as independent variables revealed the following: The F-ratio was 7.2 which was significant at 1% level of confidence while the R Square value was 0.56. This indicates that the survival scores of the children in the past can be determined with the above independent variables and the variance of the past survival scores can be explained up to 56% by the independent variables in combination. The independent variables of ordinal position (t-ratio=3.38), family income (t-ratio=2.54) and nature of work done (t-ratio=3.7) are significant at 5% level of confidence and thus have a statistically significant impact in determining the past survival scores of the children when other variables are constant. The other independent variables such as family size, father's education, and child's religion are not statistically significant and thus do not determine the dependent variable on their own.

The present mean survival score of the children<sup>6</sup> is 3.89 points out of 8 points (standard deviation of 1.37) after the intervention of the ICCW. The present survival scores of the children as a dependent variable were analysed against the ordinal position of the children, family income, father's education, age of starting work, duration of being a working child,

indebtedness nature of work done by the child and duration of being a beneficiary as independent variables. The regression analysis revealed the F-ratio of 4.4 which is significant at 1% level of confidence. This indicates that the present scores of the children on survival can be determined by the above independent variables in combination. The variance of these present survival scores can be predicted up to 55% from the independent variables in combination (R Square=0.55). However, the independent variables of ordinal position of the child (t-ratio=2.25), family income (t-ratio=-2.07) and duration of being a beneficiary (t-ratio=-2.6) are significant at 5% level of confidence and hence have a statistically significant impact on the dependent variable when other variables are constant. However, the other independent variables such as father's education, age of starting work, duration of being a working child, indebtedness and nature of work done by the child are not statistically significant and do not influence the present survival scores of the children on their own.

Protection Rights of the Children: The mean protection score before the intervention of all the children<sup>7</sup> was 8.6 out of 14 points with a standard deviation of 2.2. The past protection scores of the children as a dependent variable was analysed with the sex of the child, level of child's education, level of parent's education, indebtedness and family size as independent variables. The regression analysis revealed an F-ratio of 2.46 which is significant at 5% level of confidence and an R Square value of 0.30. This indicates that the past protection scores of the children can be determined by the given set of independent variables in combination and the variance of the dependent variable can be determined up to only 30% from the independent variables. However, none of the independent variables have a significant t-ratio and thus so not help in determining the variance of the dependent variable.

The present protection scores of the children<sup>8</sup> was 8.07 points out of 15 points with a standard deviation of 2.05. The present protection scores of

the children were analysed with age of the child, ordinal position of children, age of starting work, duration of being a working child, indebtedness, nature of work done and duration of being a beneficiary of the ICCW as independent variables. The regression analysis done revealed the F-ratio of 1.92 which is statistically insignificant at 5% level of confidence. Thus the present scores of the children on protection cannot be determined from the given independent variables and are thus likely to be explained by variables that were not covered under the study.

Development Rights of the Children: The mean development score of all the children<sup>9</sup> before the intervention was 4.3 with a standard deviation of 0.46. The past development scores of the children were analysed with the ordinal position of the children, indebtedness, child's religion, child's sex and nature of work done as independent variables. The regression analysis revealed that the F-ratio was 2.01 which is significant at 5% level of confidence with an R Square of 0.22. This indicates that the past development scores of the children can be determined with the given independent variables and the variance of the dependent variable can be determined only up to only 22% from the independent variables. Moreover, none of the independent variables have a significant t-ratio indicating that they do not influence the variance of the dependent variable independently when other variables are constant.

The mean development score of the children<sup>10</sup> after the intervention of the organisation was 1.6 points out of 5 points with a standard deviation of 0.8. These present scores of the children on development as a dependent variable was analysed with age of the child, sex of the child, level of child's education, ordinal position of the child, level of mother's education, age of starting work, duration of being a working child, indebtedness, duration of being a beneficiary and the nature of work done as independent variables. However, the F-ratio obtained was 1.76 which is statistically insignificant at 5% level of confidence. Thus the present scores of the children on development cannot be determined by the given

set of independent variables and they may be explained by other variables that were outside the scope of this study.

Participation Rights of Children: The mean participation score of all the children<sup>11</sup> before the intervention was 3 points out of 3 points after the intervention. The present mean participation score for the children<sup>12</sup> is also 3 points out of 3 points. This indicates that the intervention has not had any impact on protecting the participation rights of the child.

Total Scores of the Children: The mean of the total scores of all the children<sup>13</sup> was 20.2 out of 30 points with a standard deviation of 2.65. The past total scores of children as a dependent variable was analysed with the child's sex, level of child's education, ordinal position of the child, level of mother's education, indebtedness and nature of work done by the child as independent variables. The regression analysis revealed an F-ratio of 4.79 which is statistically significant at 1% level of confidence and an R Square value of 0.46. This indicates that the past total scores of the children can be determined by the given set of independent variables in combination and the variance of the dependent variable can be determined up to 46% by the independent variables in combination. However, none of the independent variables have a significant t-ratio indicating that they do not influence the variance of the dependent variables when the other variables are constant.

The mean of the present total scores was 16.57 points out of 30 points with a standard deviation of 3.4<sup>14</sup>. These present total scores of the children were analysed with the child's sex, ordinal position of the child, father's education, age of the child, age of starting work, indebtedness, nature of work done and duration of being the beneficiary as independent variables. The regression analysis revealed an F-ratio of 4.44 which is statistically significant at 1% level of confidence and an R Square value of 0.55. This indicates that the present total scores of the children can be determined from the given set of independent variables and the variance

of the dependent variable is contributed up to 55% by the independent variables in combination. However, only the variable of duration of being the beneficiary is statistically significant at 5% level of confidence with a t-ratio of 2.5 indicating that it can significantly determine the present total scores of the children when the other variables are constant. The other independent variables such as child's sex, ordinal position of the child, father's education, age of the child, age of starting work, indebtedness, and nature of work done are statistically insignificant and do not contribute to the determination of the total scores of children at present on their own.

### **Findings:**

Thus, the strategies of the ICCW appear to be more or less similar for both the projects, though the environment in which they are applied and the objectives with which they are applied differ. The main concentration of the work appears to have been on the regulation of child labour than the prohibition of child labour, though the occupations which are being addressed to are hazardous and hence prohibited by law. There have been instances where the ICCW has released bonded labour, but the intervention shows no focus on altering the basic socio-economic structure of the children's families. The women's groups are a step in this direction. The organisation still finds that the incidence of child labour has not reduced due to the following reasons: the factory owners have used several mechanisms to retain the child labourers such as raising the piece rate amount given in the match industry, giving advances to the children's families and making the work premises attractive to the children; parents find very little impact of education on in their life compared to material benefits obtained from child labour; alcoholism in the families of children; extravagance during social and religious ceremonies.

The scores of the children reveal that the children who have been slightly better off than the others have received the benefits of the education and

supportive activities of the Council. For instance, children working in the match industry (who had lower scores on the continuum depicting lower violation and thereby better protection of their rights) have utilised the services more than the children in the beedi industry (who have a relatively higher score indicating greater violation of the rights of the child). Even within the beedi sector, children with better protection of rights have received the services more intensively than those with the poorer protection of the rights to begin with. In addition, scores of children on the survival, protection and participation have not improved much, thereby having little long-term impact on the situation of child labour elimination. This would have to be reviewed against the other organisations with the similar goals of gradual elimination of child labour as against immediate abolition of child labour.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The researcher was informed by an activist working on the issue of child labour for an NGO called Madurai Multi-purpose Social Service Society, Sivakasi that there is a perpetual need for labour in Sivakasi. While unemployment is a main problem in the rest of the country, boards with 'Wanted Labourers' written, hang outside many match-making units. Whether the demand relates to labour in general or child labourers in particular is not known.

<sup>2</sup> The researcher was told that these programmes consist of service delivery packages at a curative level with little focus on the factors that lead to the problem. These programmes also did not instill self-reliance in the beneficiaries.

<sup>3</sup> The District Collector and his team of officials were informed that the children would be released with the partial fulfillment of the debt amount made by them. However, the children were not released and continued to be in bondage for the balance amount which was not repaid. Inadequate follow-up of these children from the District Collector's Office could be the reason for lack of further action against the employers by the Collector's Office. This lacunae has been pointed out in Human Rights Watch (1996:56-61) where a study of the same initiative is recorded.

<sup>4</sup> The Nadar community is a politically and economically powerful community and has a stronghold in the match belt of Tamil Nadu.

<sup>5</sup> This past survival score is computed for all the children who were interviewed i.e. those who have been removed from work and also those who continue to be employed.

<sup>6</sup> The present survival score is computed only for those children who are presently employed i.e.95% of the respondents since 5% of the children were placed in the formal school and are not employed presently. The past survival score for the cohort of children who still continue to work was 4.36 points out of 8 points.

<sup>7</sup> This past protection score is computed for all the children who were interviewed i.e. those who have been removed from work and also those who continue to be employed.

<sup>8</sup> The present protection score is computed only for those children who are presently employed i.e.95% of the respondents since 5% of the children were placed in the formal school and are not employed presently. The past protection score for the cohort of children who still continue to work was 8.6 points out of 14 points.

<sup>9</sup> This past development score is computed for all the children who were interviewed i.e. those who have been removed from work and also those who continue to be employed.

<sup>10</sup> The present development score is computed only for those children who are presently employed i.e.95% of the respondents since 5% of the children were placed in the formal school and are not employed presently. The past development score for the cohort of children who still continue to work was 4.31 points out of 5 points.

<sup>11</sup> This past participation score is computed for all the children who were interviewed i.e. those who have been removed from work and also those who continue to be employed.

<sup>12</sup> The present participation score is computed only for those children who are presently employed i.e.95% of the respondents since 5% of the children were placed in the formal school and are not employed presently. The past participation score for the cohort of children who still continue to work was 3 points out of 3 points.

<sup>13</sup> This past total score is computed for all the children who were interviewed i.e. those who have been removed from work and also those who continue to be employed.

<sup>14</sup> The present total score is computed only for those children who are presently employed i.e.95% of the respondents since 5% of the children were placed in the formal school and are not employed presently. The past total score for the cohort of children who still continue to work was 20.28 points out of 30 points.